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in admiration and gratitude

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Foreword

All but one of the fifteen papers that make up this collection were first presented at the Second International Round Table on Safavid Persia, held in Pembroke College, Cambridge, under the auspices of the University's Centre of Middle Eastern Studies, in September 1993. The exception is provided by Willem Floor, who read a paper on "Carpet trade and production in Safavid Iran", already promised elsewhere, but has substituted an equally valuable alternative; one can only admire his own productivity, never mind that of the Safavid silk and textile industries.

In addition to the papers now published here, the following also made invited contributions to the conference: James Allan (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), "Aspects of steelworking in the Safavid period"; John Emerson (Widener Library, Harvard University), "The population of Safavid cities and towns in the 11th/17th century according to European sources"; Paul Luft (University of Manchester), "The representation of the Prophets and Imams in late Timurid and Safavid painting"; Souren Melikian-Chirvani (C.N.R.S., Paris), "Poetry selections in 16th-century metalwork from Iran. The interplay of visual and literary images"; and Andrew Newman (Wellcome Unit for the History of Medecine, Oxford), "Fayz al-Kashani between *mujtahid, mujtahid/muḥaddith,* and *akbārī*". That these studies are not included here is generally the authors' own choice, and some of them are scheduled to appear elsewhere. In addition, two participants were obliged to withdraw at the last moment, due to difficulties in obtaining visas, namely Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr (currently at Chicago) and Ahmad Tamimdari (ᶜAlama Tabataba'i University, Tehran). Unfortunately it has not been possible to publish their papers in this volume, which is already overlarge.

I would like to thank all the participants for an exceptionally good-humoured and productive three days, which showed how rich are the possibilities for further progress in Safavid studies, and how conducive

small focused meetings can be to the informal exchange of ideas and information. An amusing résumé of the proceedings was delivered at the final dinner by Iraj Afshar, subsequently printed in *Ayandeh* 19/vii-ix (1372/1993), 793-6. The contributions of the session chairmen should also be acknowledged, namely Chahryar Adle, Peter Avery, John Cooper and Roger Savory, of those who did not also read papers themselves. I am grateful to all the authors for at least attempting to follow my somewhat idiosyncratic editorial instructions and for helping this book to achieve its first and most vital objective, of appearing in print.

The Cambridge Round Table was a sequel to the first one, held in Paris in March 1989 on the initiative of Jean Calmard. The proceedings of that first meeting finally appeared in Iran only earlier this year, despite the ostensible publication date of 1993, following numerous unfortunate and unforeseen delays (Jean Calmard [ed.], *Etudes Safavides*, IFRI Bibliothèque Iranienne no. 39, Tehran-Paris). One consequence of this is that two substantial volumes of Safavid studies will have appeared within a few months of each other, in addition to Francis Richard's fine edition of Raphaël du Mans's *Estats* sur la Perse (*Moyen Orient & Océan Indien, XVIe-XIXe s.* 9, 2 vols). This is a positive development and one that should give an impetus to an oddly neglected field; after all, that was the original purpose behind the first Round Table. The drawback is that the first volume was not available to the contributors to the second, so they were unable to take advantage of and build upon the research presented in Paris. I hope that the relatively rapid publication of this second volume will allow time for these papers to circulate and enter the literature on the Safavids before a third Round Table takes place, possibly in two or three years' time. The aim of such a sequence of meetings is to provide a regular forum for new research to be presented and followed up. I hope this will generate at least an impression of ponderous forward momentum, even if not a giddy sense of hurtling relentlessly through the current frontiers of knowledge.

No collection of papers, even on a closely-defined subject, can provide the balanced survey of a single-author monograph. The present set of studies is far from giving a synthetic view of the whole Safavid period. Nevertheless, considering that the authors had a free hand in their choice of subject, several topics of parallel or convergent interest emerged during the conference, and this is largely reflected in the published papers. Although all of them are concerned in one way or another with Safavid history, broadly defined, I have grouped them into two more or less coherent sections, in the first of which, in particular, there are several areas of overlap.

Emphasis is given to historiography in the heading of this first section,

because many of the papers are concerned as much with the nature and outlook of the sources as with the information they convey. Apart from the way in which the Safavid chroniclers introduced their own work, which reveals important continuities with the Timurid past (Quinn), there is the question of the treatment of Ismaʿil's early years in sources written with hindsight, after the establishment of the Safavid state, yet drawing in very different ways on a variety of well-developed narratives, partly oral and generally associated with Ardabil, certainly in circulation by the mid-16th century (Morton). The ideological programme behind the illustrations in the great *Shāh-nāma* of Shah Tahmasb is also in a sense a historiographical topic, for it invites us to view this masterpiece not just as a work of art but also as a historical document (Hillenbrand). Two very different contemporary accounts of Shah ʿAbbas's pilgrimage to Mashhad leave us rather sceptical of the objectivity of the celebrated chronicler, Iskandar Beg Munshi, and underline the inadequacies of the printed edition of his chronicle (Melville), while a Central Asian anthology of poets reveals an unexpected broadmindedness of outlook, quite apart from evidence of the flourishing state of poetry in the late Safavid period (McChesney).

A second persistent theme is the complex interaction between politics and religion in the Safavid period, affecting not only Iran's domestic affairs but also relations with her neighbours. The gradual establishment of state-sponsored Imami Shiʿism is addressed in several papers, whether in the context of Shah Tahmasb's new capital at Qazvin (Echraqi) or in the promotion of the Rizavi shrine at Mashhad (Melville). Even with state support, the orthodox establishment did not enjoy a monopoly of spiritual loyalty, for popular religious sentiment played a large part in shaping the characteristic rituals of Iranian Shiʿism (Calmard), while the struggle for political influence and religious authority involved the 'sufis' of various hues and most importantly the Qizilbash, on the strength of whose extreme messianic fervour the Safavid Shahs had swept to power (Babayan). The Qizilbash themselves, however, had conflicting loyalties, and the gradual erosion of their position doubtless owed as much to their proven capacity for self-interested political action as to the unacceptability of their religious beliefs to the orthodox Shiʿi ʿulama (Szuppe). If, at the beginning of the period, Shiʿism went hand in hand with hostility to the Ottoman Turks (Hillenbrand), by the late 17th century the sectarian barrier in the east, at least, was more theoretical than real (McChesney).

Authors of papers on social and economic history often suffer the indignity of seeing their work being lumped into compartments of miscellaneous odds and ends that don't fit together and don't fit

anywhere else either. Partly, this happens because in the field of mediaeval Middle Eastern studies these subjects don't attract anything like the same level of scholarly attention as they deserve or as they receive in the European context. This is not entirely the case here, for the Safavid period is fortunate in the range of sources available (perhaps greater than for any previous period of Persian history), and in the calibre of recent work in these areas. Several European travel narratives carry more or less useful accounts of Persian 'society', while the archives of the European trading companies offer the first systematic collections of hard economic data. Much of this material has still to be fully exploited.

In the second section, various aspects of life and economic activity in Safavid Persia are explored. Sir Thomas Herbert's interest in the Persian language and its observable similarities with English, together with the efforts of other European visitors, can yield some evidence of the state of spoken Persian in the 17th century and of the competition between Turkish and Persian in the everyday language of the Safavid court (Perry). Some insights into the composition of society, and the various means of gaining a livelihood, are preserved in the more fossilised language of royal decrees, engraved in stone on the walls of mosques, where notices of tax exemptions were posted with a wealth technical detail about offices, institutions and guilds (Afshar).

Of all the magnets drawing Europeans into 17th-century Persia, the desire to control and divert the trade in silk was perhaps the most deep-seated and the most persistent. The nature of the trade and the difficulties encountered were such that by the end the English and the Dutch were only too happy to be quit of it. In the long-unfolding process, the influence of events elsewhere on internal economic conditions in Persia can clearly be seen (Floor). It is also necessary to look outside local and even 'national' factors to seek an explanation for the sudden rise of the town of Julfa on the Aras in the late 16th century, whose Armenian merchants were so particularly associated with the Persian silk trade (Herzig).

If Persia's size and terrain added to the problems of transporting silk and to the merchants' costs, it was also a reason for the limited use of field artillery, others being an unwillingness by the Qizilbash and ghulams to take the new weaponry to heart, and the lack of the natural resources necessary to maintain a weapons and gunpowder industry. Safavid Persia was defended (or otherwise) at its borders, and by the end of the period few towns or cities could boast walls capable of resisting serious attack. The Afghans were as backward as the Persians in this respect: Isfahan succumbed to starvation, not to assault and battery (Matthee). The Safavid military elite seem to have been indifferent not only to

exterior walls but to what lay within; apart from Shah ᶜAbbas's extensive patronage in Isfahan, almost all the religious architecture in the city was founded by women or eunuchs at court, merchants or artisans. Furthermore, the development of the Maidan-i Shah and its surroundings as the residence of the court did not mean that the old city centre was ignored, even after the Shahs became more permanently settled in Isfahan (Haneda).

Such studies open up many new lines of thought. Other whole areas of investigation remain untouched. It will take more than seven maids with seven mops, but meanwhile some of the obscuring sand has been swept aside.

Every attempt has been made to impose a reasonable consistency on the presentation of these papers. On the question of dates, I have zealously given a single A.D. equivalent for hijri years, normally the longer of the two Christian years concerned. Otherwise, a house style for *Pembroke Papers* is still evolving, with an increasingly minimalist tendency as regards transliteration. No doubt the perfect compromise exists; for the moment, I am aware that I have not yet hit upon it. I hope no-one will be too disturbed by the present state of play.

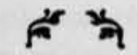
I would like to thank Jean Calmard for several services in connection with the arrangement of the Round Table and the present volume, and particularly for proof-reading Ehsan Echraqi's paper. The Round Table was supported by generous grants from the British Institute of Persian Studies and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. That it was possible to contemplate holding the meeting in Cambridge in the first place, let alone publishing the results, is thanks to the continuing help of the Friends of Persian at Cambridge, which it is my great pleasure to acknowledge. This book is dedicated to all our Friends in the name of their tireless chairman, with grateful thanks.

Finally, E. & E. Plumridge Ltd. have surpassed their efforts on volume one of this series and met all my unreasonable demands; I am very grateful for their care and trouble.

Charles Melville
Pembroke College
Cambridge
December 1995

PART ONE

HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY



Pembroke Papers 4 (1996), 1-25

The Historiography of Safavid Prefaces

Sholeh A. Quinn*

One of the most understudied sections of Persian historical chronicles is the preface. In the case of the Safavids, nearly every narrative written during the reign of Shah ᶜAbbas (r.995–1038/1587–1629) has an introduction. Although these *dibāchas* or *muqaddimas* vary to some extent in terms of style, language, emphasis and length, they also share similar characteristics, mainly in structure and content matter. Until now, most scholars have used the introduction primarily as a source of biographical information about the author and occasionally for examples of his writing style. Thus far, no study has attempted to establish the historiography of the prefaces, to place them in their proper historical context, or to analyse them critically.

When we compare Safavid introductions and trace their historiography, two broad categories of issues become manifest. The first consists of structural conventions: by the time of Shah ᶜAbbas, a genre of composing introductions had become established, and the chronicles studied here conform to this genre by containing a number of elements, to be outlined below, typical of the conventions of the dibacha.[1]

The conventional elements of the introductions, at their stage of development by the time of Shah ᶜAbbas, were generally three: (i) a religious prologue, (ii) information about the author, and (iii) information about the work. We may identify several specific subsections within these broad categories. For instance, the second section usually includes the author's "statement of intent" in which he described why he wrote his work. Sometimes the historian singled out a particular event that

*An expanded version of this article appears in the author's dissertation, *Historical writing during the reign of Shāh ᶜAbbās I* (University of Chicago 1993). I would like to thank Professors John E. Woods, Paul E. Losensky, and Kathryn Babayan, and Mr. Hamid Samandari for valuable comments and suggestions. I take full responsibility, of course, for all errors.

inspired him to write; at other times he acknowledged a king's command that he compose a history. Brief autobiographical information also usually forms a part of this section. The third section consists of a table of contents, or index, in which the author outlined the rest of his work, providing titles for sections and subsections. Within and especially at points between these three sections variations occur. We can regard these as variables which the historians felt free to include if they so chose. Some of the variables include Koranic verses, Traditions (*ḥadīth*), and the king's genealogy.

The second set of themes relates to the issue of historical context. That is, aside from following a conventional framework, the introductions are also informed by the historical context in which they were written, reflecting the historian's background and training as well as the political and religious climate of the time. Finally, the introductions indicate the sorts of techniques available to the chronicler for proclaiming the king's legitimate right to rule—as almost all of these narratives fall into the category of official court histories, the king played a central role in the chronicles and was the main focus of attention.

The purpose of this study is first to examine the prefaces in the light of the two broad categories outlined above. Secondly, we will compare the prefaces in order to discover what they tell us about the political and religious milieus in which they were written and the historiographical methods the chroniclers used to promote the king's right to rule.

THE INTRODUCTIONS: STRUCTURAL ORIGINS

Although at first reading it may appear coincidental that many of the introductions share similarities in content and format, a careful reading and comparison with chronicles written prior to Shah ᶜAbbas's reign shows that many of the Safavid historians modelled their prefaces on that of Khwandamir's (*ca* 880–942/1475–1534) *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, and he, in turn, based his work on the *Raużat al-ṣafā*, written by his maternal grandfather Mir Khwand (837–903/1433–98).[2] The narratives which followed the tradition established by these earlier historians include Qazi Ahmad Qummi's *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, Mahmud ibn Hidayat-Allah Afushta'i Natanzi's *Naqāvat al-āṣār fī zikr al-akhyār*, and Mirza Beg Junabadi's *Raużat al-ṣafaviyya*, thus indicating that *Ḥabīb al-siyar* was the model adhered to by most Safavid historians.[3] The predominance of *Ḥabīb al-siyar* as a historical model also supports the theory that Safavid historical writing during the reign of Shah ᶜAbbas was at least in part a continuation of the earlier tradition of Timurid historical writing.[4] Because the prefaces of chronicles from the time of Shah ᶜAbbas have their origins in the above-

mentioned earlier works, we will examine the introductions in *Raużat al-ṣafā* and *Ḥabīb al-siyar* in order to outline the basic elements of the introduction's conventional framework as well as the general sequence the authors followed.[5]

Raużat al-ṣafā (873/1469): origins of a tradition[6]

Muhammad ibn Khwand Shah ibn Mahmud, otherwise known as Mir Khwand, belonged to a family of sayyids from Bukhara who traced their descent from Zaid ibn Imam Zain al-ᶜAbidin. His father, Burhan al-Din Khwand Shah, migrated from Bukhara to Balkh, and Mir Khwand spent most of his life in Herat. Mir Khwand's patron was the famous vizier, ᶜAli Shir Nava'i, a great patron of the arts and a poet in his own right, who served Sultan Husain Bayqara (875–912/1470–1506), the Timurid ruler of Herat after the death of Sultan Abu Saᶜid. Mir Khwand's introduction consists of three principal sections. The first is the religious prologue, where he opens in praise of God, and then Muhammad, and intersperses numerous Koranic verses.[7] In the second part the author formally introduces himself, discusses the activities of his youth and his intellectual accomplishments and then tells of the circumstances under which he came to write his history. Here, Mir Khwand also mentions and praises his patrons. He devotes the final portion to describing how he intends to divide his work, thus providing an index or table of contents for the chronicle. Although we do not know at this time to what extent Mir Khwand's preface departs from earlier historical practice, it is apparent, from a reading of Timurid and pre-Timurid chronicles, that the introduction is modelled on some sort of earlier established tradition.[8]

In the second portion of his introduction, Mir Khwand gives his name and explains how he spent his youth: "In the mid-spring of youth and in the mid-course of life, which are the best of times and the happiest days of life, the listless mind and joyless heart were desirous of and revelling in studying historical works."[9] His learned companions subsequently encouraged him to write a history of the prophets, kings and caliphs. Mir Khwand describes the difficulty of his situation, saying he was unable to reach his ultimate goal, until suddenly events changed for the better. The deciding factor was the ascension of his new patron, ᶜAli Shir Nava'i (843–906/1439–1500). After mentioning him, Mir Khwand highly praises this generous individual who apparently encouraged him to write his history, which he named *Gardens of purity about the qualities of the prophets and the kings and the caliphs.*[10]

The final portion of the introduction, which Mir Khwand separately entitled *muqaddima*, consists of an outline of contents for the entire

chronicle, followed by a long discourse on the many uses of history and a list of the personal qualities that all historians should possess.[11] The treatise on history ends with Mir Khwand's list of Arab and Persian historians possessing the qualifications he had earlier outlined. He also occasionally gives the name of their works. This catalogue, which has historiographical roots in works as early as Ibn Funduq's *Tārīkh-i Baihaq*, written approximately four centuries earlier, is important because it indicates which histories Mir Khwand was familiar with.[12] The introduction in *Raużat al-ṣafā*, then, consists of the following major sections and subsections: (i) Religious prologue, a) praise of God, b) praise of Muhammad and family, the separation marker *ammā baᶜd* ("now then"); (ii) Autobiography, a) author's name, b) activities of youth, c) turn of events, d) patron, e) reason for composition, f) training/education; (iii) Name of work, a) index, and b) philosophy of history.

Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār afrād al-bashar (930/1524): the model chronicle

Khwandamir, like his maternal grandfather Mir Khwand, lived in Herat during the vizierate of ᶜAli Shir Nava'i. After the latter's death, Khwandamir served under several rulers, including Sultan Husain Bayqara's son and grandson, Mirza Badiᶜ al-Zaman and Mirza Muhammad-i Zaman, respectively. *Ḥabīb al-siyar* was named after the Safavid governor Karim al-Din Habib-Allah, who became Khwandamir's new patron after the death of Sayyid Ghiyas al-Din Amir Muhammad.[13] A comparison of *Ḥabīb al-siyar* with *Raużat al-ṣafā* shows that Khwandamir incorporates into his introduction the same principal sections as his grandfather's work, as outlined above. Khwandamir quotes four of the Koranic verses that Mir Khwand cites, and adds several others not in *Raużat al-ṣafā*. He opens in praise of God and Muhammad, but unlike Mir Khwand includes a section in praise of ᶜAli. The final line of the religious prologue in both works is an Arabic invocation in praise of Muhammad and in fact the opening words to this line are the same in *Raużat al-ṣafā* and *Ḥabīb al-siyar*. Khwandamir, however, also specifically mentions ᶜAli and the Imams in the tribute, whereas Mir Khwand praises Muhammad, his family and his companions.[14] The difference in the two passages suggests that Khwandamir may have included praise of the Imams because of the political changes precipitated by Shah Ismaᶜil (892–930/1487–1524) and the proclomation of Twelver Shiᶜism as the official state religion in 907/1501.[15]

The parallel between *Ḥabīb al-siyar* and *Raużat al-ṣafā* continues after the religious prologue, where both Mir Khwand and Khwandamir start new sections following the phrase "now then" (*ammā baᶜd*). However,

whereas Mir Khwand immediately follows this mark of separation with autobiographical details, Khwandamir engages in a discourse on the science (ᶜ*ilm*) of history, where he explains the importance of history and speech (*sukhan*). This excursus has some similarities to Mir Khwand's muqaddima, but it appears in a different structural position, and unlike *Raużat al-ṣafā*, it does not include a detailed catalogue of qualifications and titles of works. Khwandamir next gives his name, which he follows with a description of his youth and upbringing. Like his grandfather, he discusses how he studied stories, legends, and histories, and learned the art of composition (*inshā'*) from the beginning of his youth until middle age.[16]

Here, it seems that the question of whether or not Khwandamir did indeed spend his youth studying the art of history is not as important as noting that the reason he chose to include this information was because Mir Khwand had done so in his introduction. By deliberately choosing to model his introduction on *Raużat al-ṣafā*, therefore, Khwandamir perhaps unwittingly laid the groundwork for one of the most common elements in the Safavid prefaces: that of the historian discussing his own youth. If a historian was to perpetuate this established pattern, by convention his early years had to include the study of history and composition. After describing his educational background, Khwandamir lists his earlier compositions, another practice which later historians would repeat.[17]

Khwandamir follows the autobiographical information with some background on his patrons. He describes the death of his first patron, Ghiyas al-Din Amir Muhammad al-Husaini (d.927/1521), the problems he encountered after his death, and then the crucial turn of events, in this case the advent of Shah Ismaᶜil and the installation of new officers at the court in Herat. In discussing this change in leadership, Khwandamir uses the same phrases as Mir Khwand had used concerning his new patron ᶜAli Shir Nava'i, to describe the governorship of Durmish Khan under Shah Ismaᶜil, who had conquered Herat. Both historians considered these turn of events as positive changes in their lives. The following parallel passages show by wording and word positioning that Khwandamir utilised his grandfather's work:

Raużat al-ṣafā	*Ḥabīb al-siyar*
va muddatī dīr bidīn vatīra rūzgār-i tīra guzarān būd ki nāgāh nasīm-i ᶜināyat-i ilāhī dar ihtizāz āmada...[18]	*chand māh auqāt-i tīra bidīn vatīra guzarān namūd inkishāf-i jamāl-i maṭlūb bi-hīch vajh rūy nanamūd nāgāh āftāb-i ᶜināyat-i ilāhī az ufuq-i saᶜādat-i nāmutanāhī ṭāliᶜ gasht.*[19]

The historians also depicted meeting their patrons, ᶜAli Shir Nava'i and Habib-Allah Karim al-Din, respectively, in corresponding passages:

Raużat al-ṣafā	*Ḥabīb al-siyar*
va chūn bi-mauhibat-i basāṭ-būs fāyiz shudam al-ḥaqq rūḥī dīdam muṣavvar va malakī yāftam dar ṣūrat-i bashar ki ẕāt-i makramat āyātash bi-funūn-i faẓāyil va ādāb az afāżil-i zamān mumtāz būd.[20]	*va chūn qāyid-i taufīq mucᶜtakif-i zāvīya-i khumūl rā bi-āstānash rasānīda va bi-sharaf-i idrāk-i ṣuḥbat-i sharīfash musharraf gardānīda rūḥī dīd dar badan muṣavvar va malakī yāft dar ṣūrat-i bashar ṭabᶜ-i mushkil-gushāyash az funūn-i faẓāyil vāqif.*[21]

Khwandamir ends the penultimate section of his preface by naming his chronicle, thereby again following the pattern established in *Raużat al-ṣafā*, and closes with an index of contents.

The purpose of comparing these two narratives has been to establish the fact that Khwandamir based his selection of information for his introduction on Mir Khwand's *Raużat al-ṣafā*. Khwandamir, therefore, consciously elected to model his prologue on an earlier work, and the contents in that chronicle's preface bore a direct relation to the contents of the introduction in his *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, which includes the following sections: (i) Religious prologue, a) praise of God, b) praise of Muhammad, c) some thoughts on history; (ii) Autobiography, a) author's name, b) author's childhood/youth and experience in writing history, c) the key turn of events, resulting in a positive change, d) praise of the patron and meeting with the patron, e) circumstances under which author came to write; (iii) Information about the work, a) name of work, and b) outline of contents.

PREFACES FROM THE TIME OF SHAH ᶜABBAS

Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh (999/1591): Timurid connections

Qazi Ahmad came from an influential family in Qum. His father, Sharaf al-Din Husain Husaini, was a *munshī* in Shah Tahmasb's court. Qazi Ahmad was trained by his father and worked with the artists and writers of Mashhad. He eventually came to serve in Shah ᶜAbbas's court.[22] The main problem associated with studying the introduction of Qazi Ahmad's *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh* is that only the sectional preface to volume five exists today. In fact, *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh* is a multi-volumed history and Qazi Ahmad refers to earlier volumes in his later work, *Gulistān-i hunar*.[23] We may therefore assume that a general introduction for the whole chronicle also existed and is now lost, along with the other four segments. Although Qazi Ahmad's preface to volume five shares some

similarities with the earlier *Ḥabīb al-siyar* and *Raużat al-ṣafā*, it is quite possible that his general opening to the entire work may have contained an even greater number of passages imitating *Ḥabīb al-siyar* or another earlier history.[24] Taking this into consideration, we will compare Qazi Ahmad's volume five introduction with the general prefaces from the period prior to Shah ᶜAbbas.

Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh opens in a manner similar to *Ḥabīb al-siyar:* namely, in praise of God, Muhammad, ᶜAli, and the Imams. Unlike Khwandamir's preface, however, Qazi Ahmad's religious prologue is relatively short; he rapidly proceeds to the next section, separated by the phrase *"va baᶜd,"* in which he gives his name.[25] He then describes how it occurred to him to "write a new history of the sultanate and kingship of the Safavid sultans, along with volumes covering the creation of the world until the appearance of the Safavid dynasty."[26] Qazi Ahmad then provides at least a partial list of the historians and works which he was familiar with and influenced by when he wrote *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh:* (i) Amir Sultan Ibrahim Amini Haravi (author of *Futūḥāt-i shāhī*), (ii) Mir Yahya Saifi Qazvini (author of *Lubb al-tavārīkh*), (iii) Mir Mahmud valad-i Mir Khwand Haravi (author of a continuation of *Ḥabīb al-siyar*), (iv) Maulana Hayati Tabrizi (author of a lost work), (v) Qazi Ahmad Ghaffari (author of *Tārīkh-i jahān-ārā*), and (vi) Hasan Beg Rumlu (author of *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*).[27] Like Khwandamir, Qazi Ahmad sets forth his purpose for writing:

> Since the death of that group [the above-mentioned historians], it has been a while since anyone has written the events of the kings of the time and the sultans of the age, therefore [I] have been occupied in preparing this fifth volume, which is the conclusion of the book *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*.[28]

An examination of the succession of Safavid historiography establishes the truth of Qazi Ahmad's statement about the lacuna in historical writing, for the last person to have written a history covering the Safavid dynasty before Qazi Ahmad was probably Hasan Beg Rumulu, who whote his *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* in 985/1577, approximately 14 years before Qazi Ahmad wrote *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*.

After his statement of purpose, Qazi Ahmad praises Shah ᶜAbbas and supplies details on when he wrote his chronicle and how long it took him to complete it. Apparently, Shah Ismaᶜil II (r.984–5/1576–7) had ordered that a history be written equal in quality to that of the eminent historian Maulana Kamal al-Din ᶜAbd al-Razzaq Samarqandi, author of *Maṭlaᶜ-i Saᶜdain*. However, Qazi Ahmad explains that Samarqandi's history began with the reign of Abu Saᶜid Bahadur (717–36/1317–35) and ended with the reign of Sultan Abu Saᶜid Küregen (855–73/1451–69)

and he was to have written a history covering the period from the beginning of Shah Ismaᶜil I's rule (r.907–30/1501–24) until the period of Shah Ismaᶜil II. This, however, did not happen, for Shah Ismaᶜil II died and the work remained unfinished.[30] Qazi Ahmad then states that subsequently no one else showed an inclination towards the art of historical writing, and despite the great pain and suffering he endured, he managed to complete his work, presumably without the encouragement or reward of any patron. He accomplished this in 999/1591.[31]

Qazi Ahmad's statements not only exhibit a desire for continuity with the past, by beginning where Samarqandi's history ends, but they also underscore his being aware of the uniqueness of his age. He reminds the reader for a third time that no other historian had ventured, at the time that he was writing, to describe contemporary events, thereby indicating that he was extremely conscious of his position as sole recounter of the episodes then occurring during the reign of Shah ᶜAbbas.[32] Qazi Ahmad concludes his introduction with a presentation of Shaikh Safi's genealogy, which he traces back to Musa al-Kazim, the seventh Imam of the Twelver Shiᶜa.[33]

If we take into account the historical events that were taking place during the time Qazi Ahmad wrote *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, we can begin to understand the treatment of elements in his introduction. For instance, Shah ᶜAbbas had recently emerged triumphant after the second Qizilbash civil war (984–98/1576–90), but his position was still somewhat unstable, as he had only just begun to create a new army which would show allegiance to him and him alone. However, as various Qizilbash generals were being executed, culminating with the death of Yaᶜqub Khan Zu'l-Qadr, one of the traditional "pillars of support" for the Safavid ruling dynasty was eroding, and Shah ᶜAbbas could therefore no longer appeal to the Qizilbash on the basis of his being the leader of the Safavid religious order. Scholars have traditionally stated that this pillar of support was eventually replaced by a new standing *ghulām* army and the accompanying call for *shāhsevan* (love for the king).[34] However, the possiblility remains that other attempts at legitimacy were taking place at the same time, and one such experiment seems to have been the forging of connections with the Mongol and Timurid dynasties.[35] Thus, Qazi Ahmad's emphasis on *Maṭlaᶜ-i Saᶜdain* as a model chronicle to uphold and perhaps even continue, indicates a preoccupation with, or at least an interest in, Mongol and Timurid history. Furthermore, his juxtapositioning of Ismaᶜil I and Ismaᶜil II with Abu Saᶜid Ilkhani and Abu Saᶜid Küregeni may be a further attempt to stress the closeness of the Safavids to the two earlier dynasties and to establish a parallel between the reigns of the two Ismaᶜils and the two Abu Saᶜids.[36] In other words, his intention may have been to state that the Safavids recapitulated both the Ilkhanid and Timurid dynasties.

The introduction of *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, then, contains the following elements: (i) Religious prologue, a) praise of God, b) praise of Muhammad, c) praise of ᶜAli, d) praise of the Imams, [*va baᶜd*]; (ii) Autobiography, a) author's name, b) sources, c) praise of king, d) circumstances under which he came to write, and e) genealogy. Unlike Khwandamir, Qazi Ahmad does not include the story of his youth, his philosophy of history, the key turn of events allowing him to write, or a table of contents. These were probably contained in his general introduction.

Futūḥāt-i humāyūn (1007/1599): legitimisation through *abjad*

Relatively little was known about Siyaqi Nizam, until Ch. Adle embarked on editing *Futūḥāt-i humāyūn*. His research into *tazkira* (biographical) literature reveals one or two references to Siyaqi Nizam.[37] The most important of the tazkiras is Kazaruni's *Sullam al-samāvāt*.[38] In this work, Kazaruni identifies Siyaqi Nizam's full name as Nizam al-Din ᶜAli, and says that Siyaqi Nizam eventually became "the vizier of all Fars, and he was knowledgeable in many arts and sciences, including verse, history, *inshā'*, accounting and music." Adle establishes the date of his birth as sometime in 958–9/1551–2 in Fars, and his death as occurring in 1011/1602-3.[39]

Siyaqi Nizam's preface is the first of the histories written during Shah ᶜAbbas's reign to conform to the conventional framework as exemplified in *Ḥabīb al-siyar*. *Futūḥāt-i humāyūn* contains many of the normative elements displayed in *Ḥabīb al-siyar*,and we may therefore consider this work as one following the standard Safavid structure of introduction and incorporating the following sections: (i) Religious prologue, a) praise of God, b) praise of Muhammad, c) praise of ᶜAli, [*ammā baᶜd*]; (ii) Autobiography, a) author's name [reason for writing], b) activities of youth/life, c) key turn of events; (iii) Information about work, a) name of work, b) index, and c) *Miracles*. Missing from *Futūḥāt-i humāyūn* is Siyaqi Nizam's philosophy of history.

Siyaqi Nizam does not choose just one narrative in particular as his model; as we shall see, *Futūḥāt-i humāyūn* draws on *Rauẓat al-ṣafā*, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* and *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*. Siyaqi Nizam's opening sentence parallels *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh:*

Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh	*Futūḥāt-i humāyūn*
bihtarīn amrī ki muctakifān-i ṣavāmic-i quds dībācha-yi "kitāb marqūm, yashhaduh al-muqarrabūn" *rā bih ān muvashshaḥ sāzand va nīkūtarīn ḥarfī ki muḥrimān-i majāmic-i uns dar fihrist-i* "inna kitāb al-abrār lafī cIlliyūn" *muṣbat gardānand ḥamd-i vājib al-vujūdī ast.*[40]	*laṭīftarīn gauharī ki muvarrikhān-i balāghat niẓām va munshiyān-i faṣāḥat irtisām dar rishta-yi cibārat intiẓām dahand ḥamd va ṣanā-yi qādir-i lāyazālī'st.*[41]

Futūḥāt-i humāyūn opens in praise of God, Muhammad and cAli, and in these eulogistic sections Siyaqi Nizam intersperses poetry, both original and borrowed, along with many of the Koranic verses cited in the histories already discussed, further evidence that he is emulating the conventional introductory structure. The autobiographical section of *Futūḥāt-i humāyūn,* however, shows how Siyaqi Nizam is able to incorporate new information within this pattern. As described above, Khwandamir explained how he spent his earlier years studying specific subjects such as history and literature. A youth spent studying history, then, became a qualification which historians had to possess, and if they did not fulfill this requirement, they either had to offer some explanation or to leave out the entire section. Siyaqi Nizam opted to explain why he did not receive a conventional education by describing how he was busy serving the Afsharid amirs of Kuh Giluya. The form in which he chose to present this information, however, imitates both *Raużat al-ṣafā* and *Ḥabīb al-siyar:*

Raużat al-ṣafā	*Ḥabīb al-siyar*	*Futūḥāt-i humāyūn*
dar nīma-bahār-i javānī va ausāṭ-i ayyām-i zindagānī ki bihtarīn auqāt va khūshtarīn avān-i ḥayāt ast khāṭir-i fātir va żamīr-i kasīr bi-muṭāliᶜa-i kutub-i tavārīkh . . . mībūd.[42]	*az mabādī-yi sinn-i rushd va tamyīz ta ghāyat-gah-i sinīn-i cumr-i cazīz az ḥudūd-i arbacīn haft hasht marḥala-yi tajāvuz karda hamvāra bi-taṣḥīḥ-i rivāyāt . . . minamūd.*[43]	*dar cunfuvān-i cahd-i shabāb va javānī ki khulāṣa-yi cumr va zindagānī hamān tavānad būd tā muddat-i sī sāl dar khushk sāl-i mulāzimat va shabistān-i ẓulmat-nishān-i khidmat-i umarā'-yi Afshār-i Kūh Gīlūya nahāl-i āmālam az ṣamara-yi murād mahjūr . . . būd.*[44]

By using similar syntax and word choice, then, Siyaqi Nizam lends a conventional form to his unconventional information. Whether he consciously tried to disguise the fact that he did not obtain the education expected of a future historian, or whether he indirectly wanted to condemn the Afsharid amirs, who presumably did not even provide him with an opportunity to pursue such interests, is unclear.

The description of a key turn of events also corresponds with the sections in *Raużat al-ṣafā* and *Ḥabīb al-siyar.* The historical events which transformed his life occurred in 1004/1596.[45] In this year, Allah Verdi Khan, the *ghulām-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa qullar āqāsī,*[46] and the *amīr al-umarā'* (commander in chief) of Fars and Khuzistan, was given the governorship of Kuh Giluya and quenched the Afsharid rebellion.[47] Although Siyaqi Nizam was made captive during this incident, he was freed after an investigation and became Allah Verdi Khan's attendant.[48] For two years he served Allah Verdi Khan, until the conquest of Khurasan—the event that inspired him to write his history.[49] *Futūḥāt-i humāyūn* follows *Ḥabīb al-siyar* sequentially by presenting the name of the history at the end of the introduction, directly before the list of contents. Siyaqi Nizam said he decided to name his work *Futūḥāt-i humāyūn,* because the numerical value of the letters when added together corresponds to 1007 [1598], the date of the victory of Khurasan and the date of composition.[50]

The above analysis has pointed out the various structural elements in Siyaqi Nizam's introduction that followed earlier historical works and has shown how Siyaqi Nizam conformed to the conventions of this model. Turning now to the question of historical context, this issue plays an extremely significant role in shaping the contents of the introduction to *Futūḥāt-i humāyūn.* In the same way that Qazi Ahmad attempts to link the Safavids with the Timurid and Ilkhanid dynasties in the sectional preface to *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh,* Siyaqi Nizam promotes Shah cAbbas's right to rule in a new, non-conventional section which he titled *Karāmāt* (Miracles). The method that he used to accomplish this, numerical calculations, or *abjad,* represents just one of the several techniques which the Safavid historians had at their disposal to prove Shah cAbbas's legitimacy; this section also shows how introductions can often reflect a historian's vocation in life as well as his area of expertise.

Siyaqi Nizam introduces Miracles with a brief outline of the sectional divisions, explaining that his tract (*risāla*) would consist of miracles (*karāmāt*) and twelve chapters (*fatḥ*).[51] Miracles, he said, would include two ciphers (*ramz*).[52] The first cipher involves a long discussion on numerology in which Siyaqi Nizam had two objectives: explaining the significance of the number twelve, and connecting, by the same numerological means, the Safavid and Timurid dynasties. He begins with the following passage:

> The Supreme Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction [Shah cAbbas] is the propagator of the true religion of the Twelve Imams, and because of his kinship with the revered True Guides (Imams), and without his design or desire, the major events of his increasingly glorious reign—from his accession

> to the throne of the sultanate to the royal departure towards various parts of the kingdom—number twelve. [And in this, he is] similar to the victorious Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction Amir Timur Küregen, who would pay no heed to the auspiciousness or inauspiciousness of the time, and would proceed with all matters and manners of kingship, whether good or bad, and then, upon re-examination it would appear that they [his undertakings] had occurred at auspicious times.[53]

Siyaqi Nizam then goes on to explain that the number of letters in the phrase *Lā ilāha illā Allāh* (There is no god but God), and in the phrase *Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh* (Muhammad is the Messenger of God), both equal 12, and the names *ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib* and *Shāh ᶜAbbās Ḥusainī* have 12 letters each as well. Furthermore, he says, *Shāh ᶜAbbās Ḥusainī* and *Ṣāḥib-Qirān-i Aᶜlā* also both have 12 letters and according to his *abjad* calculations, the numerical sum of each name equals the number 577. For that reason, he would refer to Shah ᶜAbbas as *Ṣāḥib-Qirān-i Aᶜlā* throughout his treatise.[54]

Siyaqi Nizam's attempts to associate Shah ᶜAbbas so closely with Timur and present the Safavid monarch as a figure who, like Timur, had some sort of claim to divine guidance, has great importance, because it adds further support for the hypothesis that Safavid historians were attempting to connect the Safavids with the Timurids. Qazi Ahmad's attempts to link his work symbolically with an earlier Timurid history, *Maṭlaᶜ-i Sadᶜain* have already been discussed. Other Safavid historians mention Timur, of course, mostly when describing the origins of the Safavid dynasty and tell the story of Timur's alleged meeting with early leaders of the Safavid order, Khwaja ᶜAli or Shaikh Sadr al-Din.[55] Siyaqi Nizam's passage comparing Shah ᶜAbbas to Timur seems to indicate that Timurid legitimacy was a real force during Shah ᶜAbbas's reign, or at the very least, the Safavid historians were deliberately trying to associate Shah ᶜAbbas's name with Timur's. The distinction lies in Siyaqi Nizam's method of connecting Timur's name to Shah ᶜAbbas, which in this case utilised *abjad* as opposed to recounting the popular story of Timur and Shaikh Sadr al-Din or Khwaja ᶜAli.

Naqāvat al-āṣār fī zikr al-akhyār (1007/1598): a response to *Ḥabīb al-siyar*

Little is known about the life of Natanzi, but R. D. McChesney has convincingly hypothesised that the historian must have occupied a senior place in Shah ᶜAbbas's court: "Naṭanzī must have been a

bureaucrat of some standing, for he had access to government documents and royal correspondence... [his] use of recent government documents and his sketches of court life suggest that he was a person with an official, perhaps high-ranking, position."[56]

Like Siyaqi Nizam, Natanzi's introduction also follows the conventional introduction form. In this case, he exclusively relies on *Ḥabīb al-siyar* as his principal source. An analysis of *Naqāvat al-āṣār* will show that Natanzi not only followed *Ḥabīb al-siyar* by using parallel passages, but he also makes statements in direct response to *Ḥabīb al-siyar*. Unless one recognises this context, some portions of the narrative do not make sense.

Similar to Khwandamir, Natanzi opens with a tributory prologue, referring to ᶜAli as *maẓhar al-ᶜajā'ib va maẓhar al-gharā'ib*, the same phrase that Khwandamir used.[57] After his quatrain (*rubāᶜī*) in praise of ᶜAli which appears in the same sequential position as Khwandamir's verse (*naẓm*), also in tribute to ᶜAli, Natanzi placed the marker *ammā baᶜd* to separate and introduce the next section, which does little more than paraphrase and reword *Ḥabīb al-siyar*. In this portion of the narrative, both historians discuss the art of history and end with a long poem (*maṣnavī*) in tribute to historians. Although Natanzi does not repeat Khwandamir's poem word for word, his poem definitely echoes the verse in *Ḥabīb al-siyar:*

Ḥabīb al-siyar	*Naqāvat al-āṣār*
Gahī bāz gūyad zi paighambarān	*Gah az pādishāhan ḥikāyat kunand*
gahī rāz gūyad zi nām āvarān	*gahī az rasūlān rivāyat kunand*
Khabar gūyadat gah zi khair al-bashar	*Gah az kharq-i ᶜādāt-i paighambarān*
gah az ḥāl-i shāhān namāyad khabar[58]	*ki muᶜjiz buvad nazd-i dīn parvarān*[59]

After the poem, Natanzi states his name, prefacing it with a phrase modelled on *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, and in this way introduces the autobiographical portion of the introduction. Here, Khwandamir's life from childhood to his late forties which he spent engaged in studying history and related fields, turned into Natanzi's own 60 years during which his study focused on the literary arts:

Ḥabīb al-siyar	*Naqāvat al-āṣār*
az mabādī-yi sinn-i rushd va tamyīz tā ghāyat- gah-i sinīn-i ᶜumr-i ᶜazīz az ḥudūd-i arbaᶜīn haft hasht marḥala-yi tajāvuz karda hamvāra bi-taṣḥīḥ-i rivāyāt-i aḥvāl-i sābiqa va tanqīḥ-i ḥikāyāt-i āṣār-i lāḥiqa māyil va rāghib mīshavad va paivasta bi-muṭāliᶜa-yi kutub-i tārīkh va mumāraṣat-i [sic: mumārasat] ṣanᶜat-i inshā' ishtighāl va iᶜtinā' mīnamūd.[60]	*az mabādī-yi sinn-i shabāb tā ghāyat ki sinīn-i ᶜumr bi-ḥudūd-i sittīn rasīda, paivasta bi-khwāndan va nivishtan-i kutub-i qiṣaṣ va ḥikāyāt va istimāᶜ-i aḥādīṣ va rivāyāt va naql-i akhbār va naẓm-i ashᶜār māyil va rāghib mībūd.*[61]

The significance there concerns Khwandamir's statement that he was continually reading history and learning the art of composition, whereas Natanzi changed the focus of statement—but not the structure—to poetry and stories. Furthermore, in contrast to Khwandamir's list of five previous historical compositions, Natanzi named his five previous poetic works.[62]

After this list, Natanzi continues with the format established in *Ḥabīb al-siyar*. Like Khwandamir, he describes the circumstances under which he wrote, but the similarity ends there. He describes how, at the end of his life, he turned away from composing verses and paid attention to the subject of relating hadith, especially the commentaries of religious scholars (*tafāsīr-i ᶜulamā-yi dīn*) and the writings of eloquent learned ones (*taṣānīf-i fużalā-yi balāghat-āyīn*).[63] He then studied the art of history until, on the first day of Spring, 998/1590, Shah ᶜAbbas headed for Shiraz in order to fight Yaᶜqub Khan Zu'l-Qadr.[64] The reason Natanzi attached such significance to Shah ᶜAbbas's defeat of Yaᶜqub Khan, and singled it out as an unbelievable accomplishment, was that the fortress of Istakhr where Yaᶜqub Khan had sought refuge was so strong that no previous king had ever been able to destroy it.[65] This event inspired Natanzi to write his chronicle, whose name (*Naqāvat al-āṣār fī zikr al-akhyār*) he presents after relating the information about Yaᶜqub Khan.[66]

Yaᶜqub Khan's defeat was important because it symbolically as well as literally represented the end of the second civil war and demonstrated that Shah ᶜAbbas had regained full control of his kingdom—thus ending the period of Qizilbash primacy. Natanzi's singling out the death of Yaᶜqub Khan becomes significant when one realises that, unlike Khwandamir, Natanzi neglected to describe a specific incident, such as a change in patronage, that improved his personal situation. This may perhaps be due to the fact that his position had not changed at the time of composition. However, he may have been substituting the description of

Yaᶜqub Khan's death as an important incident for the conventional turn of events described in the *Raużat al-Ṣafa/Ḥabīb al-siyar* tradition of preface composition.

Following the description of Yaᶜqub Khan, Natanzi outlines the contents of his work. He states that the first volume would cover the period from the death of Shah Tahmasb (d.984/1576) to the reigns of Shah Ismaᶜil II (r.984–5/1576–7) and Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda (r.985–95/1578–87). His second volume would chronicle the reign of Shah ᶜAbbas from beginning to end.[67]

As already mentioned, Natanzi at this point deviates from the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* model, for Khwandamir ends his introduction with the outline of contents. Natanzi, however, follows his description of contents with a section in praise of Shah ᶜAbbas, and then closes with an essay in which he states that he wants to discuss two matters which no other historians had ever mentioned.[68] This statement in itself has great historiographical importance, for Natanzi explicitly claims that at this point his narrative has become original, thereby indirectly implying that he was, prior to this time, following other works. Unless one keeps in mind that Natanzi was writing in response to Khwandamir's *Ḥabīb al-siyar,* his statement does not make any sense. The fact that Natanzi deviates at the end of his introduction, just as Siyaqi Nizam does, indicates that the end of the introduction was a position of variability—that is, a likely place for the chronicler to insert innovative passages differing from the conventional elements.

In this final segment, the first of two points Natanzi makes was that out of all the poetry in his work, he does not insert more than one line that he did not write himself. The location of this line was in the introduction, and came from the poetry of Amir Khusrau, included, according to Natanzi, because of its appositeness (*munāsibat-i maqām*).[69] The second point was that he composed all the poems in his work, except for three quatrains which appear in the opening of the book, in the metres used in the following great works of Persian poetry: Firdausi's *Shāh-nāma,* Nizami's *Sikandar-nāma,* Saᶜdi's *Būstān,* Amir Khusrau's *Āyīna-yi Sikandarī,* Jami's *Khirad-nāma*[*-yi Sikandarī*], Khwaju Kirmani's *Humā-yi Humāyūn,* Salman Savaji's *Firāq-nāma* and finally, the *Tīmūr-nāma* of the "second" Firdausi, ᶜAbd-Allah Hatifi.[70] The importance of Natanzi's statement in this regard cannot be over-emphasised, for it resembles both Mir Khwand's and Qazi Ahmad's lists of historical works. However, in contrast to these lists, Natanzi has chosen the great Persian poets as his models, thereby preparing his readers for at least one of the roles he wishes his work to play: that of an epic poem.

Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī (1038/1629): an example of partial innovation

Iskandar Beg Munshi served at Shah ʿAbbas's court. Although he eventually attained the high-ranking position of *munshī-yi ʿażīm*, he is best known for his *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, perhaps the most widely known Safavid chronicle. Although Iskandar Beg's introduction does not contain passages in direct imitation of earlier works, and although he includes no Koranic verses in his prologue, this section of *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* nevertheless contains some of the same basic conventional components as those found in early introductions. After the religious prologue, Iskandar Beg states his name and describes how he came to write his history. Like Siyaqi Nizam, whose circumstances prevented him from devoting his youth to study, Iskandar Beg, too, spent his youth engaged in other activities. In fact, he very clearly expresses how and why he did not have the qualifications expected of a historian:

> [I,] Eskandar known as Monšī, in my early youth, allowed myself to be diverted from the study of customary sciences with which I was familiar and toward which I was attracted by temperament, and, led astray by some short-sighted, materialistic persons, I conceived a desire to learn bookkeeping.[71]

Again, the importance of this statement lies in the fact that he obviously needed to explain why he could not study "customary sciences", and if we keep in mind the historiographical tradition he was following, the reason he makes this justification becomes very clear: Iskandar Beg includes this statement because his early training does not conform to the ideal which Khwandamir established, that one's youth should be spent studying history.

Iskandar Beg eventually came to realise that his true calling and talent was not in accounting (*siyāq*), but in the area of insha', in this case translated as the secretarial art. He therefore stopped his bookkeeping work and began serving in the capacity of secretary in Shah ʿAbbas's court.[72] Since this is the first time he mentioned Shah ʿAbbas, Iskandar Beg at this point pays the necessary tribute to the monarch, praising him with an array of epithets.

Iskandar Beg follows his praise of the king with the main statement of intent: "My principal motive in writing these pages is to publish an account of the life and times of that monarch."[73] Apparently, though, he was not able to perform his duties as a secretary and write his history at the same time. When he paid more attention to history, he did not satisfactorily progress in his job, and decided to devote more time to his secretarial work. He did, however, finally have the opportunity to study the necessary arts qualifying him for the task of historical writing: "I lost

no opportunity of studying biographical and historical works, because I wanted to achieve success in that noble branch of learning."[74]

Although Iskandar Beg was hired as a court secretary, these statements suggest that his role as historian was not part of his job. It is also uncertain whether or not Shah ʿAbbas commissioned him to write his history; if we are to believe Iskandar Beg, it was his idea to compose *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, not the king's, as demonstrated in the following rhetorical questions he asks of himself, expressing his motivation for writing:

> I reflected, "You have now entered the service of this eminent king. Do you want to be distinguished among other men of talent by the excellence of your learning? If so, why do you not put your talents to work and write the history of this unequalled ruler of exalted lineage?"[75]

In these statements, he also voices his opinion on the value of history, which echo the philosophy of history sections in the earlier chronicles: "Many gentle souls are extremely keen on studying works of biography and history, the benefit of which is apparent to all—especially the study of recent history."[76]

Although Iskandar Beg never refers to Natanzi's *Naqāvat al-āṣār* in *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, he may have been familiar with this work, for he expresses strong opinions on matters of style which contrast greatly with Natanzi's ideas on the same subject.[77] The focus of Iskandar Beg's concern is not the originality of poetry or verse metre, and in fact, he explicitly states that his primary preoccupations do not include issues of style. Perhaps he lacked the literary training to compete with his predecessors in style, and therefore attempted to portray his lack of proper training in the best possible light:

> Finally, I decided to set down in writing the events and circumstances of the reign of this monarch, without being restricted by any considerations such as smoothness of syntax (*salāsat-i ʿibārat*), the choice of appropriate words (*alfāż-i munāsabat*), and embellishments of language and meaning.[78]

An outstanding aspect of Iskandar Beg's introduction is the occasional statements he makes about his method of historical research. Passages of this nature are unique to *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, for although the earlier historians may have revealed their philosophy of history, none of them except for Iskandar Beg had discussed their technique of ascertaining the reliability of their sources. In the following passage, Iskandar Beg elaborates on his historical methodology, and again possibly attempts to preempt criticism of his work for its literary shortcomings:

> Whatever information I had of my own knowledge, I have set down without adding or subtracting anything. In matters on which I had no personal information, I was obliged to consult reputable authorities, and I have reported what they have said without wrapping it up, as secretaries do, in obscure and unfamiliar phrases which are tedious and wearisome. In short, I have endeavoured to present history and events in their simplest garb.[79]

Although one would like to have more concrete details on exactly whom Iskandar Beg considered "reputable authorities" and how or why he chose a particular source, the passage still allows us to gain some knowledge of his historical methodology. He also provides some insight into why he chose to include information on earler Safavid rulers, the Uzbeks, and the Ottomans: "My object in all this was to slake the thirst of those who are avid for history, and also to preserve the unbroken thread of the narrative by including those matters which are relevant to the central theme."[80] The annalistic form of historical writing has been criticised for simply stringing together various events chronologically and not separating the important from the irrelevant. Iskandar Beg, however, while expressing concern about keeping the narrative "unbroken", showed his concern over issues "relevant to the central theme".

In summary, although *Tārīkh-i ᶜālam-ārā-yi ᶜAbbāsī* contains many of the standard sections found in a traditional introduction, such as opening tributory passages, a discussion of the author's life and how he came to write his work, and an outline of contents, we can single out Iskandar Beg's introduction for his explanations of the historical methodology he used to compose his work.

Raużat al-ṣafaviyya (1038/1629): the culmination of a tradition

Mirza Beg Junabadi began writing *Raużat al-ṣafaviyya* in 1023/1614, during the tenure of Shah ᶜAbbas, and completed it at the beginning of Shah Safi's reign. Although *Raużat al-ṣafaviyya* technically falls under the category of chronicles written during Shah Safi's time, Junabadi wrote the bulk of his work during the period of Shah ᶜAbbas, and in fact the section covering Shah Safi's reign appears in two "appendices". For this reason, we shall consider *Raużat al-ṣafaviyya* among narratives written during Shah ᶜAbbas's reign.[81]

Junabadi's introduction continues the tradition established in Khwandamir's time, approximately 100 years earlier, although the

sequence and content differ slightly from *Ḥabīb al-siyar*. Junabadi opens with his religious prologue and, like Khwandamir, he separates the opening tribute from the rest of the work with the phrase *ammā baᶜd*. The following parallel passages establish *Raużat al-ṣafaviyya*'s reliance on *Ḥabīb al-siyar*:

Ḥabīb al-siyar	*Raużat al-ṣafaviyya*
bar żamīr ᶜārifān-i maᶜārif-i sukhan-sāzī va khāṭir-i khaṭīr-i vāqifān-i mavāqif-i nukta-pardāzī pūshīda va pinhān nakhwāhad būd ki . . .[82]	*bar żamāyir-i zākīya-yi fużalā-yi ᶜālam va khavāṭir-i ṣāfiya-yi ᶜuqalā-yi banī-ādam chihra-yi shāhid-i īn maᶜnī dar tutuq-i ikhtifā pūshīda nakhwāhad būd ki . . .*[83]

Junabadi again conforms to the model established by his predecessors by stating that he spent his life engaged in the study of history.[84] Like Siyaqi Nizam, he depicts himself as being in the company of both good and bad people, describing how at times he was the "target of the arrows of the jeers of boastful, envious people".[85] However, it occurred to him to write his history because those who wrote in the past did not write everything and that he wished to discuss the holy events of the Safavid kings.[86]

Junabadi does not specify a key event which occurred as he pursued his historical work, such as a change of dynasty or a new patron. He does, however, discuss the hardships in his life, in a passage which again imitates *Ḥabīb al-siyar:*

Ḥabīb al-siyar	*Raużat al-ṣafaviyya*
va chūn chand māh auqāt-i tīra bidīn vatīra guẕarān namūd inkishāf-i jamāl-i maṭlūb bi-hīch vajh rūy nanamūd nāgāh āftāb-i ᶜināyat-i ilāhī az ufuq-i saᶜādat-i nāmutanāhī ṭāliᶜ gasht . . .[87]	*al-qiṣṣa ᶜumrī auqāt-i tīra bidīn vatīra guẕarān būd ki nāgāh az surūsh-i ghaib bi-gūsh-i hūsham rasīd ki . . .*[88]

Junabadi discusses his experience and qualifications in writing this work, or in this case his lack of qualifications, and states that even though he was in the company of people versed in the two arts of meaning (*maᶜānī*) and speech (*sukhan*), he never considered himself talented enough to write anything.[89]

Junabadi does not discuss autobiography, except as it concerns his history writing, nor does he mention a particular patron or elaborate on how he intended to divide his work.[90]

CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown that by the time Shah ᶜAbbas took the throne, prefaces to Safavid chronicles adhered to a certain structure and content. The narrative from the period prior to Shah ᶜAbbas which set this standard and served as a model for many of the historians who wrote during Shah ᶜAbbas's reign, was Khwandamir's *Ḥabīb al-siyar*. Khwandamir based his work on his grandfather's *Raużat al-ṣafā*, which in turn has its roots in earlier works such as Samarqandi's *Maṭlaᶜ-i Saᶜdain*. In general, the conventional introductions contain the same basic elements, although they do not always follow the same sequence. A work deviates within the paradigm when the author was unable to provide the standard, accepted information as established in whatever model he chose to follow. For example, Natanzi had not written any histories prior to *Naqāvat al-āṣār*, and thus substituted his five poetical works for Khwandamir's five historical works. He showed more familiarity with poetry than history and therefore named epic poems as works which most inspired him. Siyaqi Nizam, whose life vocation was accounting, could not claim to have spent his youth studying history and other literary arts, so he substitutes for that information, in the same structural position, an explanation of how he had to serve the Afsharid amirs of Kuh Giluya.

Now that the conventional elements of the Safavid prefaces have been outlined, we are in a much better position to know not only why the introductions contain the information they do, but also which sections are unique and which sections are conventional. The Safavid prefaces constitute an important part of the historical work as a whole. Instead of dismissing them as merely highly stylised literary pieces, or simply extracting biographical information from them, we may derive greater benefits by reading the dibachas historiographically in light of the model they conform to and by placing them in their proper historical context.

NOTES

1. Historians also deviated from the conventional framework, or occasionally composed an entirely unique introduction, but they usually did this for specific reasons. This present study will not include a discussion of two works which do not follow the conventional pattern: the anonymous *Tārīkh-i Qizilbāshān* and Jalāl al-Dīn Munajjim Yazdī's *Tārīkh-i ᶜAbbāsī*.
2. Khwāndamīr, *Tārīkh-i ḥabīb al-siyar*, ed. J. Humā'ī, 4 vols ([Tehran] 1333/1954); Mīr Khwānd, *Tārīkh-i raużat al-ṣafā*, ed. ᶜA. Parvīz, 7 vols ([Tehran] 1338/1959). Note: all references are to vol. I of each chronicle.

3. Qāzī Aḥmad Qummī, *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, ed. I. Ishrāqī, 2 vols (Tehran, 1363/1984) (all references are to vol. I); Maḥmūd ibn Hidāyat-Allāh Āfushta'ī Naṭanzī, *Naqāvat al-āṣār fī ẕikr al-akhyār*, ed. I. Ishrāqī (Tehran 1350/1971); Mīrzā Beg Ḥasanī Junābadī, *Raużat al-ṣafaviyya*, British Library, ms. Or. 3388.
4. Safavid historical writing is actually a synthesis of two historiographical traditions: an eastern Timurid and western Aq Qoyunlu tradition. John E. Woods has established the source affiliation for portions of several Safavid narrative sources, and his research indicates that a number of Safavid historians relied on both Timurid and Aq Qoyunlu narratives. For instance, Khwandamir utilises at least two Timurid chronicles, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū's *Majmaᶜ al-tavārīkh* and ᶜAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī's *Maṭlaᶜ-i Saᶜdain va majmaᶜ-i baḥrain* for the period until 875/1470. Hasan Beg Rumlu uses both *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, itself a continuation of the Timurid tradition, and Faẓl-Allāh Khunjī-Iṣfahānī's *Tārīkh-i ᶜālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, an Aq Qoyunlu chronicle, in his *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*. See John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu* (Minneapolis and Chicago 1976, 2nd ed. forthcoming), pp. 20-9. Martin B. Dickson makes a similar argument about Safavid art being a synthesis of these same two traditions. See Martin B. Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols (Cambridge, Mass. 1981), pp. 15-48.
5. Although a study of the origins of the dibacha falls beyond the scope of this paper, it is important to point out that this particular tradition goes back at least to the time of Ibn Funduq (499–565/1106–70). See Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-i Baihaq*, ed. A. Bahmanyār (Tehran 1317/1938).
6. The seventh volume of this work was written not by Mir Khwand but by Khwandamir, who continues the narrative to 929/1523. All references are to vol. 1.
7. Mir Khwand does not extensively praise ᶜAli or the other Imams in the opening tributes to God and Muhammad, even though he traced his descent to Zaid ibn Imam Zain al-ᶜAbidin. It was his grandson, Khwandamir, who gave the introduction to his own continuation a decidedly Shiᶜi tone.
8. See, for instance, the dibachas in ᶜAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, *Maṭlaᶜ-i Saᶜdain*, ed. ᶜA. Navā'ī (Tehran 1353–/1974–) and *Tārīkh-i Baihaq*.
9. Mīr Khwānd, p. 4.
10. *Raużat al-ṣafā fī sīrat al-anbiyā' va al-mulūk al-khulafā*, Mīr Khwānd, pp. 4-8.
11. Ibid., pp. 9-18. There is at least one precedent for the type of information contained in this particular section, see Ibn Funduq's *Tārīkh-i Baihaq*, pp. 7-17.
12. See Ibn Funduq, pp. 19-20.
13. See H. Beveridge and J.T.P. De Bruijn, "Khwāndamīr", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², IV, pp. 1020-2.
14. Mīr Khwānd, p. 3; Khwāndamīr, p. 2.
15. Mīr Khwānd, p. 15, on the other hand, made negative statements about the Shiᶜa in his list of qualifications necessary for a historian, stating that a historian must first be of a pure sect (*pāk maẕhab*) and not belong to a bad sect (*bad maẕhabān*) such as the Shiᶜa or the Khariji.
16. *va paivasta bi-muṭāla ᶜa-yi kutub-i tārīkh va mumāraṣat-i [sic. i.e. mumārasa] ṣanᶜat-i inshā' ishtighāl va iᶜtinā' mīnamūd;* Khwāndamīr, p. 4.
17. These were (i) *Khulāṣat al-akhbār va akhbār al-akhyār*, (ii) *Muntakhab-i tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf* (this work has not survived), (iii) *Makārim al-akhlāq*, (iv) *Maᵓāṣir al-mulūk*, and (v) *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*; Khwāndamīr, p. 4.
18. "In such manner, for a time this gloomy condition was prevailing when suddenly the breeze of divine favour stirred..."; Mīr Khwānd, p. 5.
19. "Several difficult and dark months passed in such manner; the unveiling of the beauty of the beloved one did not occur at all. Suddenly the sun of divine favour arose from the horizon of infinite fortune." Khwāndamīr, p. 6.

20. "And when I was honoured with the gift of kissing his threshold, verily I saw a spirit fashioned as a man and I found an angel in human form whose excellent essence was distinguished in all disciplines of knowledge above the learned people of the time." Mīr Khwānd, p. 6.
21. "And when divine favour led that one secluded in the corner of obscurity to his threshold and he was honoured by attaining his holy presence, he saw a spirit fashioned as a man and he found an angel in human form. His mind, adept at unfolding mysteries, was conversant in all disciplines of knowledge." Khwāndamīr, p. 8.
22. For biographical information on Qazi Ahmad, see Ehsan Echraqi, Kholāsat al-Tawārikh de Qāzi Ahmad connu sous le nom de Mir Monshi, *Studia Iranica* 4 (1975), 73-89, and Qāzī Aḥmad, *Gulistān-i hunar,* trans. by V. Minorsky as *Calligraphers and Painters* (Washington 1959), pp. 1-17.
23. For example, "The story of Qadī Sharaf al-Dīn's life is recorded in detail in volume IV of the *Khulasat al-tavarikh."* Qāzī Aḥmad, *Calligraphers and Painters,* p. 74.
24. In fact, Qazi Ahmad's favoured source for the rise of the dynasty is Amir Mahmud's continuation of his father's *Ḥabīb al-siyar,* so his introduction possibly also imitated the introduction to that work.
25. "Qāżī Aḥmad ibn Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusain al-Ḥusainī, known as Mīr Munshī al-Qummī." Qāżī Aḥmad, p. 2. Assuming that he also states his name in the general introduction, this may indicate that individual volumes of a world history were meant to be read separately. Or, perhaps, the final volume which was the contemporary "Safavid" volume, was the most popular, intended for separate circulation.
26. Qāżī Aḥmad, pp. 2-3.
27. Ibid., p. 3. These individuals' names are listed in the same form that Qazi Ahmad provides them; Amir Mahmud was actually the son of Khwandamir.
28. Ibid., p. 3.
29. Ibid., p. 5.
30. Ibid., p. 5.
31. Ibid., p. 6.
32. Ibid., p. 7.
33. Ibid., p. 7. This genealogy showing descent from the seventh Imam is of course a later fabrication. For a complete discussion on this issue see for example Aḥmad Kasravī, *Shaikh Ṣafī va tabārash* (Tehran 2535/1976).
34. See, for example, Hans R. Roemer in *Cambridge History of Iran,* VI (Cambridge 1986), pp. 264-5.
35. See Heribert Horst, *Tīmūr und Ḫōǧā ʿAlī* (Wiesbaden 1958), for an extensive discussion of Timur's alleged meeting with one of the leaders of the Safavid order, Khwaja ʿAli.
36. Qazi Ahmad was not the only historian to uphold *Maṭlaʿ-i Saʿdain,* as an ideal work. Iskandar Beg also praises this chronicle at the end of Book One, Discourse Twelve of *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī:* "Indeed, when I consider that my subject is the history of the Safavid dynasty of Shāh ʿAbbās the Great, I think my work might not unjustly be compared to the Matlaʿ al-Saʿdayn or the Zafar-nāma." Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī,* ed. Ī. Afshār, 2nd ed., 2 vols (Tehran 1350/1971), p. 373; trans. Roger Savory (Boulder, Colorado 1978), p. 544. Note: all references to *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* will give the page number of the Persian edition followed by the page number of Savory's translation in parentheses – i.e., "Iskandar Beg, p. 373 (544)." All modifications to Savory's translation will be indicated by brackets. All references are to vol. I of the original and vol. I of the English translation.

37. Siyāqī Niẓam, ed. C. Adle, *Siyāqi Neẓām – Fotuḥāt-e Homāyun. "les Victoires augustes", 1007/1598.* Thèse du 3ᵉ cycle, 2 vols (Paris 1976). References are to vol. I.
38. His full name is Shaikh Abu'l-Qasim b. Abu Hamid b. Nasr al-Bayan Ansari Kazaruni. Siyāqī Niẓām, p. 131.
39. Siyāqī Niẓām, p. 143.
40. "The best form in which those secluded in the cloister of holiness could preface *an inscribed book, those drawn near witness it* (Koran 83:20-21), and the best word which the intimates of the circles of love write in the index of *indeed the book of the righteous is in ʿIlliyun* (Koran 83:18), is praise of that self-existent One." Qāżī Aḥmad, p. 1.
41. "The most resplendent pearls which historians and authors of superb style could thread on strings of words are the praise and the eulogy of that eternal omnipotence, who..."; Siyāqī Niẓām, p. 320.
42. "In the mid-spring of youth and the mid-course of life, which are the best of times and the happiest of days, the listless mind and joyless heart were desirous of and revelling in studying historical works". Mīr Khwānd, p. 4.
43. "From the beginning of the age of discernment and discretion until this junction in his life – about forty seven or forty eight [years of age] – he constantly engaged in revising accounts of past times". Khwāndamīr, p. 4.
44. "In the prime of youth, which in truth may be regarded as the essence of life and existence, until the age of thirty years, the tree of my hopes remained barren in the drought of service and servitude to the Afshar amirs of Kuh Giluya". Siyāqī Niẓām, p. 330.
45. Ibid., pp. 330-1.
46. "Senior officer of the royal household". See *Tadhkirat al-mulūk,* trans. and ed. V. Minorsky (London 1943), p. 46, for a description of his duties.
47. Siyāqī Niẓām, p. 331. Allah Verdi Khan was also the first ghulam governor of a province.
48. Ibid., pp. 331-2.
49. Ibid., p. 332. Siyaqi Nizam actually accompanied Allah Verdi Khan on this conquest.
50. Ibid., p. 333. See G.S. Colin, *"ḥisāb al-ǧummal", Encyclopaedia of Islam²,* III, p. 468, and G. Krotkoff, *"abjad", Encyclopaedia Iranica,* I, pp. 221-2.
51. Siyāqī Niẓām, p. 333. Although he set this section off from the introduction, the information contained in it did not directly relate to the conquest of Khurasan and should be considered part of the author's tribute to Shah ʿAbbas.
52. Siyāqī Niẓām, p. 334.
53. *"Ṣāḥib-Qirān-i Aʿlā muravvaj-i mazhab-i ḥaqq-i aʿimma-i iṣnā ʿashar ast, va bi-ḥasab-i ittifāq—hamchunānki Ṣāḥib-Qirān-i ẓafar-nishān Amīr Tīmūr Kūragān mulāḥaẓa-yi sāʿāt nakarda shurūʿ dar umūr-i salṭanat, az safar va ḥażar va sāyir-i muhimmāt az khair va sharr, mīnamūd va chūn mulāḥaẓa mīnamūd dar sāʿat-i nīk vāqiʿ shuda būd—akṣar-i vaqāyiʿ-yi ayyām-i khilāfat-i rūz-afzūnash, az julūs bar masand-i salṭanat va nahżat-i humāyūn bi-aṭrāf-i mamālik bi-vāsaṭa-yi nisbat bā ḥażarāt-i aʿimma-i hudā, bī ānki raʿāyat-i īn muqaddima farmūda bāshad, az ʿadad-i davāzda bīrūn nīst."* Siyāqī Niẓām, p. 334.
54. Ibid., p. 334. Iskandar Beg Munshi also calls Shah ʿAbbas *Ṣāḥib-Qirān:* "It will not have escaped the notice of perspicacious persons that the title of sāḥeb-qerān (lord of the auspicious conjunction of planets) has, in the past, frequently been bestowed on princes by secretaries wishing to flatter their masters. In the case of Shāh ʿAbbās, however, it is verifiable by fact. From the time of his birth up to the present day, there has occurred the conjunction of celestial bodies, the prognostications of which corroborate events in the life of Shāh ʿAbbās." Iskandar Beg, pp. 1102-3 (519). A precedent exists for the practice of referring to post-Timur rulers as *Ṣāḥib-Qirān,*

namely in Abū Bakr Tihrānī's *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*. In this chronicle, Tihrani refers to the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan as *Ṣāḥib-Qirān*. The fact that the Safavid chroniclers did the same for Shah ᶜAbbas adds further support for the argument that Safavid historical writing in general is a continuation of the Eastern Iranian (Timurid) and Western Iranian (Ilkhanid/Aq Qoyunlu) schools. See Abū Bakr Tihrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*, ed. Necati Lugal and Faruk Sümer (Ankara 1962-4), p. 11.

55. See, for instance, Iskandar Beg, pp. 15-16 (27-8), Qāżī Aḥmad, p. 32, and the discussion in Horst.
56. R.D. McChesney, Four sources on Shah ᶜAbbās's building of Isfahan, *Muqarnas* 5 (1988), 103-34, (pp. 104-5).
57. Naṭanzī, p. 3.
58. "At times he speaks of prophets; at times he tells secrets of illustrious ones. He will relate to you about the greatest of beings (i.e., Muhammad); at times he will speak about the feats of kings." Khwāndamīr, p. 3.
59. "At times they recount tales of kings; at times they give account of messengers. At times they tell of the prophets rejecting the past, that were miracles in the eyes of the faithful." Naṭanzī, p. 4.
60. "From the beginning of the age of discretion and purity until he passed the final years of this beloved life, about forty seven or forty eight, he constantly engaged in verifying accounts of former times and investigating the supplementary accounts, and he was always busy and engaged in studying and applying himself to the art of composition." Khwāndamīr, p. 4.
61. "From the beginning of the age of adolescence until the end, when the years of life reached about sixty, he was always busy and engaged in reading and writing accounts of stories and fables and hearing traditions and narratives and relating tales and composing poems." Naṭanzī, p. 6.
62. These he listed as: (i) *Majāziyya*, (ii) *Ghāyat al-majāz*, (iii) *Ḥāṣil al-ḥayāt*, a collection of odes (*qaṣīda*) and fragments and other sorts of poetry in praise of God, Muhammad and the Messengers, (iv) *Iżṭirāriyya*, a poetric tribute to "the king of the world" (presumably Shah ᶜAbbas), and (v) *Barā'at al-qalam*. Unfortunately, it seems that none of these works is extant. See Naṭanzī, pp. 6-7.
63. Ibid., p. 7.
64. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
65. Ibid., p. 7.
66. Ibid., p. 8.
67. Ibid., pp. 8-9.
68. Ibid., p. 10.
69. This line appears in the poem praising historians. Naṭanzī, p. 10.
70. Ibid. p. 11. Natanzi was not, in fact, the first historian to discuss issues of verse and metre in a preface. In the Aq Qoyunlu chronicle *Tārīkh-i ᶜālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, the author, Fażl-Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī-Iṣfahānī, also discusses the originality of his verse and metre. Minorsky summarises Khunjī-Iṣfahānī's comments as follows: "the author [Khunjī-Iṣfahānī] has avoided poetical quotations, except for what has occurred to him in the process of writing... If it was necessary to refer to other people's poetry it has been done with proper acknowledgements... [Khunjī-Iṣfahānī] avoides monotony by using all the various forms and metres..." See Fażl-Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī-Iṣfahānī, *Tārīkh-i ᶜālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, ed. J.E. Woods, abr. Eng. trans. V. Minorsky, rev. and aug. J.E. Woods (London 1992), p. 12.
71. Iskandar Beg, p. 1 (2). It is interesting to note that Iskandar Beg's first vocation in the profession of accounting was the same as Siyaqi Nizam's.

72. Iskandar Beg, p. 2 (2).
73. Ibid., p. 2 (3).
74. Ibid., p. 2 (3).
75. Ibid., p. 2 (3).
76. Ibid., p. 3 (4).
77. If Natanzi was indeed employed at the court, then Iskandar Beg may have been acquainted with him.
78. Iskandar Beg, p. 3 (4). Iskandar Beg may also have written this statement in response to Khunjī-Iṣfahānī, as his *Tārīkh-i ᶜālam-ārā-yi ᶜAbbāsī* is certainly named with Khunjī-Iṣfahānī's *Tārīkh-i ᶜālam-ārā-yi Amīnī* in mind. See Woods' discussion in *Tārīkh-i ᶜālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, p. xi.
79. Iskandar Beg, p. 4 (5).
80. Ibid., p. 4 (5).
81. McChesney has discovered two dates given by Junabadi for writing: 1023 (fol. 3a), and 1028 (fol. 284b). Junabadi also mentions the dates 1030, 1031 and 1032 (fols 373b and 37a-b). R.D. McChesney, personal communication, 20 November 1992.
82. "It will not be concealed from the eyes of the masters of the art of composition and from the minds of observers of subtle disposition...", Khwāndamīr, p. 2.
83. "It will not be concealed from the pure hearts of the learned ones of the world and the clear minds of the wise ones among mankind...", Junābadī, fol. 1b.
84. Ibid., fol. 1b.
85. Ibid., fol. 1b.
86. Ibid., fols 1b-2a.
87. "Several difficult and dark months passed in such a manner; the unveiling of the beauty of the beloved one did not occur at all. Suddenly the sun of divine favour arose from the horizon of infinite fortune." Khwāndamīr, p. 6.
88. "Consequently a difficult and dark period passed when suddenly, from the hidden angel I heard that...", Junābadī, fol. 2b.
89. Ibid., fol. 1b.
90. Junabadi did, however, place information about his sources in a section at the end of his chronicle, ibid., fol. 387a.

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The Early Years of Shah Ismaʿil in the *Afżal al-tavārīkh* and Elsewhere

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In a quite recent article Professor Aubin has dealt with the advent of the Safavids, including the early life of Ismaʿil, with his customary succinctness and authority.[1] The present study concentrates on a point in the life of the young Ismaʿil to which Aubin has drawn attention and suggests that the evidence could be interpreted differently, but its purpose is more historiographical than purely historical. The Persian chronicles written under the Safavids are only one of the sources for early Safavid history and they need to be supplemented and corrected on the basis of documentary and other material from elsewhere. The Safavid historical tradition nevertheless remains of great importance for the study of the rise of the Safavids and a task that still remains largely to be undertaken is its critical evaluation, including the detailed study of the sources and biases of the individual chronicles.[2] It is hoped that an examination of passages in some of the accounts of Ismaʿil's early life concerned with his rather obscure elder brother Ibrahim will at least help to give prominence to the historiographical difficulties of the period, as it is represented in the Persian narrative sources.

A version of the episodes of Ismaʿil's life which provide the focus for this examination was published by Denison Ross a century ago.[3] Ross's article made available the account of Ismaʿil's early life contained in an anonymous Life of Ismaʿil. This work, the title of which is now accepted to be the *Jahāngushā-yi khāqān*, was thought by Ross to date from quite early in the reign of Tahmasb, which made it appear to be one of the earliest narrative sources on Ismaʿil's life. For a long time a dating in the reign of Tahmasb was almost universally accepted and the work appears as a major source in most serious Western studies concerned in one way or another with the period of Ismaʿil. Within the last few years, an edition has finally appeared,[4] and in addition two articles examining in different

ways the question of the work's date, by Koishi Haneda and by the present writer.[5] In both articles a 17th-century date of composition is suggested. The latter assembles evidence indicating that the work is by a certain Bījan, otherwise known as the author of a life of the 17th-century Georgian commander Rustam Khan, and that the date of composition is as late as the 1680s.

It is not surprising that the story related in Ross's article should have proved successful. After the violent death of his brother ᶜAli the child Ismaᶜil was first hunted fugitive, then refugee and finally leader of a revolutionary movement in its exciting early stages. Even now there are few similar accounts and the tale is told quite simply and, if at some points in a fabulous manner, with a relative abundance of seductive circumstantial detail. It can now, however, be seen that parts of Bijan's version of these events is taken with little substantial alteration from the earlier one given by Hasan Rumlu,[6] that there is some material from the even earlier Khwandamir,[7] while most of the rest derives from a late source with affinities to the untrustworthy mid-17th-century lives of Ismaᶜil written in popular style, of which two have now been published.[8] No source earlier than Rumlu appears to be known that gives any notably extended treatment of these episodes. There exists, however, a later one presenting a version that is parallel at many places to Rumlu's, and yet has most interesting divergences. This is the *Afżal al-tavārīkh* of Fazli Isfahani.[9]

Fazli's history, though it remains in manuscript, has been exploited by a number of modern scholars.[10] The author attained quite a high position in the Safavid bureaucracy but no trace of him appears yet to have been found outside his history. He himself, on the other hand, tells us a considerable amount.[11] He was a member of the Khuzani family of Isfahan, a descendant of an uncle of the famous Yar Ahmad Khuzani, Najm-i Sani, who had been Ismaᶜil's *vakīl*. His great-grandfather, ᶜAbd al-Ghani, was married to a sister of Najm-i Sani and was with the army he led across the Oxus which came to disaster at Ghujduvān in 1512. Like Najm-i Sani, ᶜAbd al-Ghani had been captured by the Uzbeks and executed.[12] Fazli's grandfather and his father, Zain al-ᶜAbidin, were both Safavid bureaucrats. The latter had at one stage had a position in the administration of Gilan.[13] He may later have resided in northern Azarbaijan, for Fazli tells us more than once that he himself was born and brought up among the Turks of Azarbaijan, more particularly Ganja.[14] In 1026 (early in 1617) Shah ᶜAbbas, while wintering in the region, appointed Fazli vizier to the Qizilbash amir Paikar Khan Igrimī Dūrt Qajar, who was governor of "Bardaᶜ and Arran".[15] Not long afterwards, seemingly in winter 1029-30/1619-20, Paikar Khan was made governor of Kakhetian Georgia and Fazli served him as vizier of that province.[16] Simultaneously he also had some responsibility for the crown lands

(*khāliṣa*) of Azarbaijan.[17] These latter duties included the supervision of the collection of the tax on flocks, for he tells us that in 1030/1621, in the course of the collection of the *chūbānbegī*, he used to visit the district of Mishkin, where, in response to the miraculous cure of a sick man, he repaired the buildings at the hot springs of a place called Mū'il.[18] In 1035/1626 he was vizier of Kirman, where Tahmasb-quli Khan Tarkhan Turkman was governor.[19] The latest evidence comes from the autograph colophon of the British Library manuscript of the second surviving part of the *Afżal al-tavārīkh*, which is dated 1049/1639, and, rather unexpectedly, gives the place of copying as a castle – the name remains to be deciphered – in the Deccan. There is an allusion to the possibility of return to Iran in the damaged lower part of the colophon. When and why Fazli went to India is not known. He does use several Indo-Persian sources but his history was begun in Iran and certainly gives the impression of being aimed at a Safavid audience. He may have died in India: the known manuscripts of his work both have an Indian connection and it seems to have been unknown to later chroniclers of Persia.[20]

Fazli tells us in his introduction that his activity as a historian began at the time he became Paikar Khan's vizier. He first conceived the idea of writing a year-by-year account of the reign of ᶜAbbas and thus "causing headaches to scribe and binder".[21] This was written and met the approval of qualified judges. He next determined to continue by writing an account of the Safavid family from the time they left Arabia (*mulk-i ᶜArabistān*) up to the accession of ᶜAbbas. At this point a list of sources is provided and then the scheme of the *Afżal al-tavārīkh* itself is outlined.[22] Here Shah Safi is named as the reigning monarch. The work was planned to be in three volumes. The first is described as covering the early history of the Safavids and the life of Ismaᶜil. This corresponds to the contents of the Eton manuscript. In the second volume the reigns of Tahmasb, Ismaᶜil II and Muhammad Khudabanda are said to be dealt with, each in a separate *daftar*, while volume III covered the reign of ᶜAbbas from 995 to his death in 1038/1629. Fazli then planned to spend the rest of his life writing on the reign of Safi. A similar description of the outstanding portions of the *Afżal al-tavārīkh* appears at the end of the first volume, but it is there implied that ᶜAbbas is still alive.[23]

As we have it, therefore, the work includes passages initially written at different periods which the author has not managed to reconcile fully. References to different dates as the present in various places also indicate a long period of composition. The British Library ms., written by the author in 1639 as mentioned, ends with the death of Tahmasb and thus corresponds only to the first daftar of the second volume of the *Afżal al-tavārīkh*, according to the scheme in the introduction to volume I. It also has signs at the end that it was not quite finished. Presumably Fazli to

some extent reworked his material as he went along. Evidently his account of the reign of ᶜAbbas once existed in some form. Whether he succeeded in dealing with those of Ismaᶜil II and Muhammad Khudabanda remains uncertain. Another of his own works which Fazli mentions as written is a *tazkira* of Qizilbash poets, entitled *Tazkirat al-ṣafā*, but it has not been discovered.[24]

More than once Fazli makes deprecating remarks about his educational attainments, seeming to connect his shortcomings in this respect with his upbringing among the Azarbaijani Turks.[25] Nevertheless, it is evident that he was widely read, and in addition experienced, curious and observant. He had been impressed by the skill of the Kurds in battle and even "tasted the blows of their swords" on more than one occasion.[26] He had paced out the diameter of the tomb of Öljeitü at Sultaniyya and records it as 152 paces.[27] He had seen the castle of Gulkhandān near Firuzkuh.[28] While vizier of Kakhetia, failing to find an account of Georgian history, he had collected material on the subject himself.[29] At one point he even quotes the opinion of a priest, who may be presumed to have been a Georgian.[30] In addition to ordinary narrative sources, Fazli took an interest in documents and quotes a number verbatim.[31] He also pays attention to bureacratic minutiae, for instance the usage of seals, and his information about such matters often does not seem to be found in the main literary sources.[32]

One of Fazli's sources of information that needs to be particularly noted was the shrine of Safi al-Din at Ardabil and the people there. He tells us that during the time he was vizier of Kakhetia and also involved with the khalisa of Azarbaijan he in fact spent most of his time at Ardabil. At the shrine he had often seen a shirt which was said to have belonged to Junaid's father Khwaja ᶜAli.[33] He had read and quotes the scroll in the treasury of the shrine which recorded the supposed gift of a large number of villages made to Khwaja ᶜAli by Timur on his return from Rum.[34] The khalifas and knowledgeable people (*arbāb-i khibrat*) at the shrine supplied him with further information on this mythical episode. At various points he gives details on the organisation of the shrine in his own time.[35] Occasional stories credited to the oral tradition of the sufis may have been collected at Ardabil. At the present day the buildings, inscriptions and surviving documents of the Ardabil shrine are rightly regarded as a major source for Safavid history. In the Safavid period itself the shrine was also an important centre of the now dead Safavid sufi cult. In addition, the town was the residence of many members of the cadet branches of the Safavid family, whose interests did not always wholly coincide with those of the ruling dynasty and the court. Variant information on the Safavid past was more likely to be found there than anywhere else in Iran, and although the influence of an 'Ardabil tradition'

can occasionally be detected in other narrative sources it is nowhere as conspicuous as in the *Afżal al-tavārīkh*.

In his introduction, Fazli tells us that from childhood he had been an avid reader of histories and much of his chronicle is in fact based on existing written works. He does not quote sources systematically, but he refers to them and notes differing versions of events more often than most Persian chroniclers. He gives a list of literary sources at the beginning of volume I.[36] Of those particularly relevant to the rise of the Safavids and the early years of Ismaᶜil, two are important standard works: the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* of Khwandamir and the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* of Hasan Rumlu. There is also the verse *Shāh-nāma-yi Ismāᶜīl* of Mirza Qasim Junabadi,[37] which provided, as Fazli tells us, many of the verses he quotes, as well as the *Tārīkh-i khuld-ārā* of Iskandar Munshi, which would seem to be an alternative title of an early version of the well-known *Tārīkh-i ᶜālam-ārā-yi ᶜAbbāsī*. A number of works absent from the list are quoted later, among them the *Lubb al-tavārīkh* of Yahya Qazvini and the *Nusakh-i jahān-ārā* of Ahmad Ghaffari, important for the early Safavids in spite of their brevity.[38] Of particular interest in the present context is a work referred to a number of times, the original of which has not yet appeared. There is some confusion in what Fazli says about it. The first item on his list of sources is initially given the name *Maqāmāt va maqālāt*. It is stated to have been written by Shaikh Safi al-Din and to describe his miracles and life, his genealogy and ancestry as well as "the events of the years" up to his death in A.H. 735. He himself wrote it in Persian and Turkish in a book (*safīna*) which was known as the *Qarā majmūᶜa*, or *Black compendium*, and was called the *Siyar-i ṣūfiyya*, or *Sufi ways*.[39] This was not the well-known 14th-century biography of the Shaikh by Ibn Bazzaz, the *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā*,[40] for that is correctly described next. In a passage in his section on Safi al-Din's life Fazli gives as his source the *Maqāmāt* (*sic*) of Shaikh Safi al-Din, which he here tells us was written by the Shaikh in Turkish and translated into Persian by a Chilibī Beg "Fārigh" Shirazi during the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 1556-1605) and at the command of Mirza ᶜAziz Koka, who at the time was Governor of Gujarat.[41] Whatever the precise nature or number of the work or works supposedly written by Safi al-Din which were at Fazli's disposal, to judge by the contents of his account of Safi al-Din, it or they included a highly extravagant account of the origins of the Safavid family and a number of miraculous stories about Safi al-Din, of which some at least are designed to represent him as a Shiᶜi. This material is presumably of 16th-century origin.

What makes it necessary here to dwell to this extent on the question of the *Maqāmāt va maqālāt* is the alternative title given at the end of the first description above, *Siyar-i ṣūfiyya*, for when a work by this title is referred

to or quoted elsewhere in the *Afżal al-tavārīkh* it is in most cases clear that it is different from the *Maqāmāt,* that it was not supposed to have been written by Safi al-Din and that it was concerned with his descendants as well as, or perhaps even rather than, himself. For instance, in his discussion of the Safavid genealogy, Fazli lists first among his sources the *Maqālāt va maqāmāt* (*sic*) of Safi al-Din, the *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā,* and the *Siyar-i ṣūfiyya,* in that order and then several other works. Later its version of the death of Junaid is referred to.[42] The variants *Siyar-i ḥālāt-i ṣūfiyya* and *Siyar-i ḥālāt* presumably refer to the same work.[43]

Whatever the reasons for the seeming confusion, it is justifiable to accept that there was a separate composition called the *Siyar-i ṣūfiyya.* Fazli rarely gives precise information on its contents. Most of his allusions to it occur in the period before the conquest of Tabriz, but there is one from as late as 916/1510.[44] It is possible that it covered the whole of Ismaᶜil's life. Fazli respected the work: he preferred to use the name it gave for Ismaᶜil's mother, ᶜAliyya Begum, rather than Khwandamir's Ḥalīma Begī Agha, or Rumlu's ᶜAlamshah Begum.[45] By elimination it would seem that where Fazli's account of Ismaᶜil diverges from the other sources he states that he used, there is a good chance that he is using the *Siyar-i ṣūfiyya.* It does not seem likely that in the form he had it it was very early or reliable. The route quoted from it (beside other versions) for Ismaᶜil's route from Lahijan to Astara, that is along the Caspian coast, is clearly wrong, on the early and independent evidence of Lahiji in particular.[46] If it is the source of Fazli's description of Ismaᶜil's marriage to the daughter of Murad Aq Qoyunlu, and his statement that she was Shah Tahmasb's mother, it is certainly unreliable at times.[47] In a number of other cases relationships and names are given wrongly.[48] From its title, and to some extent Fazli's variants, it would seem that the *Siyar-i ṣūfiyya* tended to emphasise the sufi and Qizilbash aspects of Ismaᶜil's life, paying particular attention to the shrine and city of Ardabil, where it may well have originated, and at the beginning at least, to recording, whether reliably or not, the claims of individuals and groups to have entered Safavid service or worked on the dynasty's behalf at an early date. The only sources Fazli explicitly refers to for the early life of Ismaᶜil, up to his departure from Ardabil in 1500, are the *Ḥabīb al-siyar,* the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh,* Iskandar Munshi,[49] the *Siyar-i ṣūfiyya* and for two stories the oral tradition of the sufis.[50]

The most striking difference between the *Afżal al-tavārīkh*'s account of the early years of Ismaᶜil and all other versions so far known is the role it

gives to Ismaᶜil's full brother Ibrahim, who stood in age between Ismaᶜil and the eldest brother ᶜAli. Aubin has not failed to note the interest of Fazli's information about Ibrahim and that the historical record reveals that his existence was somehow embarrassing.[51] A number of sources, of which Khwandamir is one of the most significant,[52] agree that Ibrahim accompanied Ismaᶜil to Gilan. The question obviously arises: why was Ismaᶜil, rather than Ibrahim, ᶜAli's successor? The Safavid accounts, with the benefit of hindsight, mainly deal with this in supernatural terms: ᶜAli's appointment of Ismaᶜil was guided by destiny. For those who find this kind of explanation unsatisfactory the problem remains.

What is probably the earliest reference to Ibrahim confirms strikingly that he should have outranked Ismaᶜil. It is in the chronicle *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Maḥmūdshāhiyya* of Nimdihi, written in Gujarat. This work contains a quite detailed account of the death in battle of Ismaᶜil's father Haidar, which ends by stating that of Haidar's eleven sons, two were by his Aq Qoyunlu wife. Their names are given as ᶜAli and Ibrahim.[53] It is not really surprising that Ismaᶜil did not exist for Nimdihi, or his informants, for it is generally accepted that at the time of his father's death he was almost exactly a year old.[54] The *Afżal al-tavārīkh,* the only source for Ibrahim's age, makes him three years older.

An attempt to deal with Ibrahim in ideological terms is found in the *Ḥabīb al-siyar,* which states that some months after arriving in Gilan Ibrahim abandoned the twelve-gored *tāj* or cap of Sultan Haidar, the symbol of Safavid leadership and command (*imāmat va sarvarī*) and in the Aq Qoyunlu manner adopted the contrasting Turkman *tāqiyya* and returned to Ardabil.[55] The implication is that Ibrahim had abandoned the true cause. However, it is difficult to see how this judgement could have been reached without the benefit of hindsight. There was nothing fundamentally wrong with co-operating with the Aq Qoyunlu, who were after all relations. Haidar and Sultan ᶜAli had done so on occasion, and the association was one which had been of crucial importance to the Safavid family. It is true that after the deaths of Haidar and Sultan ᶜAli their relatives and supporters must have had thoughts of vengeance. Ibrahim is said to have returned to Ardabil during the reign of Rustam, who had been responsible for his brother's death, but accommodations in such circumstances are common enough in real political life. And who at this moment was, as it were, entitled to set the party line? Though it may be accepted that ideas of a Qizilbash rising already existed, at the time it would have been impossible to predict if and when it might occur, precisely what form it would take, and who would be its leader. The accounts of its actual occurrence under Ismaᶜil make it plain enough that it developed in a haphazard way and not on the basis of any preconceived plan.[56] That Ibrahim was an embarrassment is confirmed by the fact, to be

discussed later, that in the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* he has been completely edited out.

The *Afżal al-tavārīkh*'s account of the Safavids from the time of Shaikh Haidar to Ismaᶜil's departure from Gilan in 905/1499 is given as a number of passages inserted at the appropriate points in a history of the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty. This arrangement was no doubt suggested by the similar one used by Khwandamir and, though the similarity is less marked, the annalistic structure of Rumlu's *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*. Fazli makes use of the known sources noted above. The principal intention in what follows is not to analyse the details of his dependence on what is known but to set forth the important features of his treatment of Ibrahim, for which there are no known parallels, but which may originate in the *Siyar-i ṣūfiyya*.

Like a number of the other sources the *Afżal al-tavārīkh* relates that, some time after their father Haidar's death in 893/1488, the three sons born to him by the daughter of Uzun Hasan Aq Qoyunlu, that is Sultan ᶜAli, Ibrahim and Ismaᶜil, were sent by Yaᶜqub Aq Qoyunlu with their mother to be imprisoned in the castle of Istakhr in Fars.[57] For the freeing of the boys by Rustam Aq Qoyunlu in 898/1493, and for the participation of the eldest, Sultan ᶜAli, with Safavid forces in campaigns against Rustam's ousted cousin and rival, Baysunqur, Fazli mentions Khwandamir's *Ḥabīb al-siyar* as a source,[58] though his version diverges in giving Sultan ᶜAli the leading role in the military operations and he does provide some additional details, such as the date.

There is an almost unanimous consensus that, at about this stage, ᶜAli took care to see that the succession to the leadership of the Safavid organisation was transferred. This suggests that his own death was in some way foreknown and most of the sources have no hesitation in saying so. Normally of course it is Ismaᶜil who is designated successor by his brother. It is here the *Afżal al-tavārīkh* differs significantly. The succession is divided between Ismaᶜil and Ibrahim. Curiously, two separate accounts of this are given. The first is placed after the defeat and death of Baysunqur, when the young Safavids returned to Ardabil:

> He [Sultan ᶜAli] made his younger brother Ibrahim his deputy for the chain of mystical guidance, commanded him to transmit guidance and occupy the prayer carpet, and transferred matters of military action and kingship over the whole world which, by the grace of God became adorned with his [presumably Ismaᶜil's] noble existence, to Sultan Ismaᶜil Mirza, who was seven years old.[59]

Worried by the gathering of the Qizilbash followers of the Safavids at Ardabil, Rustam then summoned Sultan ᶜAli back to his court and was

trying to find a pretext to destroy him. Sultan ᶜAli was informed of this and at once fled with his following to Ardabil. The Aq Qoyunlu commanders Husain Beg ᶜAlikhani and the kingmaker Ayba Sultan were sent to pursue and kill him.[60] Having it seems reached Ardabil, Sultan ᶜAli again provides for the succession, in a similar manner:

> The Mirza [Sultan ᶜAli] too, when he heard of the coming of Husain Beg [ᶜAlikhani and Ayba Sultan], knew for certain that he would have to taste the draught of martyrdom from their hands and that the time had come nigh for the rising of the luminary of the fortune of Shah Ismaᶜil, into the castle-capturing, kingdom-conquering hand of which epitome of the Sultans of the horizons the hilt of the thunderbolt-powered sword of conquest and victory over the lands of Iran had been given. With his blessed hand he placed the twelve-gored Haidarian garment [the *tāj*] on the head of that fortunate brother [Ismaᶜil] and tied the thunderbolt-powered sword of Sultan Junaid at his waist.... and, making Sultan Ibrahim Mirza his heir in transmitting guidance and the ways of his noble-natured grandfather, which had come to him in regular succession, ordered the *khalīfas* of the retreat, the *pīras*, *ṭarīqchīs*, sayers of *ẕikr* and disciples to serve and obey his dervish-natured brother.[61]

Shortly afterwards, Sultan ᶜAli went out to oppose the Aq Qoyunlu forces and duly met his death.[62]

The division of the material and spiritual inheritance of a Shaikh must have happened quite frequently.[63] Sources that deal with such matters rarely say so openly, because they are normally interested in supporting one claim to the exclusion of others. However, it is open to considerable doubt whether Fazli's account does record, or even reflect, a real division of the Safavid succession. Elsewhere[64] he shows even more clearly that he was aware of a point that modern historians have also deduced, which is that after Junaid's adoption of the militant ideology there must have been a difference among the followers of the Safavid family between those at home with the original quietist sufism of Shaikh Safi al-Din, mainly the settled following in the neighbourhood of Ardabil, and the new disciples attracted by Junaid's policy, largely Turcoman, and drawn from a wider area. It has been suggested that Ibrahim represented the quietist party and Ismaᶜil the militants.[65] Fazli's version does rather lend itself to that interpretation, but whether it can be accepted is another matter. The circumstances were, in the Safavid case, unusual, but, ignoring the difficulties raised by the descriptions of Sultan ᶜAli's designation of a successor or successors as we actually have them, a

formal partition of the succession at this stage only makes sense if one assumes that the Safavid conquests were actually going to take place, which could not have been certainly known at the time. In the version of Fazli, Ibrahim is implied to be unsuitable to act as a militant leader because of his personal character rather rather than on ideological grounds. This is a rather more plausible explanation than the ideological one. Whether it is true cannot be checked. However, with children of such age, whose survival could not be counted upon, it would undoubtedly have been risky to select either of them definitely. Ismaʿil was now seven and Ibrahim ten. As if to make the point some sources do tell us that in Gilan, notorious of course for its unhealthy climate, Ismaʿil was seriously ill for a year and more.[66] Nor, if foreknowledge of the future is disallowed, is it easy to see whose interest it might have been in to settle the matter one way or the other at this stage.

After the death of Sultan ʿAli the *Afżal al-tavārīkh* describes how Ismaʿil and Ibrahim were hunted fugitives in Ardabil and how they escaped from the town. Few sources mention this exciting episode at all. Only two other versions at present appear to be known, the earliest is that of Hasan Rumlu, the other that of Bijan, which is taken from Rumlu.[67] In these accounts a very precise knowledge of local topography is displayed. For instance, at one point the boys take refuge in the house of Qazi Ahmad Kākulī, which we are told stood next to the shrine. Similarly, there is a relative profusion of minor characters. Qazi Ahmad is an example; he came from a family of judges which had been established in Ardabil since the 12th century.[68] To give a second example, but in this case one found in the *Afżal al-tavārīkh* alone, another such figure, Qazi ʿAbd al-Baqi Latifi, and his family, play their part in the protection and escape of the boys. The same features are conspicuous in the same three extensive versions in other episodes of the drama which take place in the neighbourhood of Ardabil, on Ismaʿil's journey to Gilan, his return and the next stages of his *khurūj*. They presumably indicate that people who knew Ardabil and the region had an important role in the original construction of these stories, and that local interests helped determine who was selected to take part and who was portrayed in a favourable or unfavourable light at this early stage in Shah Ismaʿil's story.

The journey to Gilan is told in a similar manner in the three sources, with relatively profuse local detail.[69] One passage in the *Afżal al-tavārīkh* is worth discussing, a story the author records that he had not found in any book, but which was well known among the sufis. When the boys were in the district of Tūl u Nāv, which is part of Khalkhal, they were protected by the local governor. Under pressure to hand them over, he was able to baffle the pursuit by having Ismaʿil (Ibrahim is not mentioned at this point) suspended in a basket and swearing an oath that he was not on his

land.[70] The story of the boy in the basket also appears in Bijan's *Jahāngushā-yi khāqān* and in the Anonymous Lives of Ismaʿil, but there the location is Gilan and the hero who protects Ismaʿil is Kārkiyā Mirza ʿAli.[71]

For Ismaʿil's stay in Hither Gilan, Gilan-i Biya-pish, under the protection of Karkiya Mirza ʿAli there is an early non-Safavid account in the local history of Gilan, the *Tārīkh-i khānī* of ʿAli b. Shams al-Din Lahiji.[72] This work was completed in 1513. Its author must have had first-hand knowledge of the episode and in parts it is clearly reliable. On the other hand, it was written when Ismaʿil's kingdom was firmly established and able to apply pressure upon the independent kingdoms of the Caspian coast. Its account of ʿAli's designation of Ismaʿil may be one of the earliest we have but it is of the general type that is fairly standard. It sees Ismaʿil as destined to revive the Shiʿi religion. There are in addition two casual references in the *Tārīkh-i khānī* to Ismaʿil's followers and even one of his half-brothers, Hasan, participating in the local wars.[73] These provide some corrective to the generally rather static Safavid accounts of Ismaʿil's stay in Gilan. Aubin has brought out the significance of the potential for conflict within the Safavid family and the rivalry to Ismaʿil shown by at least some of his brothers, his half-brothers that is.[74] For this period it can be added that Nimdihi, in Gujarat, was even informed that one of Haidar's sons had joined the Aq Qoyunlu prince Muhammadi Mirza at Tabriz in 904/1498-9.[75] Ismaʿil, it needs to be remembered, must have been one of the youngest of Haidar's sons; some of his half-brothers, though lacking the high lineage of the sons of Haidar by Uzun Hasan's daughter, may, like Hasan, have had the advantage at this stage of already being old enough to participate in military action and play an active role as a leader.

Lahiji makes no further explicit mention of Ibrahim after stating him to be the middle one of the three brothers. The *Afżal al-tavārīkh* explains his return to Ardabil as follows: the hunt for the boys was followed after their escape from Ardabil by further investigations and the persecution of those who had sheltered them. The female surgeon Iba,[76] the heroine of the escape, was discovered, tortured and executed, but without betraying anyone. Pressure was brought on others, in particular the boys' mother and their aunt Shah Pasha Begum, Haidar's sister and her husband. However Rustam then changed his policy. At Rustam's command Shah Pasha Begum sent presents from the shrine and other gifts to the two boys, with the news that Rustam was now friendly and suggested the boys should return to the shrine where their presence was needed by the sufis. Presents from Gilan were sent in return and forwarded by Shah Pasha Begum's husband to Rustam, together with letters. Confiscated lands were given back and the shrine was, as it were,

back in business. This news reached Lahijan with requests from the sufis at Ardabil that the boys should return. The Qizilbash amirs and Karkiya Mirza ᶜAli decided it was best to send Ibrahim back, assuming that is the role foreseen for him by Sultan ᶜAli. Once again his retiring nature and unsuitability as a conqueror are mentioned, thus justifiying Sultan ᶜAli's choice.[77] If Khwandamir is right Ibrahim only remained in Gilan for a few months. Rumlu too has an account of a quite rapid reconciliation between the Safavid party at Ardabil and Rustam Aq Qoyunlu.[78] However its emphasis is quite different from that of Fazli.

The next episode from the *Afżal al-tavārīkh* to call for consideration is the arrival at Lahijan in 902/1497 of the news of Rustam Aq Qoyunlu's death. Ismaᶜil sent to Karkiya Mirza ᶜAli and asked permission to come forth from Lahijan (*rukhṣat-i khurūj az Lāhījān*). The word *khurūj* in this context of course implies the initiation of a rising, like the one that later did occur, and we are told that permission was refused on the grounds of Ismaᶜil's youth (he was now about ten), the paucity of his forces and the number of his enemies.[79] A number of accounts portray Karkiya Mirza ᶜAli as reluctant to let Ismaᶜil depart for similar reasons, but the episode is normally placed close to Ismaᶜil's actual departure and the objections to it are rejected by Ismaᶜil. The *Afżal al-tavārīkh* itself has a second passage of this type in the usual position.[80] The complex construction of some of the accounts may be illustrated by the fact that a set of verses dissuading Ismaᶜil from departing and put in the mouth of Karkiya Mirza ᶜAli are used by Ḥasan Rumlu in the normal later position and have no effect,[81] while in the *Afżal al-tavārīkh* they are spoken at this earlier stage and Ismaᶜil heeds the message. Nevertheless, Fazli may have borrowed them directly from Rumlu, for in the original source for them, the *Shāh-nāma-yi Ismāᶜīl* of Qasimi, these verses are distributed in two separate speeches of the Governor of Gilan, that is Karkiya Mirza ᶜAli.[82]

To continue with the story of Ibrahim, in winter 1499-1500 Ismaᶜil after six and a half years in Gilan began to think of going to Ardabil himself. Through intermediaries he consulted Karkiya Mirza ᶜAli, who advised waiting until Nauruz of the year 905 (March 1500). At this point fate, we are told, steps in to speed Ismaᶜil's departure and Ibrahim is mentioned for the last time. He dies. The news arrives in Gilan with letters from Ismaᶜil's mother and Shah Pasha Begum asking him to come to Ardabil. With them are a number of khalifas and sufis who also desire him to return to take his place at the shrine of his ancestors. At this point Ismaᶜil has a dream of conquest which is interpreted by Najm al-Din Zargar. Permission is given for Ismaᶜil to leave, which he does.[83] Here we have a complex, even partly contradictory, account of the reasons for Ismaᶜil's departure from Gilan. In part it is due to his inspired knowledge of his destiny of conquest, but at the same time he is required to take his

brother's place at Ardabil, and the latter's death provides the justification for bringing forward his departure.

The *Afżal al-tavārīkh* has no more to say about Ibrahim. However another, and a very early, account of the rise of the Safavids, in the Turkish history of ᶜAshiqpashazada, without actually naming him also gives him a prominent place in the Safavid succession.[84] ᶜAshiqpashazada, by then a very old man, was writing in Istanbul in 908/1502-3; his account of the Safavids is an attempt to justify the Sultan Bayazid II's policy of exiling the Ardabili sufis, that is the followers of the Safavids living in his territories, to the Morea in Greece. This was at the time when, above all others, the Safavid movement in Turkey was thriving in response to the fresh news of Ismaᶜil's emergence and his initial victories. By his background ᶜAshiqpashazada was well qualified to deal with the subject. He was a sufi shaikh, and for many years had lived under Ottoman patronage in Istanbul, but he came from a family of shaikhs in central Anatolia and he would have been familiar with Turcoman heterodoxy. More than 50 years before he had been present at Konya when Junaid caused an ugly scene at the shrine of Sadr al-Din Qunavi and he had continued to follow the fortunes of the family. His latest information presumably came from the body of fact and rumour circulating about Ismaᶜil's rise among the Qizilbash and others in Ottoman territory. Comparable material can be found in the contemporary Venetian reports preserved in Marin Sanudo's diaries.[85] ᶜAshiqpashazada, it should be noted, did not see the Safavid succession as decided by designation: what determines who is leader is simply whom the following chooses to follow. His account of what happened after the death of Haidar is this:

> After that the people (*khalq*) followed a son of Haidar, who was called Khwaja ᶜAli. He attacked Shamāqī. The people of Shamāqī killed him too. His disciples (*müridler*) again followed one of his [Haidar's] sons. He too raised an army and went on Shamāqī. They killed him too. Then there appeared another son of Haidar, Ismaᶜil by name. The disciples followed him.[86]

The Safavid feud with the rulers of the principality of Shirvan, of which Shamakhi was the capital, was real enough; originating with the capture of Junaid in battle and his execution by one of the Shirvanshahs,[87] it was refuelled when Haidar fell fighting the forces of Shirvan. As we have seen, Khwaja ᶜAli (i.e. Sultan ᶜAli) did not die in an attack on Shamakhi and nor did any of his brothers. However, in the case of Sultan ᶜAli's latter days Shirvan did enter into the picture, for the young Baysunqur Aq Qoyunlu's mother was the daughter of the reigning

Shirvanshah, and when ousted by Rustam's supporters Baysunqur had taken refuge in Shirvan, where he received support for his attempts to regain his position. Although Sultan ᶜAli did not exactly lead his own army on Shamakhi, the campaigns against Baysunqur did bring him and his followers into conflict with the forces of Shirvan.[88] The story which ᶜAshiqpashazada relates may reflect the genuine memory of this situation, even if in other respects it is obviously a fiction inspired by the earlier Safavid conflicts with Shirvan as well as Ismaᶜil's recent success in taking vengeance. On the other hand there is no difficulty in accepting that the unnamed middle brother of ᶜAshiqpashazada is meant to be Ibrahim and his early death appears to be confirmed. For the discussion of the Safavid succession ᶜAshiqpashazada's presentation has the merit of portraying the sons of Haidar and Uzun Hasan's daughter as succeeding each other in the most natural way, that is in order of age, and without the operation of any kind of supernatural means.

Can we accept that Fazli's version, somewhat adjusted to take account of ᶜAshiqpashazada, allows us to perceive the true story of this stage of the Safavid succession and to assume that ᶜAli was followed by Ibrahim who was followed by Ismaᶜil? That ᶜAshiqpashazada's account is largely absurd should not obscure the fact that in the period after the death of Sultan ᶜAli the Qizilbash and their sympathisers would naturally have been interested in the identity of the current leader. The unnamed middle son of ᶜAshiqpashazada did in in fact exist in the shape of Ibrahim and if he had not existed he would not have needed to have been invented. As for Fazli's account, for all its manifest shortcomings, one can say it is richer and in some ways more realistic, without by that last implying that it is true in all details, than all or nearly all Safavid versions. Rumlu's is its only serious rival. It takes more into account: the situation of the shrine at Ardabil, with its financial as well as organisational implications; some aspects of the immediate political situation, that is of relations with Rustam Aq Qoyunlu, the influence of the females of the preceding generation with their close blood ties with the Aq Qoyunlu princes, which is entirely plausible in view of the youth of the boys; and of course it deals with the matter of Ibrahim in a less incomplete and logically unsatisfactory manner than any other source. If, and Aubin favours the possibility, Ibrahim remained alive after Ismaᶜil had become Shah, an entirely different kind of explanation will have to be found for Fazli's account of him. However, the evidence so far adduced is not strong.[89]

Consideration of the origin of these accounts may help towards an assessment of their value. Fazli and Hasan Rumlu's versions of Ismaᶜil's early years share striking common features that have not yet been found elsewhere. They must both have selected and organised their material of

course but both were basically compilers. Rumlu is much the earlier of the two, and his version does not show the confusion over the identity of individuals which occurs so frequently with Fazli. Ismaᶜil's actual escape from Ardabil is a another example of the way the two diverge. Rumlu records two variants.[90] Ibrahim is present in neither of course. In the first and most dramatic account, Rustam Beg Qaramanlu, one of the survivors of the battle with Ayba Sultan, galloped into Ardabil at dead of night and carried Ismaᶜil off on the back of his horse. Some people, however, Rumlu tells us, say that Rustam Beg was accompanied by 70 other Sufis who had also participated in the battle. According to Fazli's version, in which both Ismaᶜil and Ibrahim have to be dealt with, Iba, in whose house they had been sheltering, herself took them out of Ardabil to a nearby village where the two Judges already mentioned took charge of them and delivered them to their sufi following. Fazli made use of the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, but the many differences and the role he gives to Ibrahim in particular make it impossible to see his account here as directly deriving from Rumlu. It is also difficult to see what motive there might ever have been to completely invent such an elaborate account of Ibrahim as that of Fazli.

Ibrahim's complete absence from the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* is remarkable. He is mentioned half a dozen times in Khwandamir's *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, which Rumlu makes considerable use of, and Rumlu himself mentions by name no less than four more of Haidar's sons as being with Ismaᶜil later on his way to Gilan.[91] No earlier Safavid chronicle names them at this point. That Ibrahim was at some stage deliberately edited out of Rumlu's version seems to be confirmed by his account of an earlier episode, the imprisonment of Uzun Hasan's daughter and her sons by Haidar upon their father's death. There are variants on this episode too, but the most widespread tradition is that in which the three boys are imprisoned with their mother in the castle of Istakhr in Fars. Rumlu provides a version of this type which varies in one significant detail: the third of the sons is named not as Ibrahim but as Sayyid Hasan.[92] Haidar did have a son called Hasan,[93] but there can be no real doubt that he was born of another wife. Why Ibrahim should have been cut out is an interesting question, to which no precise answer at present suggests itself. However, the fact that Rumlu rejected Khwandamir's information on Ibrahim raises the possibility that he rejected other material on Ibrahim. An account in which Ibrahim plays a more extended part than in Khwandmir's *Ḥabīb al-siyar* is, as has been seen, preserved in the *Afżal al-tavārīkh*, where it is probably based, as has been said, on the lost *Siyar-i ṣūfiyya*. The importance of this line of argument, if correct, is that it suggests that the origin of Fazli's version is to be placed at an earlier date than that of the the composition of the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*.

As a consequence of the misdating of Bijan's Life of Ismaʿil, the *Jahāngushā-yi khāqān*, the significance of Hasan Rumlu's history has been misunderstood. It used naturally to be assumed that the considerable amount of material common to the two was borrowed by Rumlu from the supposedly earlier work. Now that the opposite is known to be true, Rumlu's place in Safavid historiography becomes clearer. He appears to have begun his history quite late in the reign of Tahmasb, but he had been appointed a *qūrchī*, a position, incidentally, which he describes as torment, as early as 947/1540, when he was only nine. He tells us that he had been in Tahmasb's service, participating in his campaigns and travels, continually from the next year until 980/1572, by which date he had begun to write. (The final version goes up to 985/1577).[94] He is the only one of the 16th-century Persian historians to come from a Qizilbash background. The *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* was planned as a general history covering much more than the history of Iran. If the first ten volumes were ever written they must have been based on written sources. This is almost entirely true of volume eleven, the first known to survive, which covers the ninth century of the Hijra. It is also true of considerable parts of volume twelve, beginning with the year 900 and including the reigns of Ismaʿil and Tahmasb. For the Safavids Rumlu was able to use some written sources we know of, such as the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, which he is not afraid to correct.[95] Probably he had other written sources that have not yet come to light. However, for his own time in Tahmasb's service he was of course well-placed to acquire information at first hand, and to some extent this was evidently true for the reign of Ismaʿil. When he was a boy and young man there were still people alive who remembered the initial Safavid revolt. Shams al-Din Lahiji, who had been Ismaʿil's teacher in Gilan, survived,[96] and Rumlu's first commanding officer, the aged Qurchibashi Sivindūk Beg Afshar, who had also been with Ismaʿil at Lahijan, only died in 969/1562.[97] Many people would have remembered the later days of Ismaʿil and heard first-hand reports of his youth.

For Ismaʿil's early days, particularly the episodes under consideration here, Rumlu did make some use of oral sources. At several points he indicates that there were variants in the accounts he had, apparently oral ones for they are introduced by such words as *jamʿī gūyand*, "some people say". He was aware of the difficulties this kind of material presented, for, discussing conflicting reports of Ismaʿil's route to Rasht he notes that there was no reliable witness in Ismaʿil's company.[98] Evidently then a variety of quite detailed and developed oral reports of Ismaʿil's early years were circulating among the Qizilbash and others during the reign of Tahmasb and no doubt earlier. The *Afżal al-tavārīkh*'s variant account may be suggested to come from this milieu, largely via the *Siyar-i ṣūfiyya*.

A passage on the origins and rise of the Safavids in the *Ásia* of the Portuguese author João de Barros has some very interesting parallels to the later popular works in Persian, though, unlike them, it does not resort to the miraculous.[99] Barros had never been to the East but he was for many years *feitor* (administrator) of the Casa de Índia in Lisbon, and had access to documents originating in Asia. It is improbable that he himself knew much, if any, Persian but his statement that what he says about the "origin, sect and fortune" of Ismaʿil was taken from what he had learnt from the "writings of the Persians themselves" can be accepted as meaning that some such material was available to him in translation.[100]

No less than the later popular versions in Persian, Barros's account of the rise of the Safavids can be criticised as history, but for the present purpose it has some remarkably positive features, in the form of parallels with stories found in Persian in the later popular sources. It contains a brief version of the fable of Timur and the prisoners of Rum. Although the Shaikh to whom the prisoners are delivered is anachronistically said to be Junaid, this appears to be by several decades the earliest specimen of the famous tale yet known.[101] Barros also records Ismaʿil's introduction of a more conspicuous form of *tāj*. The Venetian Michele Membré's account of the change, which he learnt of at Tahmasb's court, is earlier and authoritative,[102] but the Persian accounts known so far are in the form of a miraculous story found in certain 17th-century sources.[103]

Barros gives a particularly extended account of the imprisonment of the sons of Haidar, which exhibits the sentimentality, dramatisation and even in a mild way the religiosity which are conspicuous features of the later Anonymous Lives of Ismaʿil and similar material. The sons of Haidar, two in this version and named as Ismaʿil, said to be aged ten, and Sulaiman, had been sent in fetters to Shiraz to be imprisoned in a castle (named as Çalgah) by Mansur Beg Purnāk. Mansur Beg does appear as the boys' gaoler in the generally similar versions given in a number of the Persian chronicles.[104] Usually there are three sons, who are imprisoned with their mother in the castle of Istakhr. In this version, however, the mother is elsewhere, Mansur Beg's role is expanded and he is treated sympathetically. Not wishing to treat the descendants of the sainted ʿAli with the cruelty his orders demand, he disobeys them and has the boys brought up in his own house and with his own sons. To illustrate the style of this passage, it continues:

> When seven or eight years had passed, Mansur Beg came to fall ill and, worried lest, if he died, the boys should come to harm, remaining in the power of his son Qasim Beg, who, because he was young, would wish, by giving them up to him to please Rustam Beg, who was then reigning, his father

Yaqub Beg having died, he summoned the boys before him and spoke to them in these words:

"I am, sons, in the state you see; I fear that, if I die, harm will be done to you; and since until now I have brought you up with the love of a father for his sons, owing to that love I wish to save you from the danger which you may meet, receiving it at the hand of your cousin Rustam Beg. You see here two hundred seraphins; spend them on horses and companions to take you to your mother, family and servants. They will give you the means to live upon, for I am not capable of more than this. And I ask you just one thing, in return for the love with which I saved you and brought you up during the days when you were in my house, that you remember my sons, for you are my sons, my grandsons and my great grandsons and you both have the character and spirit to obtain high estate."

The boys, because they looked on him as a father and saw that he was sending them away began to cry, not knowing what was to become of them.

Though this differs from the more plausible version found in the main Safavid chronicles, in which Rustam is responsible for the boys' release, as is sometimes the case with these variants, it does show a kind of agreement with another source in a relatively minor detail. Rumlu, among other information about Fars in this period which appears to be exclusive to him, relates that Mansur Beg suffered from an illness which helped lead (long after the young Safavids had been released) to his ousting by his son Qasim.[105] In this case too, though it is difficult to be certain, some kind of partisanship can be suspected to underly the dramatic presentation. If some Persian accounts of Ismaʿil's early life reflect the interests of Ardabil this version of the story of the imprisonment may owe its particular emphasis to an origin in Fars. But whatever its precise origins, one can say that it is the kind of stuff to appeal to a popular audience. Here then is evidence that popular versions of early Safavid history existed in writing in Persian at a relatively early date, for the second Decade of *Ásia* appeared in print as early as 1553.

Another early European allusion to written Persian accounts of the life of Ismaʿil, which may well refer to a composition designed for popular consumption, comes from Membré, who spent the winter of 1539-40 in Tabriz. He tells us that in the squares of that town there were entertainers of various kinds, among them men "with books in their hands, reading of the battles of ʿAli and the combats of the Princes of old, and of Shah

Ismaʿil."[106] The combats of the Princes of old were no doubt recited from the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdausi. For the battles of ʿAli we can assume that some such work as the *Raużat al-shuhadā* of Kashifi or the *Khāvarān-nāma* of Ibn Husam al-Din was used. It is not so easy to suggest at this date an appropriate written source for the adventures of Ismaʿil. Khwandamir's account in the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* was in existence and covered very nearly the whole of the life of Ismaʿil, but its learned style, verbose but nearly always rather sparse as to content, does not seem likely to have appealed to an unlettered audience. The author of the even earlier *Futūḥāt-i Amīnī*, which the writer has regrettably not had access to, was from a similar highly educated background.[107] The verse *Shāh-nāma-yi Ismāʿīl* of Qasim Junabadi, completed in 1533-4, is a possibility.[108] However, one cannot help feeling that something with more vigour and popular appeal is ideally required, something similar to the later Anonymous Lives of Ismaʿil or the sources underlying in part Bijan's *Jahāngushā-yi khāqān*, the *Afżal al-tavārīkh*, and the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, perhaps even in Turkish for the audience of ordinary Qizilbash. The evidence of Barros shows that written versions of such popular accounts did exist by the middle of the reign of Tahmasb.

However, there have been great advances in the exploration and publication of the Persian narrative sources for early Safavid history in recent decades and it has to be admitted that the slight chance of such an unknown source appearing continually diminishes. Nevertheless, even without such a discovery there is much that can still be learnt about the rise of the Safavids and how it was perceived in Safavid Iran by closer critical examination of the sources that we do have.

NOTES

1. Jean Aubin, L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré, *Moyen Orient & Océan Indien* 5 (1988), 1-130.
2. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
3. The early years of Shāh Ismāʿīl. Founder of the Ṣafavī Dynasty, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1896), 249-340.
4. *Jahāngushā-yi khāqān*, ed. Allāhdattā Muḍtarr (Islamabad 1402/1364/1986).
5. Koichi Haneda, Determining the period in which Shāh Ismāʿīl the First's chronicle, known by the title Ross Anonymous was written, *Tōyōshi-Kenkyu* 48/iii (1989), 528-49 (in Japanese); A.H. Morton, The date and attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*. Notes on a Persian History of Shāh Ismāʿīl I, *Pembroke Papers* 1, *Persian and Islamic Studies in honour of P.W. Avery* (Cambridge 1990), 179-212.
6. Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusain Navā'ī, XI, (Tehran 1349/1960); XII ([Tehran] 1357/1978).
7. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (Bombay 1857), III, part iv.
8. *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi Shāh Ismāʿīl*, ed. Aṣghar Muntaẓir-Ṣāḥib (Tehran 1349/1970); *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi Ṣafavī*, ed. Yad-Allāh Shukrī ([Tehran] 1350/1971).

9. The first volume (cited as *Afżal*, i) is preserved in the unique ms. belonging to Eton College (Oriental ms. 172, currently held in the Cambridge University Library); the similarly unique copy of the section on Tahmasb (cited as *Afżal*, ii) is in the British Library (ms. Or. 4678). Cf. C.E. Storey, *Persian Literature. A Bio-bibliographical Survey*, I (London 1953), pp. 308-9, 1278, 1280. A brief and unenthusiastic description of the first volume is given in G.M. Meredith-Owens, A short account of the first volume of the Afżal ul-Tavārīkh of Faẓlī Iṣfahānī and its author, *British Museum Quarterly* 25 (1962), 24-6.
10. See in particular M. Dickson, *Shāh Tahmāsb and the Úzbeks* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton 1958), pp. xlvi-ii.
11. For an account of the family, drawing largely on the *Afżal al-tavārīkh*, but not exhausting its material, see Masashi Haneda, La famille Ḫūzānī d'Ispahan (15e – 17e siècles), *Studia Iranica* 18 (1989), 77-91.
12. *Afżal*, i, ff. 202a, 209b.
13. *Afżal*, ii, f. 262b.
14. *Afżal*, i, ff. 3b, 88b, 276b.
15. Ibid., f. 2a. Perhaps one should emend to Barda^{c} of Arran (*Barda^{c}-i Arrān*) for Paikar Khan was not governor of the whole of the province of Arran/Qarabagh, but merely one of the the sub-governors. The date 1023/1614-15, given by M. Haneda, "La famille Ḫūzānī", p. 89, is incorrectly quoted. For ^{c}Abbas's movements, cf. Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ^{c}ālam-ārā-yi ^{c}Abbāsī*, ed. Īraj Afshār (Tehran 1334-5/1955-6), pp. 911-14, 919-20.
16. *Afżal*, i, ff. 36b, 86a. For the appointment of Paikar Khan, cf. Iskandar Munshī, pp. 954-5.
17. *Afżal*, i, f. 36b.
18. Ibid., f. 40b. For the village of Mū'il/Muvīl, 12 miles south of Mishkinkahr, and its hot mineral springs see the *Farhang-i jughrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān*, ([Tehran] 1328-32/1949-53), IV, p. 511. The springs were also noted by Fazli's contemporary, Olearius. See his *Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung des Muscowitischen und Persischen Reyse* (Schleswig 1656; facsimile reprint, Tübingen 1971), p. 470, and the translation by John Davies (London 1669), p. 182.
19. *Afżal*, i, f. 140b; ii, f. 221a. M. Haneda, "La famille Ḫūzānī", p. 89, rightly queries the tentative reading of the date at ii, f. 221a as 1025 which is given by Dickson (see note 10 above), but suggests no alternative. In the ms. the date is in fact given in figures as 135, to be expanded to 1035. For an obituary of Tahmasb-quli Khan, see Iskandar Munshī, p. 1058. He would seem to have died in the winter of 1035/1625-6, and had only been recently appointed to Kirman.
20. The ms. of vol. I was in the collection formed in Bengal by the East India Company's servant Edward Pote, who in 1788 presented his Oriental manuscripts half-and-half to his *almae matres*, Eton and King's College, Cambridge. That of vol. II came to the British Museum from Sidney Churchill, most of whose acquisitions were made during his long residence in Persia. However, as has been seen, it was written in India.
21. *Afżal*, i, f. 2a. ... *bā^{c}iṣ-i taṣdī^{c}-i kātib va mujallid gardad.* The history of ^{c}Abbas is again mentioned as written on f. 86b.
22. *Afżal*, i, f. 3a-b.
23. Ibid., f. 276b.
24. Ibid., f. 37b.
25. Ibid., ff. 3b, 88b, 276b.
26. Ibid., f. 147b.
27. Ibid., f. 147a.
28. Ibid., f. 133a.

29. Ibid., f. 86a.
30. Ibid., f. 254b.
31. Ibid., f. 3b, for the inclusion of documents.
32. See, e.g., ibid., ff. 129b, 161a-b.
33. Ibid., f. 36b. It was presumably the same shirt that was listed in the shrine inventory in the 18th century and is now in the Iran Bastan Museum, Tehran. See M. Javād-Mashkūr, *Nazarī bi-tārīkh-i Azarbāījān* (Tehran 1349/1970), p. 377.
34. *Afżal*, i, ff. 37b-38a. For the detailed discussion of this forgery see Heribert Horst, *Tīmūr and Ḫōǧā ^{c}Alī* (Wiesbaden 1958) and for additional bibliographical data, Morton, The Ardabīl Shrine in the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, *Iran* 12 (1974), p. 33n.
35. E.g., *Afżal*, i, ff. 6a-b, 39b.
36. Ibid., ff. 2a-3a.
37. Mīrzā Qāsim "Qāsimī" Junābadī, *Shāh-nāma-yi Qāsimī* ([Lucknow] 1287/1870).
38. Yaḥyā Qazvīnī, *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Tihrānī ([Tehran] 1314/1936); the *Nusakh-i jahān-ārā* is published under the title *Tārīkh-i jahān-ārā* (2nd ed., Kitāb-furūshī-yi Ḥafiẓ, [Tehran] n.d.).
39. *Maqāmāt va maqālāt ki ... Shaikh Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Isḥāq ... dar zamān-i ḥayāt khavāriq-i ^{c}ādāt va ẓikr-i ḥālāt-i khud va nasab-i sharīf-i ajdād ... va savāniḥ-i shuhūr va sinīn-rā tā sana-yi khams va ṣalāṣīn va sab^{c}ami'a ki rakht az īn ẓulmat-kada-yi khāk bi-^{c}ālam-i pāk burdand bi-qalam-i mushkīn-raqam dar safīna-ī ki mashhūr bi-Qarā majmū^{c}a ast bi-Farsī va Turkī bi-silk-i taḥrīr dar āvarda Siyar-i ṣūfiyya nāmīda and.* It is tempting to suppose that the difficulties are caused by a lacuna. On the term *Qarā majmū^{c}a*, see V. Minorsky (ed.), *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (London 1943), p. 113.
40. The new edition of Ghulām-Riżā Ṭabāṭabā'ī Majd (Tabriz 1373/1994) has now made the work easily accessible.
41. *Afżal*, i, f. 7b. *Maqāmāt-i ... Shaikh Ṣafī al-Dīn ki khud bi-Turkī nivishta and va ... Chilibī Beg ... Fārigh takhalluṣ-i Shīrāzī dar vilāyat-i Hindūstān ḥasb al-farmūda-yi Khān-i A^{c}ẓam Mīrzā ^{c}Azīz Kūka ḥākim-i Gujarāt dar ayyām-i dārā'ī-yi ... Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar Pādshāh tarjuma-yi Farsī namūda.* ^{c}Aziz Koka, the Emperor's foster-brother, was Governor of Gujarat twice during Akbar's reign. For his career see H. Blochmann's notice in his translation of the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* of Abu 'l-Faẓl, 2nd ed. (Calcutta 1927), pp. 343-7.
42. *Afżal*, i, f. 43b.
43. Ibid., ff. 35b, 57b, 61b.
44. Ibid., f. 187a.
45. Ibid., ff. 57b, 93a. In fact Fazli misquotes Khwandamir's version as Halīma Begum. He also states that Iskandar Munshi had, like himself, come to the conclusion that ^{c}Aliyya was correct. It appears to be implied that Iskandar Munshi also had access to the *Siyar-i ṣūfiyya*. However, the published text of the latter's *^{c}Ālam-ārā-yi ^{c}Abbāsī* (p. 19) only mentions the other two variants.
46. *Afżal*, i, f. 93b; ^{c}Alī b. Shams al-Dīn Lāhijī, *Tārīkh-i khānī*, ed. Manūchihr Sutūda ([Tehran] 1352/1973), pp. 104-5, 109. Cf. note 83 below.
47. *Afżal*, i, ff. 127a, 212a. For the documentary evidence that Tahmasb's mother was called Shah Begi Begum and that she was the daughter of Mihmād Beg b. Ḥamza Beg Mawṣillū, see Ḥ. Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Turbat-i pākān* (Qum [25]35/1976), pp. 131-41. Cf. Aubin, "L'avènement", p. 65; Qāżī Aḥmad Qummī, *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, ed. Iḥsān Ishrāqī (Tehran 1359-63/1980-4), pp. 290, 954-5.
48. E.g., Husain Beg Khalkhali stands for Husain Beg ^{c}Alikhani, Husain Beg Lala is called Ustajlu rather than Shamlu and the names of the governors of Rasht, Amira Ishaq, and Tūl u Nāv, Amira Muzaffar, are exchanged. Some of these errors may be due to Fazli's own carelessness, for he treats Shah Pasha Begum (in most sources Khatun) as Isma^{c}il's sister rather than his aunt, maintaining (f. 62a) that in this he is agreement

with Rumlu as opposed to Khwandamir. In fact the latter does not mention her, while the former describes her as Ismaʿil's aunt, which is confirmed by the document of 875/1472 quoted in ʿAbdī Beg Shīrāzī's *Ṣarīḥ al-milk* (Iran Bastan Museum ms. 3718, loose gathering on the *Āsh-i ḥalāl*, ff. 1b-2a). Where necessary such obvious mistakes of identitiy are tacitly corrected in quoting Fazli's narrative below.

49. Only for the point of nomenclature already mentioned.
50. *Afżal*, i, ff. 60a, 61a.
51. "L'avènement", pp. 5, 104-5.
52. *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, III, part iv, pp. 20-1; cf. *Tārīkh-i khānī*, pp. 101-2.
53. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Maḥmūdshāhiyya*, Eton Oriental ms. 160, in the 3rd *martaba* under year 896 (*sic*: Haidar died in 893). The ms. is not foliated. It is currently held in the Cambridge University Library. That Nimdihi shows no knowledge of Ismaʿil's *khurūj* supports Aubin's suggestion that his death may have occurred in or shortly after 906/1500-1. See Aubin, Indo-islamica I. La vie et l'oeuvre de Nimdihi, *Revue des Études Islamiques* 34 (1966), p 78.
54. The date widely found is 25 Rajab 892/17 July 1487, given, for instance, by Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, III, part iv, p. 13.
55. Ibid., p. 21.
56. See Adel Allouche, *The origins and development of the Ottoman-Ṣafavid conflict (906-962/ 1500-1555)* (Berlin 1983), pp. 70-2.
57. *Afżal*, i, ff. 48b, 55b. Cf. *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, III, part iv, pp. 17-18; *Tārīkh-i jahān-ārā*, p. 262; *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, p. 240. See also p. 41 above.
58. *Afżal*, i, ff. 50b-51a, 55b Cf. *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, III, part iv, pp. 19-20.
59. *Afżal*, i, f. 56b. *Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā barādar-i az khud kūchiktar-rā qāʾim-maqām-i silsila-yi irshād sakhta, bi-talqīn-i irshād va sajjāda-nishīnī-yi jadd-i karīm-nihād amr farmūdand va ādāb-i sipāhīgarī va tājdarī-yi ʿarṣa-yi ʿālam-rā, ki bi-vujūd-i sharīfash bi-ʿināyat Allāh muzayyan gasht, bi-Sulṭān Ismāʿīl Mīrzā, ki dar sinn-i haft-sālagī būd, ḥavāla kardand.*
60. Fazli's, unlike some, probably better, accounts, including that of Khwandamir which he refers to, does not have the two younger boys accompany Sultan ʿAli back to Rustam's presence, and places Rustam at Tabriz rather than Khuy.
61. *Afżal*, i, ff. 56b-57a. *Mīrzā nīz, chun āmadan-i Husain Beg-rā shanīd, yaqīn dānist ki sharbat-i shahādat az dast-i īshān bāyad chishīd va hangām-i tuluʿ-i nayyir-i iqbāl-i Shāh Ismāʿīl, ki qabża-yi shamshīr-i sāʿiqa-kardār-i fatḥ va ẓafar-i mamālik-i Īrān bi-dast-i qalʿa-gīr-i mulk-gushā-yi ān sar-daftar-i salāṭīn-i āfāq dāda shuda būd, nazdīk rasīda. Bi-dast-i mubārak kisvat-i davāzdah-tark-i Ḥaidarī-rā bar sar-i ān barādar-i iqbāl-mand nihāda va shamshīr-i ṣāʿiqa-kardār-i Sulṭān Junaid-rā bar miyān-i īshān basta.... va Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā-rā bi-talqīn-i irshād va ādāb-i ajdād-i karīm-nihād, ki bi-tartīb bi-ū rasīda būd, vaṣī-yi khud sākhta, khulafāʾi chilla-khāna va pīra va ṭarīqchī va ẓākir va ṣūfiyya va murīdān-rā bi-khidmat va iṭāʿat-i barādar-i darvīsh-nihād amr kardand.*
62. Sultan ʿAli's death seems to have taken place in 1494 but there appears to be no allusion to it from before the establishment of the Safavid state. The affair was no doubt of less significance to Rustam Aq Qoyunlu, than the Safavid sources imply. See John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu* (Minneapolis and Chicago 1976), pp. 166-7.
63. For a description of a modern situation where the descendants of a Shaikh share the exploitation of his charisma see E. Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas* (London 1969). Cf. Aubin, "L'avènement", p. 101.
64. See especially *Afżal*, i, f. 60a-b.
65. Woods, p. 167, on the basis of Khwandamir only. Cf. Aubin, "L'avènement", pp. 103-4.
66. E.g., *Afżal*, i, f. 62b; *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, XII, p. 20.
67. *Afżal*, i, ff. 57b-59b; *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, XII, pp. 13-15; *Jahāngushā-yi khāqān*, pp. 58-61. It is noteworthy that the late Anonymous Lives (see note 8 above), though drawing a great deal from the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, lack the Ardabil episode.
68. For Qazi Ahmad and the Kakuli family see Monika Gronke, *Derwische im Vorhof der Macht* (Stuttgart 1993), pp. 154-63.
69. *Afżal*, i, ff. 59b-61a; *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, XII, pp. 15-19; *Jahāngushā-yi khāqān*, pp. 61-4.
70. *Afżal*, i, f. 60a.
71. *Jahāngushā-yi khāqān*, p. 74; *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi Shāh Ismāʿīl*, pp. 40-1; *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi Ṣafavī*, pp. 44-5. Rūmlū, XII, p. 17, may allude to the story; if so he places it at Tul u Nav. Another remarkable version was collected by Olearius. Here it is Shah Tahmasb who is the hero, the refugee Mughal Prince Humayun who is suspended in the basket, and Jalal al-Din Akbar, in the story supposed to be Humayun's elder brother but in fact his son, a mere child when Humayun was in Persia, who demands his return with threats of invasion. (Olearius, p. 485; trans. Davies, p. 190).
72. *Tārīkh-i khānī*, pp. 101-5.
73. Ibid., pp. 81, 91.
74. "L'avènement", pp. 102-6.
75. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Maḥmūdshāhiyya, martaba* 4, under 904. *Yak pisar az mashāyikh-i Ḥaidariyya.*
76. Iba is vocalised thus in the *Afżal al-tavārīkh*.
77. *Afżal*, i, f. 62a-b.
78. *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, XII, pp. 21-2.
79. *Afżal*, i, ff. 62b-63a.
80. Ibid., f. 87a-b.
81. *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, XII, pp. 40-1.
82. *Shāh-nāma-yi Ismāʿīl*, pp. 27-8.
83. *Afżal*, i, ff. 87a-88a. Although Fażlī, f. 94a-b, like some other sources, presents Ismaʿil as going directly to Ardabil and then wintering at Arjavan near Astara, there is very strong support (Khwandamir, Ghaffari, Lahiji, Yahya Qazvini) for placing the return to Ardabil in the spring and after the stay at Arjavan. Cf. Aubin, "L'avènement", pp. 7-8 and note 46 above.
84. ʿĀshiqpāshāzāda, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. ʿAlī Bey (Istanbul 1914), pp. 264-9. ʿAshiqpashazada's authorship of the final section of the work was queried by F. Giese, who omitted it from his critical edition (Leipzig 1929), but see V.L. Ménage, *A Survey of the Early Ottoman Histories, with Studies on their Textual Problems and their Sources* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of London 1961), II, pp. 440-83.
85. See, for examples from 1501 and 1502, *Šāh Ismāʿīl I nei «Diarii» di Marin Sanudo*, ed. B. Scarcia Amoretti (Rome 1979), pp. 3, 12-14, 30, 43.
86. ʿĀshiqpāshāzāda, p. 268.
87. It is usually stated that Junaid, like Haidar, died in battle but the essential agreement of ʿAshiqpashazada and Khwandamir (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*, III, part iv, p. 12) provides good support for the less glorious version. The pre-Safavid but extremely florid account of Khunji only allows it to be deduced that Junaid's forces were defeated and that his head was cut off: Fażl-Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, ed. John E. Woods, abridged English translation Vladimir Minorsky (London 1992), p. 269, trans. p. 56.
88. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, pp. 164-5.
89. Aubin, "L'avènement", pp. 104-5. The Sayyid Ibrahim Safavi whose children are mentioned in the undated document cited from the *Ṣarīḥ al-milk* (f. 67a) may well be the man of that name mentioned under 953/1546 in ʿAbdī Beg Shīrāzī, *Takmilat al-akhbār*, ed. ʿA. Navāʾī (Tehran 1369/1990), p. 95. The brother, unnamed at this point, whom, according to the *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (p. 27) Ismaʿil was overjoyed to see again on returning to Ardabil is evidently intended to be Ibrahim, but by itself the

reference is of little weight. Other allusions may refer to Ismaʿil's half-brothers. The generally judicious Qazi Ahmad Qummi, writing quite late, but not as late as Fazli, states that Ibrahim died after returning to Ardabil and while Ismaʿil was in Gilan. (*Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, p. 45). In the late Anonymous Lives of Ismaʿil, Ibrahim is portrayed as taking part in various military campaigns during the reign of Ismaʿil and as present at the battle of Chaldiran, after which he ceases to be mentioned. There is not a scrap of early support for this, which can be seen as inspired by the liking these works have for sentimentalised close personal relationships. See Morton, "The Ross Anonymous", p. 203.

90. *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, XII, p. 15.
91. Ibid., p. 18.
92. Ibid., XI, p. 619. Cf. page 34 above.
93. Aubin, "L'avènement", p. 104.
94. *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, XII, pp. xiv-xxii.
95. Ibid., p. 125.
96. Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, ed. Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūn-farrukh (Elmi Press [Tehran n.d.]), p. 82.
97. *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, p. 435. Cf. Michele Membré, *Relazione di Persia (1542)*, ed. Giorgio R. Cardona *et al.* (Napoli 1969), pp. 23, 205; trans. A.H. Morton, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)* (London 1993), pp. 21, 76.
98. *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, XII, p. 18. Cf. pp. 15, 44.
99. Barros, *Ásia*, ed. Hernani Cidade (Lisbon 1945-6), II, pp. 446-8; *Ásia*, Decade ii, ed. António Baião and Luís F. Lindley Cintra (Lisbon 1974), pp. 443-5.
100. *Ásia*, ed. Cidade, II, p. 441; ed. Baião and Lindley Cintra, p. 438. Barros promises a fuller account of Ismaʿil's reign in his Geography, a work which, though completed, was never published and is now sadly lost.
101. See the discussion by Horst, pp. 39-47. To be noted in addition, but still from a little later than Barros, is Ghaffari's statement, again anachronistic, that Timur had visited Shaikh Sadr al-Din (*Tārīkh-i jahān-ārā*, p. 261). Once again Olearius (pp. 679-80; trans. p. 278) provides an interesting variant, with Safi al-Din as the Shaikh.
102. Membré, p. 29; trans. Morton, p. 26.
103. J. Calmard (*Abstracta Iranica* 13, p. 57) has pointed out that the story is given by Mīrzā Beg Junābadī in the early-17th-century *Raužat al-ṣafaviyya* (British Library ms. Or. 3388, ff. 43a-44a). For a later version see the *Jahāngushā-yi khāqān*, pp. 153-4 and Morton, "The *Ross Anonymous*", p. 199. There is what must in fact be a quite early reference to the introduction of the new taj on Ismaʿil's occupation of Tabriz in the Lubb al-tavārīkh (p. 242), but by itself it is incomprehensible as such.
104. Cf. note 57 above. Aubin, "L'avènement", p. 105, points out that the story of the imprisonment of Ismaʿil on the island of Akhtamar in Lake Van, reported in early European sources, does not necessarily contradict the usual Persian account of the imprisonment in Istakhr. Sharaf Khan Bitlisi, who, though quite late, by birth had reason to be knowledgeable about the region of Van, does in fact state that Yaʿqub Aq Qoyunlu first held ʿAli, Ibrahim and Ismaʿil in Akhtamar and then sent them to Istakhr. See his *Sharaf-nāma*, ed. V. Véliaminof-Zernof (St. Petersburg 1860-2), II, p. 127 (noted by Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, p. 285 n. 74). Somewhat similarly, Lāhijī, *Tārīkh-i khānī*, p. 102, states that all Haidar's sons, young and old, were imprisoned by Yaʿqub in the castle of Alanjaq (near Nakhjavan), that after Yaʿqub's death they were released by Rustam and that they then went off to Shiraz, seemingly of their own volition.
105. *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, XII, pp. 22-4, 33. Cf. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, pp. 167-8.
106. Membré, p. 59; trans. p. 52.

107. See C.E. Storey, *Persian Literature*, I, part i, trans. and revised Y.E. Bregel (Moscow 1972), II, pp. 850-2.
108. Junabadi's presentation is highly selective as well as inventive. He mentions neither Ibrahim nor Sultan ʿAli.

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The Iconography of the *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī*

Robert Hillenbrand

The *Shāh-nāma* of Shah Tahmasb is full of puzzles. Much has been written about it,[1] but most of this writing has been devoted to determining the identity of the artists responsible for each of its 258 paintings, a task of Herculean proportions given that only two of them are signed[2] and that only one other bears a written attribution.[3] That particular lode has been mined for all it is worth and has now been exhausted. But others remain to be explored.[4] Just as its celebrated predecessor, the Great Mongol *Shāh-nāma,* generally and paradoxically called the Demotte *Shāh-nāma* after the man who cut it up for profit (admittedly in the Days of Ignorance before the First World War),[5] so this manuscript is perversely known as the Houghton *Shāh-nāma* after the millionaire who presided over its dismemberment, and that in the more enlightened 1970s. Yet, as Chahriyar Adle has shown, the manuscript had an entirely appropriate name in its own time, *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī* or *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsbī*.[6] Unfortunately no facsimile was made of the book before it was broken up, so anyone working on the manuscript must do so through the massive two-volume publication of Dickson and Welch. Happily that does present all the illustrated pages at their actual size, though the almost entirely monochrome plates, for all their undoubted technical quality, can be no more than a pale reflection of the breathtaking, colourful splendour of the paintings themselves.

The incontrovertible facts about the manuscript, unlike the all-too-controvertible suppositions, can be quickly summarised. Its text of 759 folios, with a page size of some 30 by 45 centimetres (12 by 18 inches) lacks the customary colophon with the date or the name of the scribe,[7] but an introductory rosette[8] contains the name of Shah Tahmasb, and his name is repeated in an architectural inscription on folio 442 verso,[9] while the only date in the book, 934/1527-8, is to be found on an architectural

panel on folio 516 verso.[10] The artist Mir Musavvir signed the painting on folio 60 verso and Mas^{c}ud Ahmad that on folio 105 recto, while folio 521 verso bears an attribution (not a signature) naming Dust Muhammad.[11] And a clinching cross-reference in the celebrated potted history of Persian painting prefixed to the album of Bahram Mirza, dated 951/1544 and written by another Dust Muhammad, a calligrapher this time,[12] says of Ustad Nizam al-Din Sultan Muhammad, "the zenith of the age", that "Among the paintings by him in a *Shāh-nāma* of the Shah is an illustration of people clothed in leopard skins, such that the hearts of the boldest of painters were grieved and they hung their heads in shame before it."[13] This must surely be folio 20 verso of our manuscript, a masterpiece beyond compare in the book (Fig. 1).[14]

So much for fact. Everything else is speculation. Thus far speculation has, for the most part, confined itself to suggesting precisely who did what in the 257 unsigned paintings. And for good measure, the stylistic antecedents and affiliations of the manuscript have also been examined minutely and with authority. But – and it is a big "but" – scholars have so far not applied themselves in the requisite detail to such central questions as why the manuscript was ordered in the first place, especially at this particular time, why it was illustrated so lavishly, what governed the choice of illustrations or their frequency, what its principal themes are – essentially, what it means – what impact it had on subsequent painting,[15] or indeed, why Shah Tahmasb should have presented it in 1568 to the Ottoman Sultan Selim II as an accession gift.[16] The present article will try at least to tilt at some of these questions, but obviously shortage of space makes it impossible to develop the necessary arguments at the requisite length. This paper will therefore concentrate for the most part on two main topics: first, the place of this particular *Shāh-nāma* within the long-established tradition of *Shāh-nāma* illustration; and secondly, the message put across by the paintings themselves.

Several factors combine to make this *Shāh-nāma* in particular an unusual production. First, the fact that the entire enterprise was undertaken at all. This may seem rather paradoxical. Surely Shahs ordered *Shāh-nāma*s – it went with the job? And yet the assumption that it was a matter of course for rulers to order splendid illustrated versions of this text is totally mistaken. Even the briefest survey is enough to show that by about 1520 the age of magnificent royal *Shāh-nāma*s had long since passed. Fashions had changed. For the best part of a century, lyric poetry had supplanted Firdausi's epic in the affections of princely patrons of painting.[17] And that involved a significant shift in the themes of book illustration. The subject matter of poets such as Nizami, Sa^{c}di, Khwaju Kirmani, Amir Khusrau, Jamali, Nava'i, Hafiz and Jami focused on peace rather than war, on the pleasures of the court, fantastic adventures,

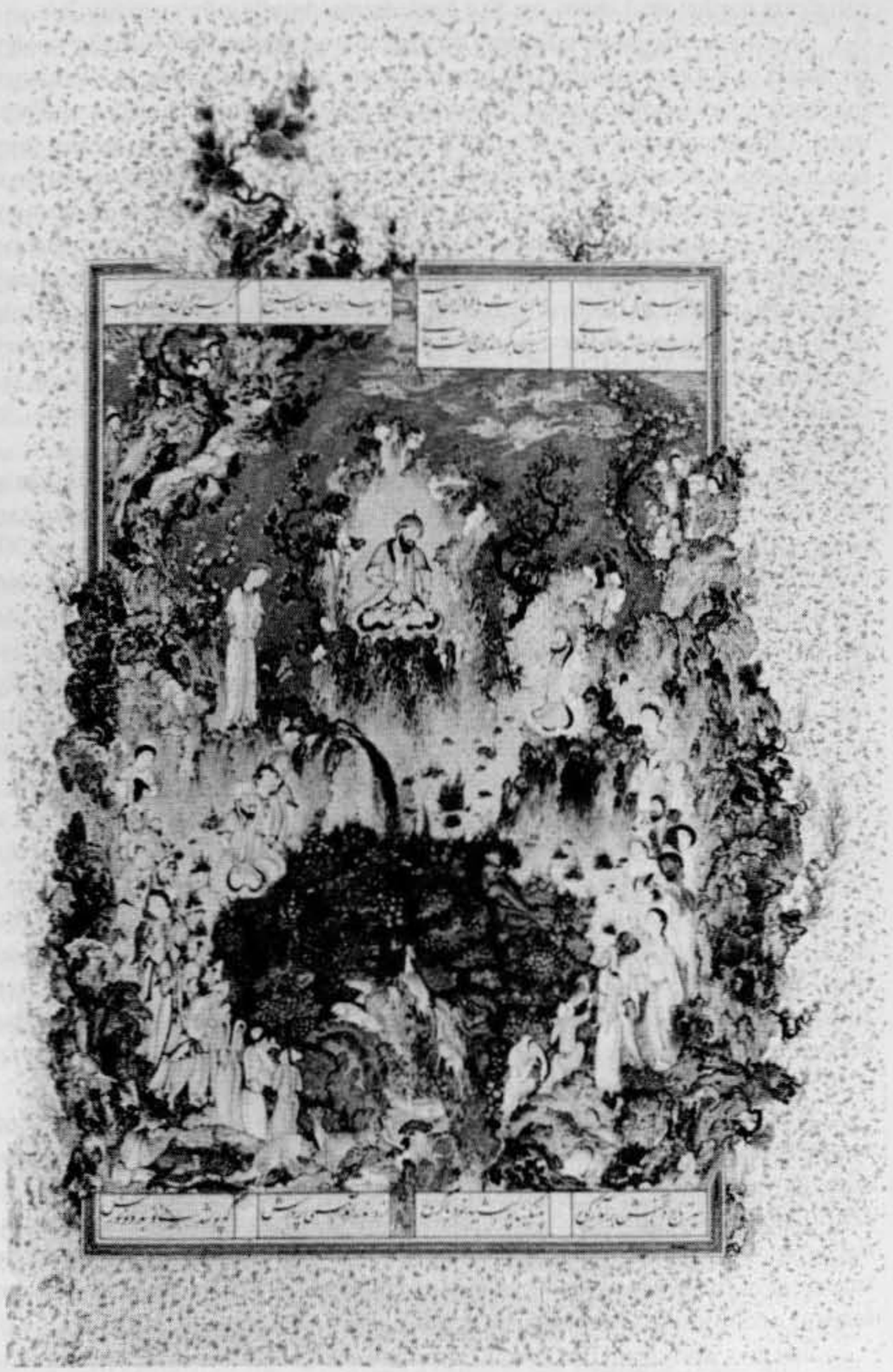

Figure 1. *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī*, fol. 20vo: The court of Gayumars.

religious topics and even on the humdrum details of everyday life.

Nor were the repercussions of this change from epic to lyric poetry confined to subject matter. The much shorter texts of the lyric poets meant that *these* royal books had far fewer illustrations than did the typical *Shāh-nāma*. Where pictures were few, their significance, the load of meaning they had to bear, automatically increased. Perhaps as a result of this, but perhaps also quite independently, the style of Persian painting, as is well known, experienced a startling transformation around 1400. Everything became miniaturised. The grand scale, the furious energy of the best 14th-century painting gave way to decorum, finesse, precision: the so-called classical style of Persian painting.[18] It became fashionable to load paintings with far more detail than before. And given their meticulous execution, they now took far longer to produce. To put it bluntly, they cost a lot more: in time, in craftsmanship, in materials – and hence, in money.

The effects of all this can be traced in 15th-century *Shāh-nāma*s. Only two examples of the first rank[19] – what might be termed metropolitan work – are known in the entire century: that made for Baysunqur in 1430, with 21 miniatures,[20] and the one made about a decade later for his cousin Muhammad Juki, which has 31 illustrations.[21] In both cases the paramount intention was clearly to emphasise quality above quantity. The inevitable result was a book which, visually speaking, was largely text. Provincial *Shāh-nāma*s of the period, from that of Sultan Ibrahim (*ca* 1435)[22] downwards,[23] went the opposite way, stressing quantity rather than quality. As a result they tended much more to the opposite extreme, namely to look more like picture books with interpolated text. Among the better-quality provincial works, such as the Dunimarle *Shāh-nāma* of 850/1446,[24] the gap between what was planned (in this case 153 miniatures) and what was completed (80 miniatures) tells its own story. Easily the most ambitious of the provincial *Shāh-nāma* projects brought to term in the 15th century is the so-called Big-head *Shāh-nāma* in two volumes produced for Sultan ᶜAli Mirza of Gilan in the 1490s (the colophon of the second volume is dated 899/1494), originally with some 350 paintings in a striking and vigorous, if somewhat crude, style.[25]

Numerous *Shāh-nāma* illustrations, either of isolated episodes or of substantial portions of the text, and of metropolitan workmanship, survive, and are to be found (or presumably once belonged) in anthologies or albums.[26] Some, like the royal Turkman (or conceivably early Safavid) leaves in Leipzig and London,[27] may best be interpreted as impressive torsos of projects left unfinished precisely because they were far too ambitious. These are indications of a sea-change in taste.

But it is, above all, the total absence of a royal *Shāh-nāma* produced in the ateliers of Herat under Sultan Husain Bayqara that insistently demands an explanation.[28] Here, where superlative visual interpretations of

one Persian and Turkish lyric poet after another were produced in a long line of masterpieces, where the classical style of Persian painting found definitive expression in the work of Bihzad and his colleagues, where Persian culture was fostered with a taste and commitment simply not encountered elsewhere – here, of all places, Firdausi alone was ignored. And the most likely explanation is cost.[29] The finest Herati Nizami, namely the British Library copy dated 1494, is, with its 22 paintings,[30] the most lavishly illustrated manuscript of the entire school.[31] In this case, the rate of illustration works out at an average of one painting per 13 folios. A *Shāh-nāma* which maintained that rate of illustration would have taxed the resources of the royal atelier as it was then constituted beyond breaking point,[32] for it would have meant producing twice that number of illustrations.[33] And given that the trend of 15th-century metropolitan painting was towards manuscripts whose paintings could not be hurried because they were immensely taxing from the technical point of view, the rate of illustration inevitably declined, whatever the manuscript was.

In the particular case of the *Shāh-nāma*, moreover, the development throughout the 15th century, at a commercial level, of an ample and flourishing iconography, with many set-pieces which could scarcely be omitted by any self-respecting patron, presumably created a climate of expectation for richly illustrated *Shāh-nāma*s. Certainly the ratio of illustrations to text was much higher than that of the Herat Nizami, Or. 6810.[34] Thus it is unlikely that the somewhat parsimonious solution adopted in Baysunqur's time, whereby the royal *Shāh-nāma* was allotted barely a score of paintings, would have recommended itself to Sultan Husain Bayqara 60 years later. A royal patron was therefore by now caught in a double bind: a sparsely illustrated royal *Shāh-nāma* would compare unfavourably with the plentifully illustrated commercial versions so readily available,[35] while a royal copy with the requisite abundance of paintings would break the bank. Effectively, therefore, the *Shāh-nāma*, as an illustrated text with an appropriately larger complement of paintings, had priced itself out of the royal market.

In its immediate art-historical context, therefore, the *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī* was truly exceptional on two counts: that it was a royal *Shāh-nāma* (the first for almost a century), and that it was most lavishly illustrated. Both these factors involved major breaks with tradition and can therefore be seen as very deliberate choices. It was not a knee-jerk response for Shah Ismaᶜil to embark on the project around 1522, if this was indeed what happened,[36] or for the young Shah Tahmasb to continue it. Moreover, as the project unfolded, its sheer scale meant that it gobbled up the lion's share of the resources available for painting. Naturally, this did not mean that all other work was entirely put aside, but it *is* noteworthy that the other roughly contemporary royal Safavid illustrated

manuscripts, such as the *Dīvān* of Hafiz in Cambridge, Massachusetts,[37] the two-volume *Dīvān* of Mir ᶜAli Shir Nava'i in Paris[38] and the Nizami in New York[39] all have relatively few paintings – five, six and fifteen respectively.[40] Measured by this standard, the *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī*, with its 258 images, is a giant among pygmies. Why was the discrepancy so glaring? After all, it is totally out of proportion to the extra length of the *Shāh-nāma* text.[41] Clearly the *Shāh-nāma* was being allotted a status far superior to that of all other texts – and this in turn is unexpected. Why should this long-familiar text suddenly be so special, so portentous?

No such distinction operated in early Timurid painting. Indeed, one has to go back all the way to Ilkhanid times to discover a parallel for this kind of emphasis on the *Shāh-nāma*. For it was in the early 14th century that several lavishly illustrated versions of the epic, and incidentally the earliest such copies to survive, were produced within a few decades.[42] The motive then seems to have been to reassert the values of Iranian culture in the wake of the Mongol holocaust and in the context of Mongol political dominance – though these manuscripts may have meant very different things to different people.

And so the question arises – were broadly similar ideas at work in the very different political situation which obtained in the early Safavid period? At first sight, not at all – Iran was now under Iranian rule. Yet things were far less cut and dried than such a statement implies. For in the 1520s and 1530s, precisely the decades when this *Shāh-nāma* was in course of production, the very existence of Iran as a political entity, ruled by Persians for Persians, was under continual threat.[43] And that threat might be termed a creeping Turkification: from the west, from the east, and from within.[44] Of course there is a danger of over-simplification here. The interplay between Turk and Tajik in the early Safavid state was complex and delicate,[45] exemplified by a largely Turcoman army built on Turkic tribal principles,[46] by Persian administrators, chancery officials[47] and even provincial governors,[48] and above all by Iranian Shahs who spoke a Turkic language at court, wrote poetry in Turkish dialects[49] and used Turkish formulae in their *farmāns*,[50] and yet conducted state correspondence in Persian with their Turkish foes. Recent research has shown, too, how complicated the demographic and linguistic picture was in Iran as a whole.[51]

Politically, however, matters are more clear-cut. The crushing defeat inflicted on Shah Ismaᶜil by the Sunni Ottomans at Chaldiran in 1514 had permanently removed from Safavid control much of eastern Anatolia[52] and had dramatically highlighted the exposed position of Tabriz as the Safavid capital, and with it much of Azarbaijan. On the northeastern marches of the Safavid state the equally Sunni Uzbeks under ᶜUbaid-Allah Khan were vigorously engaged in what has been termed the duel

for Khurasan,[53] and at times it must have seemed likely that the Safavids would lose that province too. Furthermore, the 1530s saw territorial disputes over Qandahar and the eastern frontier with the Mughals[54] – also Sunni, also Turkic. And the external attacks from east and west, which forced Tahmasb to fight a war on two fronts, were exacerbated and thus rendered much more perilous by the full-scale civil war which had erupted in the Iranian heartlands themselves in 932/1526 between the competing factions of Turkish tribal federations: Ustajlu, Shamlu, Rumlu, Tekelu and so on. This dragged on for at least eight years.[55] It is this specific contemporary situation which may help to explain not only the decision to embark on the most ambitious *Shāh-nāma* in the annals of Persian painting, but also the particular choice of episodes for illustration.

First, then, what light does this political situation shed on the decision to embark on the *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī*? Surely it is not too bold to suggest that this was deliberately intended as a public patriotic gesture made by the head of state? If royal *Shāh-nāma*s had long been two a penny, one could scarcely maintain such an argument; but that this was not the case, and most specifically not the case with the two major dynasties which the Safavids supplanted, namely the Aq Qoyunlu and the Timurids, suggests that the news of this project might well have caused a stir. It should be borne in mind, too, that both these earlier dynasties had strong Turkic affiliations. This might in turn have given a certain piquancy to the report that virtually the entire resources of the royal *kitābkhāna* – whose artists included the cream of the earlier Aq Qoyunlu and Timurid establishments, now under Safavid control by right of conquest[56] – were being channelled into producing the definitive illustrated version of the most Persian of Persian texts. Could this manuscript have been intended as a celebration – somewhat belated, it is true, even at the time of commissioning – of the new dynasty, ordered by its founder when he had at last (in his own eyes) achieved political stability?

The word 'public' was used advisedly in the previous paragraph. Of course the knowledge of this *Shāh-nāma* was broadly confined to court circles. But within those circles it must have made something of a splash simply by virtue of the prodigal expenditure of resources which it entailed, to say nothing of its unprecedented scale and magnificence. It cannot have failed to have put in the shade all other work being done in the kitabkhana.[57] And of course the court – not the Iranian people at large – was the public at which it was aimed. That was audience enough.

Yet more factors may also be at work here. Dickson and Welch have argued cogently that the project was begun in the closing years of Shah Ismaᶜil's reign.[58] This does not mean, incidentally, that the choice of episodes for illustration was made then, but that issue is not the germane

one here. It has often been remarked that Ismaʿil was a changed man after Chaldiran.[59] He seems never to have taken the field seriously again. Instead, he applied himself to the hunt, the bottle and music, leaving to others much of the everyday business, both civil and military, of the state. Between 1514 and his death in 1524 he certainly had the leisure to turn his mind to painting.[60] Did he have the inclination too? Dickson and Welch suggest, again quite plausibly, that the *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī* was intended as a present from Ismaʿil to the young Tahmasb newly returned from Khurasan and known to be an enthusiastic amateur of the arts of the book.[61]

But there is room for other possibilities too. Some of the royal library seems to have been lost as loot after Chaldiran,[62] and the new *Shāh-nāma*, along with the Nizami completed in 1524-5 (and presumably therefore begun a couple of years earlier), the Navaʾi of 1526-7 and the presumably contemporary Hafiz, would have helped to make good these depletions. More generally, the very ordering of a Book of Kings can also be seen as a symbolic assertion of royal authority – a dimension obviously missing in texts of lyric poetry. To that extent there was inescapably a propaganda element in the project, an element that bulked ever larger as the project grew in size. An Iranian ruler definitively defeated in actual battle by a Turkish foe may well have drawn solace from the contemplation of numerous Iranian victories over Turan, the land of the Turk, even if these took place only on the written page and in the theatre of the imagination.

The stylistic evidence, for what it is worth, seems to point in much the same direction. The style of the early paintings (say most of the first 100 folios) consistently suggests the early 1520s, if not a slightly earlier period, and this consistency in turn indicates that for the most part the paintings were produced in a time-scale following the sequence of the text itself. In other words, assuming a starting date of *ca* 1522, this concentration had the blessing of Shah Ismaʿil himself. It does not seem to have been the practice to allocate episodes from later on in the epic to the artists working in this early Safavid style. What this consistency reveals is that from the very outset it was firmly intended that this *Shāh-nāma* would be illustrated on a scale never before known in *Shāh-nāma* painting. And as the project developed, at least until just after halfway – that is, until the end of the Iran-Turan feud – this vision was broadly respected. The implications of this emphasis will be examined later in this paper.

The presumed dating of the early illustrated folios leads naturally to the second major topic of discussion and thus to the core of this paper. If the propaganda element mentioned above went beyond the most obvious level of cliché, the evidence must lie in the illustrations

themselves. And while they have been intensively scrutinised for evidence that bears on style, narrative and attribution, their other aspects have been ignored. One thinks here of their cumulative impact, their interaction, the way they have been selected to highlight some themes and downplay others – for the omissions are as striking as what is actually there.

First, it will be relevant to revert briefly to their sheer profusion. At one level, of course, this simply makes the book a more luxurious and pleasurable object. But beyond that, the presence of so many illustrations allowed the person or persons who actually planned the book – perhaps the term 'project director' will do – far more scope to stress the themes of their choice. The great physical length of Firdausi's text and the range and variety of its subject matter offer ample opportunity to develop a sub-text. By a careful choice or manipulation of the scenes to be illustrated it is possible to emphasise certain sections or themes of the text at the expense of others, and to gloss over the latter, or even omit them entirely on the visual plane. By the same token, themes that are of secondary importance, or latent, can be brought into prominence. Thus the written text and the visual text can tell rather different stories. But all this needs plenty of illustrations. That is the prime condition for all such subtleties. They cannot be achieved with the few dozen images which over the centuries had become the standard kit of *Shāh-nāma* iconography. Most of those images had to be included anyway as a matter of course; it was the *extra* ones which gave the project director room for manoeuvre.

So what is the message of the illustrations of the *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī*? That question can best be treated under three headings: the rate of illustration, the subject matter of the illustrations and finally, very briefly, the images which seem to be unique to this manuscript. To begin, then, with the rate of illustration, this tells its own story. Once the introductory matter is out of the way and the narrative proper begins, namely at folio 20, it is quite remarkable to note that until folio 87, with only one exception,[63] there is a painting on every single page. This means that the foundations on which Iranian history (as interpreted by Firdausi) rest, and in particular the Zahhak and Faridun cycles which show how the feud between Iran and Turan developed, are depicted in quite unprecedented detail. The rate of illustration slows down markedly once the Rustam story gets under way, though his role in the battles against Turan is well developed in the illustrative cycle. The rate picks up again with the story of Siyavush on folio 163 and the re-kindling of the feud with Turan (Fig. 2), and continues at a steady rate of one painting every three or four sides (a side being one half of a complete folio) until the execution of Afrasiyab and the installation of an Iranian nominee on the Turanian throne at folio 385. And with that action this apparently

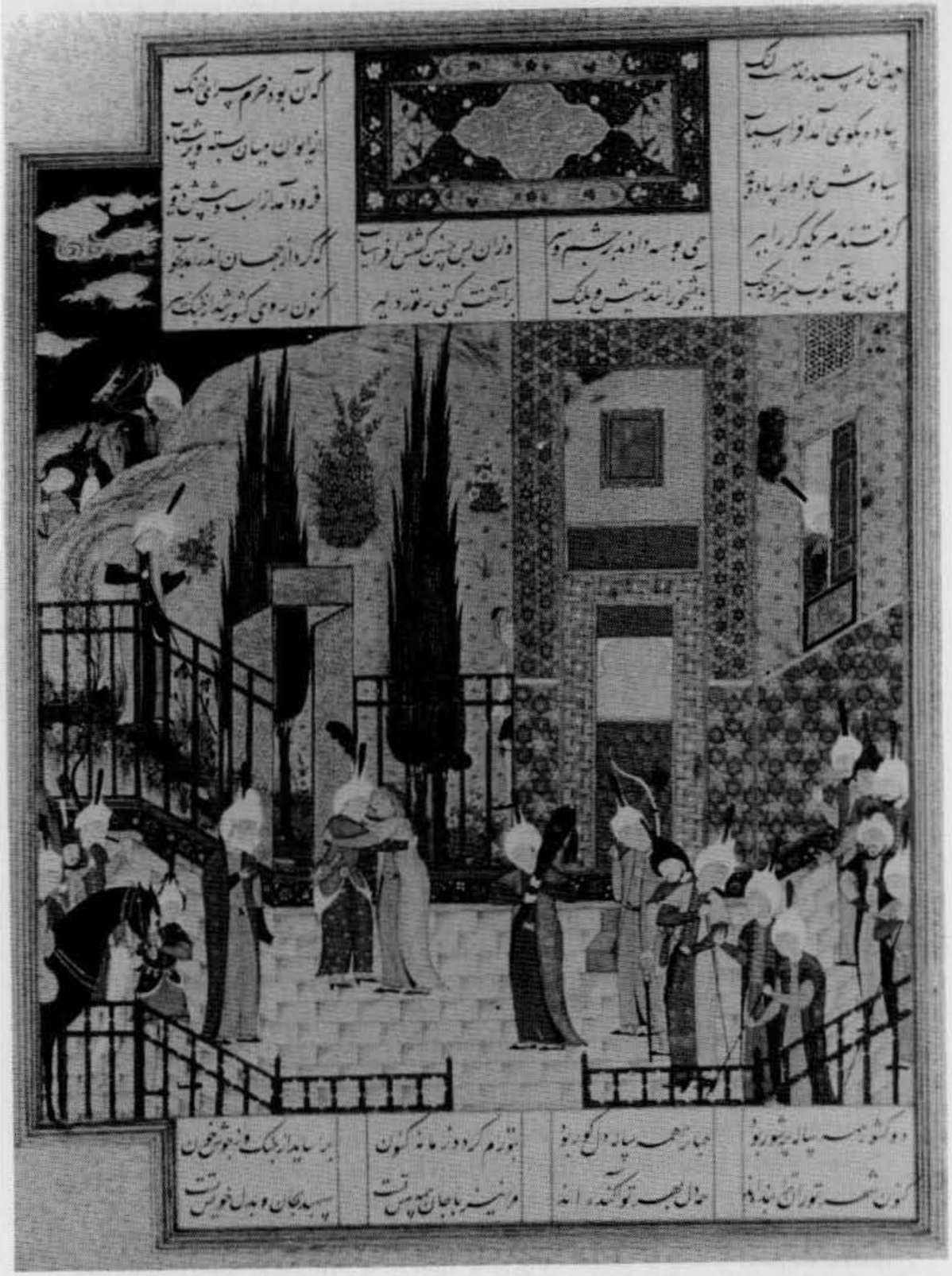

Figure 2. *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī*, fol. 179ro: Afrasiyab and Siyavush embrace.

everlasting war comes to an end. From the visual point of view, this war is beyond question the core of the book; the number and density of the illustrations proclaim the fact. As if to underline it, there is a palpable gap in illustration at this point, by far the largest so far – 32 sides without a picture. When the story resumes with the story of Gushtasp, we encounter in quick succession large gaps of 13, 17 and 15 sides with no pictures. Isfandiyar's seven courses, admittedly, are illustrated rapidly one after another, but thereafter the pace slows down very dramatically. The tale of Darab, Dara and Iskandar – some 60 sides – is dismissed with a mere three illustrations[64] and there are similar gaps in the Sasanian section. Indeed, for the last 320 folios (that is, almost half the book) – there are only 57 illustrations, which averages out at one for every 11 sides. The other 201 illustrations – four-fifths of the total – are crowded into the first half of the book, which averages out at one illustration for every two sides or so. And in *that* part of the text the major theme is the enmity between Iran and Turan.[65]

It might be added parenthetically at this point that the marked falling off in the rate of illustration once the Iran-Turan war has ended is susceptible of more than one explanation. And these various explanations are not mutually exclusive. The iconographic explanation is that, with the end of this long-running feud, the principal purpose of the book had been achieved. A total absence of illustrations after this point would naturally have caused a major visual imbalance in the whole book. But the project director might well have felt justified in severely reducing the rate of illustration after this point. Another explanation might be that, as the project progressed, the artists responsible for the later paintings might have found it increasingly difficult to match the achievements of their predecessors, and this sense of inadequacy could help both to explain the declining frequency of images *per se* and their gradual decline in quality. And finally, economic factors might have played their part. The royal exchequer may simply have become unable to sustain such a continuous drain on its resources, and the end of the Iran-Turan feud might have seemed the most rational place in Firdausi's text to begin the process of retrenchment. The relatively greater prevalence of simple, even modular, compositions in the second half of the manuscript is a pointer in the same direction.

Now to the subject matter of the illustrations. Battles account for 81 of the paintings, almost a third of the total (Figs. 3 and 4). Enthronements, the time-honoured formula used to express royal authority, take up 48. And negotiations, embassies, councils of war and the like total another 30 – a quite disproportionate number in comparison with other *Shāh-nāma*s. Twenty images depict murders, executions or violent deaths. The last significant category is that of beast- or monster-slayings, of which there

Figure 3. *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī*, fol. 221ro:
Kai Khusrau takes the castle of Bahman.

Figure 4. *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī*, fol. 328ro:
Bizhan kills Nastihan and stems the Turanian night.

are 19 examples illustrated. The remaining 60 paintings do not lend themselves to useful categorisation.

It will be clear from this brief summary that the subject matter of the illustrations reinforces the message sent out by the rate at which the paintings occur. This is a *Shāh-nāma* devoted to a quite exceptional extent to war, including the preparations for it and the attempts to stave it off, and to the expression of royal authority, including royal power over life and death. It is deeply serious in tone. The elements of fantasy, romance and derring-do are peripheral to these central themes. Hence the otherwise inexplicable absence of such chestnuts of *Shāh-nāma* illustration as the birth of Rustam, Rustam and Tahmina, Rustam defeating Pilsam and the Khaqan of Chin, Bizhan in the pit, the *dīv* Akvan, Kaykhusrau's rash doings in Mazandaran, and most of the Iskandar cycle.

And what of those images that are unique to this manuscript? The most striking aspect of these images is their sheer number – 79 in all, a little less than a third of the total. Although in any richly illustrated *Shāh-nāma* one might legitimately expect to encounter one or two brand-new images, it is far beyond the norm for the new images to attain 30% of the total. After all, the iconographic tradition was over two centuries old by this time and the programme of images for almost every *Shāh-nāma* was relatively predictable. They were, as already noted, produced almost commercially for wealthy (not royal) patrons by this time.

The *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī* breaks all these rules. And once again, the message of these new images is unmistakable. Overwhelmingly, they are devoted to fleshing out the details of the Iran-Turan war. Three-quarters of them fulfil this function; thus we experience the stately to-ing and fro-ing of negotiations between Faridun and his sons in the run-up to the fratricide itself and again before war breaks out. Such negotiations are frequently depicted and it must be admitted that they do not quicken the pulse. The deaths of Tur and Salm are celebrated by unique images, including one of Faridun receiving the head of Tur (Fig. 5),[66] a sinister counterpart to the familiar image of his grief over the head of Iraj. Perhaps the unwonted emphasis on the interlinked stories of Sam, Zal, Rudaba and Mihrab might conceivably relate to Safavid concerns in Afghanistan, though other explanations for this could be found.[67] For the most part, however, as already noted, these extra images highlight visually unfamiliar aspects of the Iran-Turan conflict. The only other major emphasis is on Nushirvan the Just, who is given quite unprecedented coverage with seven hitherto unknown images[68] emphasising his caution, zeal for reform, wisdom and diplomacy (Fig. 6). Do we have here a role model for Shah Tahmasb?[69]

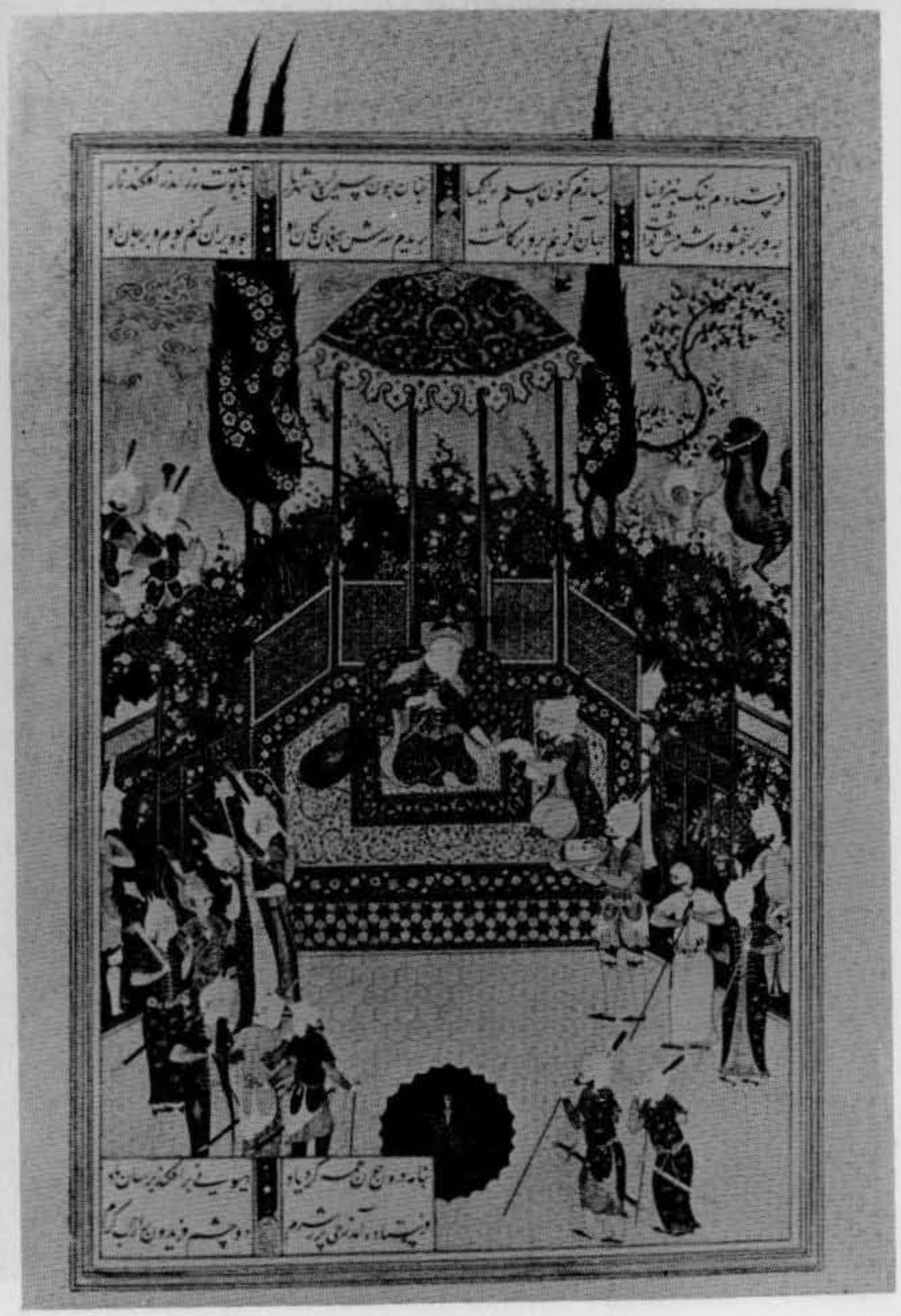

Figure 5. *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī*, fol. 56vo: Faridun receives the head of Tur.

Figure 6. *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī*, fol. 638ro:
Nushirvan receives an embassy from the King of Hind.

It will have been plain long ago where all this leads. The speculation is that this *Shāh-nāma*, conceived in the traumatic aftermath of Chaldiran and produced with immense labour in the dark days of the Qizilbash interregnum[70] and, above all, of the five successive Uzbek attempts against Khurasan, was a commentary on its own times and embodied the hope of something better over the horizon. The war with Turan, in Firdausi's as in Safavid times, is painfully long drawn out, and the illustrations faithfully reflect that. ᶜUbaid-Allah Khan, in this interpretation, is the new Afrasiyab, and duly receives his deserts: the battle of Jam in 1528, where Tahmasb proved his valour and ᶜUbaid-Allah was wounded, almost recreated a *Shāh-nāma* situation.[71] The consonance between the *Shāh-nāma* text and contemporary Safavid realities can be discerned once more in the abiding sense of the integrity of Iran's frontiers and the fierce determination to protect them at all costs. 'Iran for the Iranians' is the insistent message.

And the recurrent emphasis – in text and image alike – on the sanctity of the ruler and of his person, even if he is under age (as Tahmasb was) or incompetent, is part of that same 'national' sentiment. Hence too the depictions of family treachery (which Tahmasb experienced at the hands of two of his three brothers, Alqas and Sam),[72] and of rebellion. Indeed, the pictorial cycle of the manuscript ends – no doubt designedly – not with the familiar downbeat and anti-climactic image of Yazdigird, the last Sasanian ruler, squalidly murdered by the miller, but with the defeat of a usurper, Shah Farain Gudarz, an image found *only* in this *Shāh-nāma*.[73]

To the very end, therefore, the divine right of kings is vindicated. In one significant sense, however, the *Shāh-nāma* text and contemporary Safavid preoccupations were at cross purposes. This was, of course, in the matter of religion. The body of Firdausi's text naturally gave no obvious scope for the expression of Shiᶜi or for that matter any Islamic belief, but a passage at the beginning of the epic clearly shows his confessional stance. It describes his journey on a ship doomed to sink in the sea of eternity but where his fellow-passengers include the Prophet and ᶜAli,[74] Hasan and Husain, and the corresponding picture shows them all wearing the Safavid *tāj* (Fig. 7).[75] And Shiᶜi invocations fill some of the inscription panels on the architecture depicted in the paintings.[76] This is really as far as the artists could go within the confines of a carefully un-Islamic text in alluding to the confessional loyalty of the Safavids.

There is a curious and ironic epilogue to all this.[77] In 1568 Shah Tahmasb actually gave his precious book away – and to the then Ottoman Sultan, Selim II, at that.[78] It was one of several gifts to mark the accession of that monarch. Tahmasb's youthful enthusiasm for painting had evaporated a quarter of a century earlier. Thus the one person with the

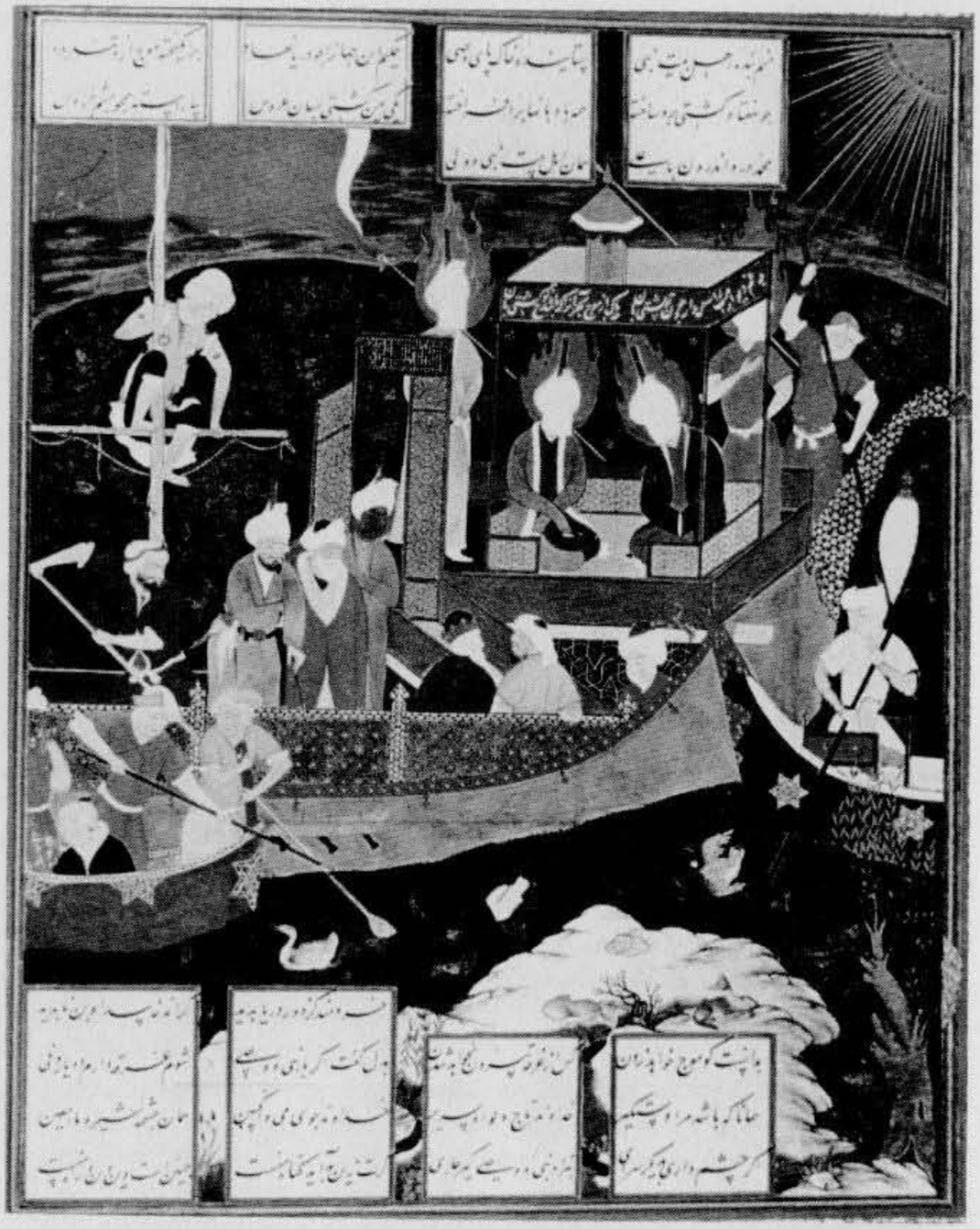

Figure 7. *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī*, fol. 18vo: Firdausi's parable of the Ship of Shi'ism.

authority to dispose of this great masterpiece no longer cherished it as he had done in the past, though no doubt his awareness of the value to be set on the book had not evaporated likewise. Yet in the wider scheme of things that did not matter. It would be mistaken to see Tahmasb as a seller of the family silver. It was more that his priorities had changed. He had laboured for most of his life to set Iran free from the Ottoman menace, and when he concluded the Treaty of Amasya with Suleiman the Magnificent in 1555 he had secured peace in his time.[79] Now a new Ottoman sultan had come to power, and it was politic to cement good relations with him. And the political turmoil which had formed the urgent contemporary backdrop to this *Shāh-nāma* was now safely in the past. So political realities had changed, and with those changes his *Shāh-nāma* had lost its topical edge. A couple of decades later, the Protestant Henri of Navarre, constrained to turn Catholic if he wanted to become King of France, murmured "Paris vaut bien une messe". Tahmasb no doubt saw his book go with pain, but perhaps his feelings were not very different.

NOTES

1. Notably M.B. Dickson and S.C.Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1981). See also S.C. Welch, *A King's Book of Kings. The Shah-Nameh of Shah Tahmasp* (London 1972) [hereafter, *KBK*]; idem, *Royal Persian Manuscripts* (London 1976) [hereafter *RPM*], pp. 34-53; idem, *Wonders of the Age. Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501-1576* (Cambridge, Mass. 1979), pp. 38-117.
2. One is fol. 60vo (Mir-i Musavvir). See Dickson and Welch, II, pl. 47. The other is on fol. 105ro, which bears the signature of Mas'ud Ahmad (J. Sellyer, Scribal notes on Mughal manuscript illustrations, *Artibus Asiae* 48/iii-iv [1987], p. 251 n.24. I am grateful to Dr. Sheila Blair for this reference).
3. Fol. 521vo; signed by Dust Muhammad. For a colour plate, see Welch, *KBK*, p.173. For a detailed discussion of the confusion of identities between two artists named Dust Muhammad in the early Safavid period, see C. Adle, Autopsia, in absentia. Sur la date de l'Introduction et de la constitution de l'Album de Bahrâm Mirzâ par Dust-Moḥammad en 951/1544, *Studia Iranica* 19/i (1990), 243-8 and idem, Les artistes nommés Dust-Moḥammad au XVIe siècle, *Studia Iranica* 22/ii (1993), 219-96. Dr Adle's view, like that of Dickson and Welch, is that the "signature" of Dust Muhammad here is an attribution (ibid., p. 269).
4. Chief among these, perhaps, is its impact on subsequent painting. The received opinion is that a spiritual crisis undergone by Shah Tahmasb around 952/1545 (the date may be reconstructed from an anecdote about Maulana Nizam al-Din Shah Mahmud Zarin-qalam Nishapuri in the *Gulistān-i hunar* of Qazi Ahmad – see the translation by V. Minorsky, *Calligraphers and painters. A Treatise by Qāḍī Aḥmad, son of Mīr-Munshī (circa A.H.1015/A.D.1606)* [Washington 1959], pp. 135-6) made him turn his face against calligraphy and painting. There is no need to question the accuracy of this view, but it encourages a patron-dominated perspective on events, and that is not the only way of interpreting them. There is also the view of the

painters themselves to take into account. An obvious contemporary parallel is the fate of Italian painting in the wake of the achievements of Leonardo, Raphael and Michelangelo. High Renaissance gave way to Mannerism, and one explanation for that process has been a failure of nerve and a consequent reluctance on the part of Italian artists working from the 1530s onwards to compete with the giants of the recent past. It is at least tenable to propose that something similar occurred in Iran in the 1540s. True, Shah Tahmasb's change of heart towards painting provided an obvious catalyst, but those painters working on his *Shāh-nāma* can scarcely have failed to realise that they had reached a *ne plus ultra* in manuscript painting. One must reckon, in the aftermath of that colossal achievement, with overkill, with a certain fatigue, with a sense that the resources on which creative artists draw had been exhausted. Certainly the challenge posed by the *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī* closed more doors than it opened for the next generation of painters. And its fame within the fraternity of painters would have been such as to make it an achievement impossible to ignore.

5. O. Grabar and S. Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History. The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago and London 1980).
6. C. Adle, review of Welch, *Wonders of the Age, Abstracta Iranica* 2 (1979), p.172. Cf. idem, "Autopsia", pp. 236-7. The name *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsbī* is emblazoned in Persian on the cover of Welch, *KBK*. For a brief account of how the manuscript was broken up, see E. Munro, How to mangle a masterpiece. The sad story of the Houghton Shahnameh, *Saturday Review* (27 October 1979), 21-6. I am grateful to Dr. Eleanor Sims for this reference.
7. This may of course have been removed when the manuscript left the Ottoman royal collection, at some time between 1801 and 1903. It is hard to believe that a manuscript so finished in other respects lacked a colophon.
8. This too is an unusual feature, for it occurs not where one would expect it, i.e. at the very beginning of the book, but at fol. 16ro after a good deal of introductory material on the career of Firdausi. And yet that material in turn is preceded by a double-page geometrical frontispiece (fols 2vo - 3ro) which could easily have incorporated such a dedication. Finally, the absence of a single- or double-page figural frontispiece is noteworthy, especially in view of the popularity of such frontispieces during the previous century, and of the unprecedentedly lavish illustration of this particular *Shāh-nāma*. Perhaps a single explanation could account both for this omission and for the missing colophon – that these two elements, traditionally the last to be completed in an illustrated book, were never part of this book because it was never formally finished, for all that it was lavishly bound.
9. For a discussion of this, see Dickson and Welch, I, p. 542.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., I, pp. 87 and 118 respectively.
12. For a full elucidation of the careers of the two men who bore this name, see Adle, "Les artistes".
13. L. Binyon, J.V.S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (Oxford 1933), p. 186. For a different and somewhat fuller translation, see W.M. Thackston, *A Century of Princes. Sources on Timurid History and Art* (Cambridge, Mass. 1989), p. 348.
14. In the absence of a formal frontispiece, this, the first illustration to the *Shāh-nāma* text proper, could perhaps itself be interpreted as a kind of frontispiece. It accords the place of honour to Sultan Muhammad, then the doyen of painters in the royal atelier, and could even at the same time be intended as an act of homage to the Shah himself, the Gayumars of his time. Whether this was Isma'il or Tahmasb remains an open question, though it is tempting to see an allusion to both Isma'il and the young Tahmasb in the father/son tableau of Gayumars and Siyamak in this painting.

15. See note 4 above for a preliminary discussion of this topic, which deserves a far more extended treatment than this article can give it. Necessary constituents of any such discussion are the element of overkill already mentioned (a potent compound of the sheer size of the manuscript, the high quality of the images and the frequency of illustration); the exhaustion of resources which the project necessarily entailed; and, more intangibly, the demoralisation which afflicted later artists faced with this towering achievement, artists who were deprived by its very magnitude of the mental space they needed to develop their skills to the full. By this reckoning, then, Shah Tahmasb's revulsion from painting (which might itself have had something to do with the sense that this *Shāh-nāma* was an unsurpassable achievement) was not the only factor which inhibited the development of book painting in Iran in the decades following the completion of the British Library Nizami (Or. 2265) in 950/1543. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the direct impact of this *Shāh-nāma* on Persian painting ceased in 1568 when the manuscript left Iran for Turkey, although no doubt its fame remained legendary. Conversely, its subsequent impact on Ottoman painting would repay close attention.
16. This *Shāh-nāma* was not, it seems, the only princely gift from Shah Tahmasb to the Ottoman sultan. Accompanying it was a luxurious Qur'an, allegedly written by 'Ali himself, for which see the discussion by W. Robinson in *Islamic Art, Indian Miniatures, Rugs and Carpets* (Christie's catalogue, 20 October 1992), no. 232, pp. 94-7.
17. The fact that a recent article focussing on royal *Shāh-nāma*s of the 15th century mentions only three such manuscripts is telling evidence in favour of this contention (E.G. Sims, The Illustrated Manuscripts of Firdausi's *Shahnama* Commissioned by Princes of the House of Timur, *Ars Orientalis* 22 [1992], 43-68, esp. p. 55).
18. For concise statements of this process, cf. E.J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting. The early school of Herat and its impact on Islamic Painting of the later 15th, the 16th and 17th centuries. Some Examples in American Collections* (Lugano 1968), pp. 25-8 and E.G. Sims, The Timurid Imperial Style: Its Origins and Diffusion, *Art and Archaeology Research Papers* 6 (1974), 56-67.
19. Dr Sims, in the article mentioned in n. 17 above, argues in favour of treating the *Shāh-nāma* of Sultan Ibrahim as royal, rather than "provincial", the term applied to it by B.W. Robinson, e.g. in his *Persian Miniature Painting from Collections in the British Isles* (London 1967), pp. 91-2. By that reckoning there would be three, not two, such "royal" *Shāh-nāma*s.
20. B. Gray, *The Shâhnâmeh of Ferdowsi. The Bâysonghori Manuscript. An Album of Miniatures and Illuminations* (Tehran 1971).
21. J.V.S. Wilkinson, *The Shāh-Nāmah of Firdausi* (London 1931); B.W. Robinson, Unpublished Paintings from a Fifteenth Century Book of Kings, *Apollo* Miscellany (June 1951), 17-23; idem, The Shāhnāma of Muḥammad Jūkī. RAS. Ms 239, in S. Simmonds and S. Digby (eds), *The Royal Asiatic Society. Its History and Treasures* (London 1979), 83-102.
22. For arguments justifying this date see E.G. Sims, The 101 Paintings of Sultan Ibrahim, in R. Hillenbrand (ed.), *Studies in Persian painting. Festschrift for Basil Robinson, Pembroke Papers* 3 (in press).
23. B.W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford 1958), pp. 16-22.
24. Idem, The Dunimarle Shāhnāma. A Timurid Manuscript from Mazandaran, in R. Ettinghausen (ed.), *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst. Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel zum 75. Geburtstag am 26.10.1957* (Berlin 1959), 207-18.

25. Idem, The Turkman School to 1503, in B. Gray (ed.), *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia* (London and Paris 1979), p. 243 and colour pls. LXVIII-LXIX; and idem, A Survey of Persian Painting (1350-1896), in C. Adle (ed.), *Art et Société dans le Monde Iranien* (*Institut Français d'Iranologie de Tèhèran. Bibliothèque Iranienne* no.26, Paris 1982), pp. 34-5.
26. These include, for example, the leaf in the Fogg Museum of Art depicting the visit of Tahmina to Rustam (the best account is still that of E. Schroeder, *Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art* [Cambridge, Mass. 1942], pp. 51-74); the volume of *Epics* dated 800/1397 and divided between the British Library and the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (I. Stchoukine, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits Timûrides* [Paris 1954], p. 40); and the ex-Vever collection leaves datable *ca* 1440 now in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington (G. Lowry and S. Nemanzee, *A Jeweler's Eye. Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection* [Seattle and London 1988], pp. 92-5 and colour pls. 15-16). For further examples, see Sims, "Illustrated Manuscripts", p. 63 n.47.
27. B.W. Robinson, Origin and Date of Three Famous Shah-Namah Illustrations, *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), 105-12.
28. There is not even a sign of an abortive project of this type.
29. See L. Golombek, Discourses of an Imaginary Arts Council in Fifteenth-Century Iran, in L. Golombek and M. Subtelny (eds), *Timurid Art and Culture. Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden, New York and Cologne 1992), p. 13.
30. Counting the double-page frontispiece as two paintings.
31. F.R. Martin and Sir T. Arnold, *The Nizami MS. illuminated by Bihzad, Mirak and Qasim Ali written 1495 for Sultan Ali Mirza Barlās ruler of Samarqand in the British Museum (Or. 6810)* (Vienna 1926), is the only publication to date with illustrations of all the miniatures; its text is richly though unintentionally comic.
32. Technically, moreover, Or. 6810 is not a royal Nizami, since it was produced for the Amir Farsi Barlas and not for Sultan Husain Baiqara himself – further evidence, if any were needed, that royal manuscripts simply held less illustration, page for page, than those made for a lower level of patronage – a paradoxical conclusion until one considers the remarkable discrepancies in quality between royal and commercial work.
33. The huge variety in the size of the text block, compounded by major differences in the size of the handwriting, makes straight comparisons between Nizami and Firdausi manuscripts an overly simplistic and hence misleading exercise. Moreover, it is obviously no easy matter to compare a text of lyric poetry, whose *baits* are typically divided into four columns, with a text of epic poetry whose baits are typically disposed in six columns per page. But raw length of text offers as neutral a standard of comparison as may be found. Bearing in mind that Firdausi himself, followed by other early authorities, estimated the length of the *Shāh-nāma* at 60,000 baits (A.S. Shahbazi, *Ferdowsi: A Critical Biography* [Costa Mesa 1991], pp. 107 and 123 n.38), a length maintained in many copies of the epic by interpolations and repetitions (cf. ibid., pp. 107-8), while Nizami's *Khamsa* comprises about 30,000 baits (E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia. II. From Firdawsí to Saʿdí* [repr. Cambridge 1969], p. 403), it seems justified to regard the *Khamsa* as roughly half the length of the *Shāh-nāma*.
34. More than a dozen of the non-princely 15th-century *Shāh-nāma*s listed by Dr Sims in the most valuable Appendix B to her article ("Illustrated Manuscripts", pp. 67-8) are more richly illustrated *pro rata* than Or. 6810.
35. Dr Sims lists 48 illustrated non-princely *Shāh-nāma*s in the period between 1427 and 1497 (ibid., pp. 67-8). In view of this very large number, the total absence of full-length illustrated *Shāh-nāma* manuscripts in the first three decades or so of the 15th century is worthy of note and challenges further investigation.

36. Welch, *KBK*, pp. 16 and 67; Dickson and Welch, p. 43. The style of some of the earlier folios does not exclude an earlier date. Nevertheless, there is no solid proof that Shah Ismaʿil (as distinct from Shah Tahmasb) did indeed initiate the project. For a succinct summary of his role as a patron of painting see I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits safavis de 1502 à 1587* (Paris 1959), pp. 9-12 [hereafter, *PMS*]. For Stchoukine's somewhat anodyne comments on the *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī*, see ibid., pp. 65-8.
37. Welch, *RPM*, pp. 62-9; Welch, *Wonders*, pp. 118-29; Stchoukine, *PMS*, pp. 60-2.
38. B. Gray, *Persian Painting* (Geneva 1961), pp. 129-31; Stchoukine, *PMS*, pp. 56-9; Welch, *RPM*, pp. 54-61.
39. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art; dated 931/1525. For the fullest scholarly publication of its illustrations to date, see P.P. Soucek, The Khamseh of 1524/25, in P.J. Chelkowski, *Mirror of the Invisible World. Tales from the* Khamseh *of Nizami* (New York 1975), 11-20; cf. Stchoukine, *PMS*, pp. 53-4.
40. For a detailed discussion comprising other illustrated manuscripts of the early Safavid period, see P.P. Soucek's review of *The Houghton Shahnameh* in *Ars Orientalis* 14 (1984), 135-7 (for example, the *Dīvān* of ʿAli Shir Navaʾi, copied in Tabriz in 934/1528, in the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, Turkic New Collection 36); and F. Çağman, The Miniatures of the Divan-i Hüseyni and the influence of their style, in G. Fehér (ed.), *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art* (Budapest 1978), pp. 235-6 (for example, ʿAli Shir Navaʾi, *Gharāʾib al-ṣighār*, of which one copy is in the Istanbul University library, T. 5669 – this is dated Rajab 930/May 1524 and was copied in Herat, while the other copy, also in Istanbul, is in the Topkapi Saray Museum, R. 803, and was copied in Tabriz in 939/1532-3). See especially Çağman, p. 236 n.9 for references to illustrated manuscripts of the *Khamsa* of Navaʾi, the *Khamsa* of Jami and the *Dīvān* of Amir Khusrau. One may perhaps add to this list a *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, PIS 267, with illustrations attributable to Tabriz in the first half of the 16th century (H. Suleimanov and F. Suleimanova, *Miniatures Illuminations of Amir Hosrov Dehlevi's Works* [Tashkent 1983], pls. 53-60). Dr Çağman associates a series of illustrated manuscripts produced in Istanbul in the early 16th century with the developing style of Tabriz in this period (pp. 236-9). Certainly there was more than one style of painting current in Tabriz at the time that the *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī* was being produced. All this material, indeed, and the varied interplay between Herat, Tabriz and Istanbul which it suggests, indicates that what might be termed the stylistic hinterland of the *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī* still requires much further study.
41. The first volume of the Navaʾi manuscript in Paris, for instance, has only six illustrations in some 500 folios, while the second volume (Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. turc 317) has no illustrations at all, though its illumination is very fine (E. Blochet, *Les Peintures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale* [Paris 1914-20], p. 287; idem, *Les enluminures des manuscrits orientaux - turcs, arabes, persans - de la Bibliothèque Nationale* [Paris 1926], p. 96). For a detailed discussion of the paintings of Volume I, see Blochet, *Enluminures*, pp. 96-102 and idem, *Peintures*, pp. 282, 286-8.
42. M.S. Simpson, *The Illustration of an Epic. The Earliest* Shahnama *Manuscripts* (New York and London 1979).
43. A threat which modern specialists, enjoying the benefits of hindsight, are apt to underplay.
44. Cf. V. Minorsky, La Perse au XVe Siècle, *Iranica. Twenty Articles* (Tehran 1964), p. 326

and idem, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk. A Manual of Ṣafavid Administration* (London 1943), Appendix I, "Iranians and Turks", p. 188.

45. R.M. Savory, The emergence of the modern Persian state under the Safavids, *Iranshinasi* 3 (1971), pp. 25-6; idem, The significance of the political murder of Mīrzā Salmān, *Islamic Studies. Journal of the Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi* 3 (1964), 181-91. Cf. also H.R. Roemer, Problèmes de l'histoire safavide avant la stabilisation de la dynastie sous Šāh ʿAbbās, in *Actes du Ve Congrès International d'Arabisants et d'Islamisants* (Brussels 1971), pp. 403-4. This process could even be seen as a class struggle; see R.M. Savory, Some Reflections on Totalitarian Tendencies in the Ṣafavid State, *Der Islam* 53/ii (1976), p. 241. For an overview of this issue, see idem, *Iran under the Safavids* (Cambridge 1980), pp. 31-3.
46. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat*, p. 30 and Appendix II, "The Supporters of the Lords of Ardabil", especially pp. 190-5.
47. I.e. "the men of the pen"; see R.M. Savory, "Ḳizilbāsh", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², V, p. 244. Cf. idem, The qizilbash, education and the arts, *Turcica* 6 (1975), p. 169. A typical post was that of the *khalīfat al-khulafā:* see idem, The office of "khalīfat al-khulafā" under the Ṣafawids, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 85/iv (1965), p. 498. Cf. also idem, Some notes on the provincial administration of the early Safawid empire, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 27/i (1964), p. 117.
48. Such as Qazi Muhammad Kashani; see Savory, "Some notes", pp. 115-16.
49. V. Minorsky, The poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 10/iv (1940-2), pp. 1010a-24a (for the poems themselves, see pp. 1030a-53a). As it happens, Ismaʿil did also write a little Persian verse (ibid., p. 1008a). By a neat reciprocity, his contemporary Sultan Selim wrote his own verses almost exclusively in Persian (E.G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times, 1500-1924* [Cambridge 1924], p. 12).
50. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat*, p. 199. For further examples of cultural Turkification, see Qazi Ahmad, *Calligraphers and painters*, pp. 94-6.
51. Cf. the paper by J.R. Perry in this volume and the remarks of Roemer, "Problèmes", p. 405.
52. Though of course the impact of these lands on the Safavid state, exercised by people native to these territories, long outlasted Chaldiran. Cf. R.M. Savory, The consolidation of Safawid power in Persia, *Der Islam* 41 (1965), p. 85.
53. Cf. M.B. Dickson, *Shāh Tahmāsb and the Uzbeks (the duel for Khurāsān with ʿUbayd Khān: 930-946/1524-1540)* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University 1958). For a brief summary, see H.R. Roemer, The Safavid Period, in P. Jackson and L. Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran, VI. The Timurid and Safavid Periods* (Cambridge 1986), pp. 235-40.
54. Roemer, "Safavid Period", pp. 239 and 244.
55. Savory, "Ḳizilbāsh", p. 245; Roemer, "Safavid Period", pp. 233-5.
56. Welch, *KBK*, p. 44; for a lengthier assessment of the meeting of various styles of painting in the early Safavid court, see ibid., pp. 48, 50-5 and Dickson and Welch, I, pp. 15-26.
57. For the background to how the early Safavid *kitābkhāna* worked, see Dickson and Welch, I, pp. 3-14. The close control kept over artists, whatever their medium of work, in late medieval courts in the Iranian world is illustrated by the celebrated *Arzadasht*, see Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, pp. 323-7.
58. Dickson and Welch, I, pp. 32-5.
59. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, pp. 45-7; G. Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī* (Aligarh 1939), pp. 86 and 99.

60. For his interests in poetry, painting, calligraphy and music, see M.K. Yusuf-Jamali, *The Life and Personality of Shah Ismaʿil I (1487-1524)* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh 1981), pp. 154-70 and 232-45.
61. Dickson and Welch, I, p. 34.
62. B. Gray, The Arts in the Safavid Period, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, VI, p. 879.
63. The gap is between fol. 74vo ("Zal dictates a letter to Sam about Rudaba") and fol. 76vo ("Rudaba confesses to Sindukht"). The text in between these two episodes describes the arrival of the messenger "upon a white steed of Zabulistan" (*The Shāhnāma of Firdausī*, I, tr. A.G. and E. Warner [London 1905], p. 277), how Sam consulted the astrologers, the return of the messenger to Zal, Zal's conversation with the woman who acted as go-between for him and Rudaba, and finally Sindukht's cross-questioning and mistreatment of this woman. There was thus no lack of possible subjects for a painting at this point.
64. Compare the Great Mongol *Shāh-nāma*, which devoted, it seems, 17 paintings to the story of Iskandar (Grabar and Blair, pp. 186-7). This can serve as a reminder of how readily the *Shāh-nāma* lent itself to special emphasis by pictorial means on a given section of the text.
65. Episodes irrelevant to this grand theme, such as the love affair of Bizhan and Manija, are glossed over and thus not permitted to break the tension.
66. Dickson and Welch, II, pl. 43.
67. For example, the unwavering loyalty to the Shah of these great paladins might provide an instructive object lesson to the quarrelsome and rebellious Qizilbash amirs of the early Safavid court – or, at the very least, offer some consolation to the young Shah faced with the task of disciplining them.
68. For the Nushirvan cycle, see Dickson and Welch, II, pls. 237-49.
69. Nushirvan figures again in the opening illustration of the sparsely illustrated royal *Khamsa* of Nizami in the British Library, dated 946-50/1539-43 (Welch, *RPM*, p. 70, pl. 19).
70. One should not lose sight of the possibility that the project was connected with Shah Tahmasb's own sense of coming of age as a king – an event which he dated to the summer of 1527 (Michele Membré, tr. A.H. Morton, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)* [London 1993], p. xvi).
71. Roemer, "Safavid Period", pp. 236 and 249.
72. Ibid., pp. 239 and 242. The revolt of Sam Mirza took place in 941/1534-5 and that of Alqas Mirza in 955/1548; the latter revolt thus does not fall within the time-frame of the *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī*.
73. Dickson and Welch, II, pl. 261.
74. Firdausi, tr. Warner, I, pp. 106-7; see Shahbazi, pp. 57-9 for a revised translation and for a brief commentary on it. The problem of determining Firdausi's confessional loyalty is complicated by the existence of forged interpolations designed to place him firmly in one camp or another (ibid., p. 49).
75. For a conveniently accessible colour plate, see Welch, *KBK*, p. 85. It is instructive that this painting, although it is placed near the very front of the book, is in a decidedly later style than its neighbours; this suggests that it was not part of the iconography planned at the outset of the book. Does it bear witness to the growing commitment to Shiʿism which Shah Tahmasb evinced in the 1530s? Welch ascribes it to the mid-1530s (*KBK*, p. 84).
76. Dickson and Welch, II, pp. 540-2.
77. I am grateful to Dr Chahriyar Adle for an illuminating conversation on this topic.

78. J.M. Rogers, F. Çağman and Z. Tanindi, *The Topkapi Saray Museum. The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts* (London 1986), pp. 211-12 and colour pl. 157 from Loqman's *Shehname-i Selim Han* dated 6 Zu'l-Hijja 988/12 January 1581. For a detailed account of the circumstances of the gift, see Dickson and Welch, II, pp. 270-2.
79. Roemer, "Safavid Period", p. 244.

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Kinship Ties between the Safavids and the Qizilbash Amirs in Late Sixteenth-Century Iran: a Case Study of the Political Career of Members of the Sharaf al-Din Oghli Tekelu Family

Maria Szuppe*

From the very early days of Safavid rule in Iran, dynastic policy aimed at forming marriage alliances with key members of the political circles at court and in the provinces. During the 16th century, apart from forming marriage alliances with the local rulers and dignitaries, the Safavids intermarried with Qizilbash families of every important Qizilbash tribal group.[1] For the leading amirs an alliance with the ruling dynasty was not only an acknowledgement of powerful position and great prestige, but also a guarantee of many social and economic advantages. Close relations and, especially, the descendants of Safavid mothers were singled out for political promotion and enjoyed tremendous wealth.[2]

The importance of royal cousins, as well as that of the royal in-laws, resulted from the exceptionally high social status of the Safavid-born wives. The royal cousins issuing from Safavid mothers were considered to be a part of the dynastic family and, if men, were given the right to use the title of *Mīrzā*, Royal Prince.[3]

The alliances with particular Qizilbash groups were often carried on through several generations, as in the case of the Shamlu, the Ostajlu or the Turkman. The result was the growing complexity of the kinship network among the Safavids and the Qizilbash, as well as among the different tribal groups themselves, which also frequently intermarried.

The importance of matrilineal royal descent is quite obvious.

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Although, generally speaking, paternal descent takes precedence over maternal descent, the latter is by no means unimportant. The kin status was also recognised in the case of people whose connection to the dynasty came through a non-Safavid lady.

This is why social relations could become extremely complicated when the so-called 'tribal loyalties' were evoked, next to family or personal ones.[4] Loyalty to the person of the Safavid Shah was not only to a ruler and spiritual guide, but also, for many, to a maternal kinsman. This duty is often at variance with the traditional loyalty of an amir to his own tribal group, representing his paternal descent. During the 16th century, a period which witnessed much domestic unrest, one loyalty or the other, at will, was used by amirs to justify their political actions.

The case discussed here is that of one of the main 16th-century Qizilbash families of the Tekelu[5] tribal group. The history and political career of three generations of its members can be traced over about 70 years, i.e., from the early 930s A.H. (the end of the 1520s) to the early 1000s (the mid-1590s), mostly in Iran, but also, in one case, in India. The main people discussed are:

(i) in the first generation – Muhammad Khan Sharaf al-Din Oghli Tekelu (d.964/1557 in Herat), the chief Tekelu amir of the Shah Tahmasb period and the founder of this family line;

(ii) in the second generation – two of his seven sons, namely the eldest one, Qazaq Khan (d.972/1565 in Herat), and one of the younger sons, Musayyib Khan (d.998/1590 in Ray), who was the leading Tekelu amir of the Shah Muhammad Khudabanda period;

(iii) and in the third generation – three of Muhammad Khan's grandsons, Mukhtar Sultan b. Ahmad Beg (d.998/1590 in Shiraz), Ja^{c}far (Sultan) Khan b. Qazaq Khan (d.1001/1593 in India) and Mustafa Khan b. Musayyib Khan (d.1004 or 1005/1596 or 1597 in Hamadan province).

The case of this family line is one of the best documented and, at the same time, presents some particular features. The Sharaf al-Din Oghli Tekelu are typical of the 16th-century Qizilbash involved in promoting their personal careers as well as the interests of their tribal group. However, they are limited in these actions by the appearance from the second generation onwards, for at least one of them, of the obligations of kin loyalty to the Safavids. In their political choices, they are pressed from one side by the tribe which they lead and from which they issue, and from the other by the court administration representing the dynasty to which they are also related.

GENERATION ONE
Muhammad Khan (d.964/1557)

Muhammad Khan Sharaf al-Din Oghli Tekelu, who was, among other things, governor of Qazvin, Baghdad and Herat,[6] was an exceptional character (see Table 1 for a record of his career). The subsequent importance of his line is evidently due to his qualities as military leader, politician and provincial administrator. His outstanding personality permitted him not only to obtain the leadership of the Tekelu tribe, which took place shortly after the assassination, in 937/1531, of Juha Sultan Tekelu whose protection had much helped his early career,[7] but also to secure for himself the governorship of Herat, capital of Khurasan, for 20 years. He brought political and economic stability to Khurasan after years of turmoil and war. Even a semblance of a cultural revival was achieved in Herat during the period of his government. His prestige and power were so great that, after his death from natural causes, his eldest son Qazaq Khan inherited his position.

The key to the political rise of Muhammad Khan Tekelu seems to be his unprecedented loyalty to the crown, in the person of Shah Tahmasb. This striking personal loyalty was expressed at least twice, at crucial times; once in Baghdad in 937/1531 and again in 940/1534, when Muhammad Khan, with only his closest family and followers, moved against his own tribal group, the Tekelu, who were in open revolt against the Safavids. In 937/1531, Muhammad Khan ordered the execution of the Tekelu rebels who came to seek refuge at his court in Baghdad.

TABLE 1
THE CAREER OF MUHAMMAD KHAN SHARAF AL-DIN OGHLI TEKELU (d.964/1557)

Date		
A.H.	A.D.	Stages in career
933	1527	governor of Qazvin
935	1529	named governor of Baghdad and given the title of khan
ca 937	*ca* 1530-1	becomes the leading amir of the Tekelu
940	1534	returns from Baghdad; given Isfahan as *tiyul*[8]
943	1536	named governor of Herat and of Khurasan and *lala* of the Safavid prince Sultan-Muhammad (Shah Muhammad Khudabanda)[9]
summer 964	summer 1557	death of Muhammad Khan[10]

In 940/1534, he refused to join the Ottomans, advancing on the city, and to yield Baghdad to them, not only against the wishes of his Tekelu amirs in Baghdad, but also in the face of a general trend whereby several leading Tekelu amirs of the royal court, such as Ulāma Sultan, Ghazi Khan and some others, were changing sides to the Ottomans. Seeing that he could not keep Baghdad, Muhammad Khan, following royal orders, left the city with a group of his most faithful retainers (about 300 people). Cutting the bridge and destroying food stores behind them, they joined the Shah's camp.[11]

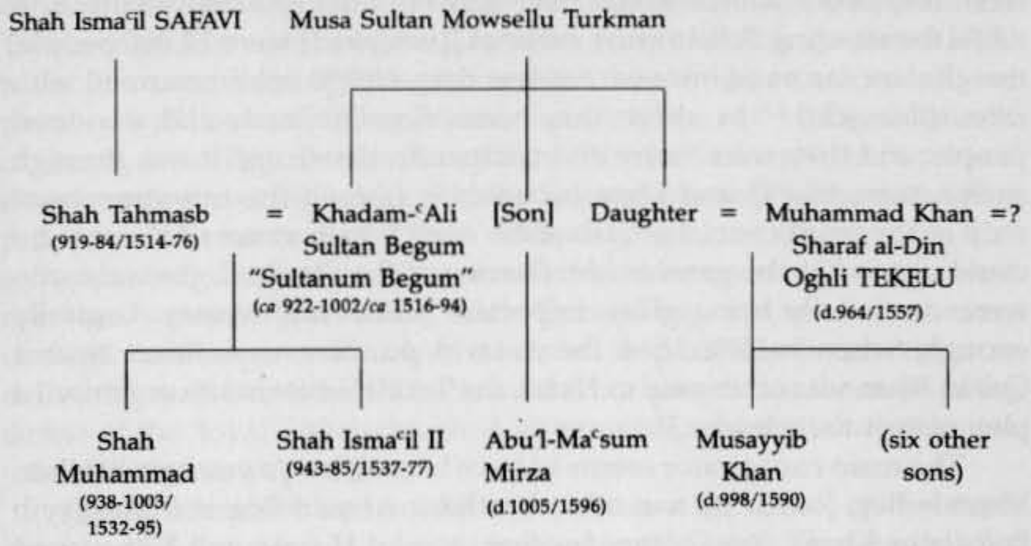
One of the most important facts for the future relationship of the family with the Safavids, and especially with Shah Muhammad Khudabanda, is that Muhammad Khan had been the latter's tutor (*lala*) for about 20 years. However, there is still more to be considered from this point of interest, as Shah Muhammad and, of course, his brother Shah Ismaʿil II, were nephews of Muhammad Khan Tekelu's wife (see *infra*). Shah Muhammad is supposed to have professed a great respect for Muhammad Khan, especially when compared with his subsequent tutors. Long after the amir's death, the Shah still praised him in conversation.[12] What is more, Shah Muhammad, who had been brought up among the Tekelu of Herat, used to consider them as people related to himself.[13]

GENERATION TWO
Qazaq Khan's (d.972/1565) bid for independence and the opposition of his junior brothers

During the later part of the 16th century, the descendants of Muhammad Khan Tekelu were, on several occasions, inevitably faced with a choice between loyalty to the crown and to the Tekelu.

In the second generation, this traditional dilemma of Qizilbash amirs was singularly complicated by the fact that one of the younger sons of Muhammad Khan, Musayyib Khan, was related through his mother to two sons of Shah Tahmasb: the future Shah Ismaʿil II and his older brother, the future Shah Muhammad Khudabanda. The mother of Musayyib Khan was the maternal aunt of the two Shahs. These two ladies were daughters of a Turkman amir, Musa Sultan Mowsellu Turkman (see Table 2).[14] There is no evidence that any other of Muhammad Khan's sons were born of the same mother and, possibly, it was Musayyib Khan alone who was first cousin to the two Safavid Shahs. This kinship was readily acknowledged at the court since Musayyib Khan, about 20 years after the death of his father, became the leader of the Tekelu tribal group.

TABLE 2
KINSHIP TIES OF THE SAFAVIDS WITH THE TEKELU, 16th CENTURY



Muhammad Khan Tekelu had seven sons who resided with him in Herat itself or in the Herat region (see Table 3).[15] The eldest, Qazaq Sultan (promoted to khan on the death of his father in 964/1557), held lands in the Bakharz province of Khurasan, one of the richest and most fertile pastoral and agricultural regions around Herat.[16] Qazaq (Sultan) Khan, as well as the second son, Tatar Sultan, are frequently mentioned next to their father during the 950s and the early 960s A.H. (roughly 1543-57) on a number of military and official occasions in and around Herat.[17]

After the death of Muhammad Khan, Qazaq Khan Tekelu becomes the head of the family, the governor of Herat and the tutor of the royal prince, the future Shah Muhammad Khudabanda.[18] When he revolts, in 972/1564, some of his brothers are still residing in Herat, but two of them, Tatar Sultan and ʿAli Sultan, are mentioned in attendance on Shah Tahmasb at the royal court, having arrived there, apparently, to notify the Safavid ruler of their brother's rebellion.[19]

The revolt of Qazaq Khan was not completely unexpected, as for several years he had not presented himself at court. The Safavid sources agree in presenting him as a "tyrannous" governor who disregarded the economy and the well-being of the ordinary people and, generally, acted independently of royal orders, exercising oppression (*ẓulm*).[20] More seriously, he was suspected of engaging in independent politics and diplomacy, and of having agreed personal treaties with the Uzbeks: as a result, the Uzbeks supposedly avoided Herat while on their raids to

Khurasan.[21] Furthermore, and what was probably worst of all, Qazaq Khan assembled an independent personal fighting force of *ghulām* recruited, as one source would have it, from India (*ghulām-i hindī*). And while the standing Tekelu army in Herat [province?] were 12,000 people, the ghulam forces numbered not less than 10,000 soldiers armed with rifles (*tufangchī*).[22] In short, they were non-Qizilbash and non-local people, and they were many and comparatively strong. It was through such actions that Qazaq Khan brought on himself the resentment not only of the royal court, but also of his own Tekelu amirs of Herat, who could not suffer the growth of influence of the "Indian" ghulams who were continually being given important offices and money. Logically enough, when in 972/1564 the Safavid punitive expedition against Qazaq Khan was on its way to Herat, the Tekelu amirs *in situ* organised a plot against their leader.[23]

The main conspirator seems to have been Qazaq's younger brother, Mustafa Beg, joined by two other brothers, Ahmad Beg and Musayyib Beg (later Khan). Yet another brother, named Husain-quli Beg, stayed loyal to Qazaq Khan (see Table 3).[24] The principal motivation of the conspirators was to perform an act of loyalty to the crown which was to ensure that the government of Herat would not be removed from the hands of their family.[25]

TABLE 3
THE SHARAF AL-DIN OGHLI TEKELU FAMILY

1st generation	2nd generation	3rd generation	4th generation
	--> Qazaq Khan (d.972/1565)	---> Jaʿfar Khan (b.before 950/ 1543-d.1001/ 1593)	---> sons (in India)
	--> Tatar Sultan		
	--> Ahmad Beg (Sultan)	--->Mukhtar Sultan (d.998/1590)	
Muhammad Khan (d.964/1557)	-->ʿAli Sultan (d. after 988/ 1580)		
	--> Husain-quli Beg		
	--> Mustafa Beg (d.973/1565-6)		
	--> Musayyib Khan (d.998/1590)	---> Mustafa Khan (d.1004 or 1005/ 1596 or 1597	

Qazaq Khan discovered the plot, an occurrence that might indicate that some Tekelu stayed loyal. The three conspirators, apparently being no match for Qazaq Khan's ghulams, fled from Herat together with their Tekelu supporters. Heading for Ghuriyan, where a Rumlu governor loyal to the Shah was residing,[26] they were overtaken by Qazaq's troops. These were led by Husain-quli Beg Tekelu, their brother, and by the eldest son of Qazaq, Jaʿfar Beg (later Sultan, Khan). The battle fought there proved disastrous to the conspirators: Ahmad Beg and Musayyib Beg were taken prisoner and sent back to Herat. Mustafa Beg alone managed to find refuge in a nearby fortress. There he waited to be rescued by the Safavid royal army marching on Herat, while Qazaq Khan was sending an army of 4000 horsemen to Ghuriyan in order to persuade its governor to deliver Mustafa Beg to him. The Safavid army hastened as the news of the defeat of the 'loyal' Tekelu reached its generals, and another battle was joined in the vicinity of Herat.[27]

Qazaq Khan's troops could not withstand the attack of the royal army and his forces were defeated and scattered. Qazaq Khan had to give himself up after several days of negotiations conducted from the citadel of Herat where he had sought refuge. By that time, he had been abandoned by most of his people, and even his son Jaʿfar Beg left his side and fled (or was sent away), significantly, to Uzbek-held Balkh (see *infra* for his subsequent fate).[28] Qazaq Khan was most probably executed, although nearly all the sources say that he died in the Safavid camp of dropsy, from which he had long been suffering.[29]

It is probably not very surprising to see that the act of loyalty performed by the three brothers of Qazaq Khan was not rewarded in the way they had hoped it would or should be. The government of Herat was taken away from the Sharaf al-Din Oghli family, and went first to the Ostajlu and then to the Shamlu amirs.[30]

Mustafa Beg Tekelu was given a land tenure (*ulkā'*) in Shirvan, where he died soon afterwards from the putrid air and bad water.[31] Musayyib Beg (Khan) was assigned a village, named Khāva, and its surroundings in the region of Ray in central Iran.[32] Both were promoted to the rank of amir. Strikingly, nothing is said about Ahmad Beg, the third conspirator, which could indicate that he may have died in Qazaq's prison, or very soon afterwards. It is important to note, however, that it is his son, Mukhtar Sultan, who will appear on the political scene next to his uncle Musayyib Khan in the 990s/late 1580s-early 1590s. Among the other brothers, Tatar Sultan and Husain-quli Beg are not mentioned any longer. ʿAli Sultan seems to have stayed at the royal court at least until 988/1580 when he is mentioned for the last and only time after the removal of the Sharaf al-Din Oghli Tekelu from Herat.[33]

With Qazaq Khan's revolt and death, the descendants of Muhammad

Khan Sharaf al-Din Oghli Tekelu lost not only their effectively hereditary posting in Herat, but also found themselves scattered in different parts of Iran. They were, it would seem, restricted to small revenue lands and to a junior rank among the Qizilbash amirs. Other Tekelu branches are prominent during these years until, after the death of Shah Tahmasb, the leadership of the Tekelu is given back to the line of Muhammad Khan.

Only 12 years after the revolt of Qazaq Khan, Musayyib Khan was able to reoccupy, or was made to reoccupy, the important position of chief Tekelu amir and royal counsellor. This was to be done by completely different means from those used by the previous generation.

Musayyib Khan (d.998/1590) and his kinship to the royal family

In 984 or 985/1576-7, Musayyib Beg, newly promoted to the rank of khan by Shah Ismaʿil II, reappears on the political scene and begins a rapid career which will continue until his death in 998/1590. Probably about the time of his promotion to khan, he is betrothed to a daughter of Shah Tahmasb,[34] and given the governorship of Ray. At the end of 985/1578, he is referred to as the leader (*rīsh-safīd*) of the Tekelu,[35] a function that he kept until the end (see Table 4 for the career record of Musayyib Khan).

TABLE 4
MUSAYYIB KHAN SHARAF AL-DIN OGHLI TEKELU (d.998/1590)

Date A.H.	A.D.	Stages in career
972	1564	mentioned at the court of his brother Qazaq Khan Tekelu in Herat
973	1565 or 6	given the village of Khava in the Ray district and its dependencies as *tiyul;* promoted to amir
984 or 5	1576 or 7	named governor of Ray; given the rank of khan
end 985	beg. 1578	reconfirmed as governor of Ray, mentioned as the leader of the Tekelu
992	1584	joins the Tekelu and Turkman rebels (together with his nephew Mukhtar Khan from Varamin)
994	1586	removed from Ray; pardoned for the rebellion and named governor of Ardabil
996	1588	re-named as governor of Ray (Tehran) – but his nephew joins the Zuʾl-Qadr rebels in Fars
end 998	1590	killed in Ray by royal order

The post is accompanied by land holdings in central Iran in the region of Ray, including specifically Varamin and Tehran.[36]

At about the same period, i.e. the late 980s and the 990s A.H., other Tekelu amirs held lands mostly in neighbouring Hamadan province.[37] The Turkman, whose chief amir families were related to some leading Tekelu,[38] resided not only in Azarbaijan, but also in central Iran, namely the Kashan, Sava and Qum regions (see Table 5 for the main Turkman families mentioned here).[39] This grouping of Tekelu-Turkman land holdings is an extremely important factor in the subsequent display of power by the amirs, who were thus in political and economic control of a large portion of Iran.

TABLE 5
THE MAIN MOWSELLU TURKMAN LINES
IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 16th CENTURY:
a) AMIR KHAN IN AZARBAIJAN, and b) MUHAMMAD KHAN IN KASHAN
(see also Table 2 for Musa Sultan's line)

a) Amir Khan b. Gulabi Beg MOWSELLU TURKMAN (d.928/1522)

= other wives

Shah-quli Sultan (d.994/1586) | Ismaʿil Sultan | Amir Khan (d.992/1584) = Fatima-Sultan Begum SAFAVI

other wives = Vali Khan TEKELU of Hamadan (d.994/1586) | Daughter | Sultan-Murad Beg | Gulabi Beg

ʿAli Sultan Pākmāl (d.994/1586)

b) Muhammad Khan MOWSELLU TURKMAN*

Vali Khan Sultan (d.998/1590) | Yusuf Beg *davātdār*

* Related to Amir Khan; the degree of this kinship is not clear.

From loyal cousin to rebel amir

(i) The origin of Musayyib Khan's rise to prominence. Musayyib Khan is the only one of the sons of Muhammad Khan Tekelu to achieve such prominence. His quite sudden return to the political scene coincides with the accession of Shah Ismaᶜil II, in 984/1576, and his career continues after Shah Muhammad's accession to the throne. Both Shahs were maternal cousins of Musayyib Khan. Although a royal cousin, he is not a Safavid and cannot put forward any legal claim to the throne. His career is boosted under Shah Ismaᶜil II, as even this sovereign—ill-remembered for the massacre of all but one or two of his royal brothers, uncles and cousins, together with their male children—considers it safe to rely on a non-Safavid cousin. The royal favour granted to Musayyib Khan, his promotion to the rank of khan and to the governorship of Ray, according to a Safavid chronicler, was due to his being a son of the maternal aunt and a relation (*khāla-zādagī va khwīshāvandī*) [of Shah Ismaᶜil II].[40]

Surprisingly, quite a lot is said about Musayyib Khan's personality in different Safavid sources. Iskandar Beg stresses his sense of justice, his peaceful nature, and says, generally, that he was a kind and quiet man.[41] Several biographical dictionaries (*tazkira*) mention his name among the poets of the period and quote his verses.[42] He was considered an extremely talented musician and composer, as well as a very good calligrapher in *nastaᶜlīq*. This is of course not exceptional in itself; many Qizilbash amirs already by the second half of the 16th century were interested in various artistic activities.[43] Maybe it is worth stressing that Musayyib Khan had been brought up in Herat, an ancient centre of art and culture. Already his father, Muhammad Khan, encouraged some cultural activities and was a patron of the historian Amir Mahmud b. Khwandamir and the painter Aqa Hasan.[44] Musayyib Khan is known to have surrounded himself with poets,[45] and his own son, Mustafa Khan, was said to have equalled his father in all of the artistic skills but that of music.[46]

As the leader of the Tekelu tribe, Musayyib Khan had to face several critical situations. He seems to have had difficulties in handling them, proving that he was not an exceptional military or political leader, like his father, although he did take part in several military campaigns. His choice as a leader of the Tekelu was clearly influenced again by his kinship to the Safavids, who hoped thus to gain better control over the tribe, as his loyalty could be, in principle, counted upon. But in reality, he was also, and probably above all, a Tekelu, and as such he could not disregard his obligations to the tribe.

(ii) Conflict of loyalties. Several cases of acute conflict between the Safavids and the Qizilbash, in which the Tekelu were implicated, arose during the

reigns of Shah Ismaᶜil II and Shah Muhammad. Musayyib Khan's loyalty was from time to time put to the test, and his liberty of manœuvre seemed to be limited.

The situation is different from that of 972/1564, when Musayyib Khan opposed Qazaq Khan in Herat. Then, he was following, firstly, his brother Mustafa Beg and, secondly, the majority of the Tekelu amirs. His loyalty to the Safavids did not disagree with that to his tribe, as Qazaq Khan, backed by non-Qizilbash troops, was clearly abandoned by the majority of the family and of the Tekelu.

In 985/1577 Shah Ismaᶜil II thought it safe to entrust Musayyib Khan with the mission to eliminate the Shah's nephew, Sultan-Hasan Mirza, the eldest son of Shah Muhammad. Although Musayyib Khan originally set off from the court to execute the order, he would finally not carry it through. Incidentally, Sultan-Hasan Mirza, as a first cousin's son, was quite closely related to him and he was also the favourite grandson of Musayyib Khan's maternal aunt, Sultanum Begum. Musayyib Khan did indeed refrain from executing the Shah's orders himself, but, on the other hand, he did not try to prevent the assassination, which took place in Tehran, belonging to the province he was governing.[47]

The crisis of the summer 987/1579 reveals the ambiguity of Musayyib Khan's position among his peers as well as his lack of control, or of the will to control, the Tekelu amirs. At that time a plot is conducted at the court by the leading amirs of all the Qizilbash, to assassinate Khair al-Nisa' Begum, known as the *Mahd-i ᶜUlyā*, wife of Shah Muhammad.[48] Initially, Musayyib Khan is the only main amir not to join the rebels. He is supposed, according to the wishes of the Shah, to organise those "who-love-the-Shah" (*shāhsevān*)[49] to oppose the conspirators, a task to which he agrees. But, instead of carrying it through, he leaves the court and shuts himself up in his own house for several days, only to yield under the pressure of his fellow amirs and Qizilbash soldiers and to join the conspirators.[50] Evidently, under pressure from the two sides, he does not know which action to take, and hopes to be left out of the conflict. However, as the chief of the Tekelu he is obliged to take sides and is made to abide by his tribe's wishes.

The ambiguous rôle he played in this episode did not prevent him from appearing as one of the most important amirs of Shah Muhammad's court. It is to be noticed that all the amirs implicated in the above-mentioned plot were later pardoned. But it is this incident that seems to be the turning point in the balance of his loyalties; a few years later, Musayyib Khan will follow his tribe in a major revolt of the Tekelu and the Turkman in central Iran.

The Tekelu and Turkman revolt was triggered by the execution of the Turkman leader, Amir Khan, governor of Tabriz, on the order of the

Crown Prince, Sultan-Hamza Mirza, and it extended over more than two years, between 992/1584 and 994/1586. The rebellion reveals the moral contradiction to which Musayyib Khan was subject, and the fact that he would, or had to, act according to the wishes of his fellow tribesmen and amirs, rather than to those of his royal cousins.

The nature of his obligations towards the Safavids is made abundantly clear by the appeal the court makes to him in a secret personal letter. At the same time the court tries generally to negotiate with the rebels and approaches, separately, another rebel amir. Musayyib Khan is reminded of his blood ties with the Safavid dynasty, and is asked to dissociate himself on these grounds from the rebel Qizilbash.[51] Musayyib Khan refuses and he defends himself from what is really an accusation of disloyalty by presenting the revolt as one aimed against the rival Shamlu and Ostajlu tribes and not against the dynasty; this explanation is clearly an attempt to save appearances.[52]

(iii) Musayyib Khan's position among the rebel amirs. Several points seem to indicate that Musayyib Khan is the weaker partner in the alliance of the Tekelu and the Turkman, and that it is the Turkman chief amir, Muhammad Khan, who leads the rebel tribes.

Significantly, already back in 988 or 9/1580-1, Musayyib Khan had to give up his proposed marriage to Shah Muhammad Khudabanda's half-sister, who was married to an Ostajlu amir (descending from the Safavids through the female line). He was also refused the hand of another of Shah Muhammad's half-sisters, who was instead given in marriage to Amir Khan Turkman.[53]

Furthermore, during the 992-4/1584-6 revolt he had competed with Muhammad Khan Turkman for the post of the tutor (*lala*) to the little prince Tahmasb Mirza Safavi who had been kidnapped by the rebels and pronounced Crown Prince. Musayyib Khan was unable to secure this position which went to the Turkman leader Muhammad Khan, but he became the prince's plenipotentiary (*vakīl*) instead. The Safavid sources determine not only that Muhammad Khan Turkman "appointed himself" as the prince's tutor, but also that although he "left" the office of vakil to Musayyib Khan, it was he who stayed in control of the management of affairs.[54] The preeminence of the Turkman amir is confirmed by the fact that, during the decisive battle against the Safavid army, in 994/1586, Tahmasb Mirza was stationed among the Turkman and not the Tekelu detachments.

Another aspect indirectly showing the lesser rôle of Musayyib Khan Tekelu, is the fact that among the prominent Tekelu amirs that the sources mention,[55] none is described as related to Musayyib Khan. Vali Khan Tekelu, governor of Hamadan, and his son ᶜAli Sultan, appear as

especially important, because Vali Khan is married to a daughter of Amir Khan Turkman, the executed governor of Tabriz (see Table 5a). This family connection confers a great amount of prestige on Vali Khan Tekelu in the Turkman-Tekelu coalition, as it is at his camp at Hamadan that Amir Khan Turkman's brothers, sons and relations seek refuge after the latter's execution.[56] Only after their arrival at Vali Khan's camp, did the Turkman chief amir, Muhammad Khan Mowsellu, and his sons (see Table 5b)[57] set off from their holdings in Kashan province in the direction of Hamadan to join the rebels.

In this context, Musayyib Khan Tekelu appears less surrounded by his own people. The only member of his paternal family mentioned in connection with him is his young nephew, Mukhtar Sultan, who in 992/1584 was holding Varamin.[58] It must also be remembered that Musayyib Khan's mother, although issuing from a different branch from that of Amir Khan, was a Mowsellu, and thus Musayyib Khan himself was very closely related to the Turkman (see Table 2).

In such a complex social and political reality, the difficulty and even the ambiguity of Musayyib Khan's position is evident, especially in view of the "mildness" of his character, about which all the sources directly or indirectly agree.

The end of Musayyib Khan's political career

The aftermath of the revolt is very interesting as, according to the Safavid sources, the greater part of the Tekelu and Turkman amirs were either killed or taken prisoner in a decisive battle against the royal army at the place called Ṣāyin Qalᶜa in the Sultaniyya province, in spring 994/1586.[59] The surviving amirs scattered in all directions and to different provinces and only some of them finally returned to the royal court, where they were granted pardon by the Crown Prince, Sultan-Hamza Mirza.[60] The two leaders of the rebel army, Muhammad Khan Turkman and Musayyib Khan Tekelu, who had been taken prisoner, were set free and confirmed in their rank of amir.[61]

In spite of the royal pardon, the rank and the importance of the Tekelu and Turkman tribes were greatly diminished. The loss was not only political and human (military power gone, elites and soldiers decimated), but also economic. The whole of the baggage and possessions of the Tekelu and Turkman, loaded on camels and stationed a half-*farsakh* away from the battlefield, was entirely plundered by the Safavid army.[62] The prisoner amirs at first had their fortunes confiscated.[63] Later, they were given new lands in the provinces far removed from what had been, for the previous twenty years, the traditional Tekelu and Turkman heartland in central Iran. Those, in turn, became the holdings of amirs of different tribes.

Thus, in Jumada II, 994/May-June 1586, the Ray and Hamadan regions were given to various Ostajlu amirs, the Qum region went partly to the Zu'l-Qadr and partly to the Shamlu, and the province of Kashan passed into the category of crown land (*khāṣṣa*).[64] Only Sava, a traditional Turkman holding, was maintained in Turkman–Tekelu possession, having been given to a repentant amir, Adham Khan, who is variously named Tekelu or Turkman.[65] The decision to maintain a Turkman-Tekelu in the area is probably already the application of what will rapidly become the general tendency of the Safavid administration, i.e., the separation of big regional tenures held by the same or related tribal groups into smaller holdings.

Muhammad Khan Turkman is sent to the Talish and Mughan regions on the Caspian sea, and Musayyib Khan Tekelu becomes the governor of Ardabil and the administrator (*mutavallī*) of the Safavid shrine, a far removed but prestigious office.[66]

As soon as two years later, in 996/1588, Musayyib Khan is allowed to go back to his ancient province of Ray-Tehran and is named "as before" (*bi-dastūr*) its governor.[67] We may suppose that he is also officially, "as before", the leader of the Tekelu. This nomination is made on the accession to the throne of Shah ᶜAbbas I, and we may wonder if this gesture is one of recognition of Musayyib Khan's royal kinship, of the lack of the amir's real political power and ambition, or possibly of both. In any case, neither Musayyib Khan nor any other Tekelu amir will play any important rôle from then on.

GENERATION THREE

Mukhtar Sultan (d.998/1590), a rebel; Jaᶜfar Khan (d.1001/1593), an emigrant; and Mustafa Khan (d.1004 or 5/1596 or 7), the last amir of the line

This reverse in the fortunes of the Sharaf al-Din branch of the Tekelu seems to coincide with the strengthening power of Shah ᶜAbbas I and can certainly be viewed as a sign of the general anti-Qizilbash tendency of this Shah's reign, since the collapse seems to concern the whole of the Tekelu and Turkman tribal groups. Interestingly, the years that followed the Tekelu-Turkman rebellion, until 998/1590, witnessed a further series of widespread revolts and civil wars in eastern and southern Iran. In these, the Tekelu and Turkman amirs are simply no longer participating.

Of the Tekelu, only Mukhtar Sultan, son of Ahmad Sultan[68] and nephew of Mussayib Khan, is quite closely involved in one of these revolts, but he is a follower and not a leader. Mukhtar Sultan had never attained any important official position and had never been given the title of khan.

Mukhtar Sultan is first mentioned in 990/1582, when he inherits the territories (*ulkā'*) and followers of Ordughdi Khalifa Tekelu who has just died.[69] Just before and during the Tekelu-Turkman rebellion Mukhtar Sultan is already holding Varamin, a region of Ray, the latter being governed by his uncle Musayyib Khan.

After the end of the revolt, while Musayyib Khan is removed to Ardabil and then brought back to Ray-Tehran, Mukhtar Sultan disappears from the sources for a while. Unfortunately, not much more is known about him, except the fact that he decided to dissociate himself from his royal cousins and to flee the court. About 998/1590, he reappears in Shiraz at the court of Yaᶜqub Khan Zu'l-Qadr, governor of Fars.[70] He is one of the group of about 20 or more Qizilbash lower rank amirs (none of them has the title of khan) and amir's sons (*amīrzāda*) of different tribes[71] surrounding Yaᶜqub Khan. They are called companions (*rafīqān, makhṣūṣān*) of Yaᶜqub Khan and are all supposed to have been people who had deserted from the royal court.[72] By 998/1590 Yaᶜqub Khan Zu'l-Qadr was independently governing Fars and controlling the Kirman, Abarquh and Yazd areas, and was thus considered by the Safavid court to have become a rebel.

Mukhtar Sultan is involved in the struggle of Yaᶜqub Khan, under siege in the fortress of Istakhr, against the Safavid army. He is among the people who are speedily eliminated by royal order after the end of the revolt. This the court achieves through the following stratagem: every one of Yaᶜqub Khan's companions is sent a separate letter, sealed with Yaᶜqub's seal, calling him to present himself at the royal camp in Shiraz where Yaᶜqub Khan, having received the royal pardon,[73] is staying. On arrival, they are made to enter the royal apartments one by one and, one by one, are assassinated.[74] The execution of Yaᶜqub Khan follows soon afterwards, on 23 Zu'l-Hijja 998/23 October 1590.[75]

Around the same time, Mukhtar Sultan's uncle Musayyib Khan, who seems to have lived rather quietly in Ray for the previous two years, is assassinated.[76] Shah ᶜAbbas I is not willing to maintain any risk of rebellion for the future: this is the beginning of his consistent policy of curbing the power of the amirs and of undermining their provincial bases.

Apart from Mukhtar Sultan, two other members of the third generation of the Sharaf al-Din Oghli Tekelu appear in the sources, namely Jaᶜfar Khan b. Qazaq Khan, and Mustafa Khan b. Musayyib Khan.

The first mention of Jaᶜfar Beg (later Sultan, Khan) can be traced back to 950/1543, when in a Mughal source he appears next to his father, Qazaq Khan, and grandfather, Muhammad Khan, during the official reception of the Emperor Humayun in Herat.[77] This reference could be

due to the fact that Jaᶜfar Beg ended his life in India, but at least we can be reasonably sure that he was born some years before 950/1543. If this reference is not altogether apocryphal, it could also indicate the desire of Muhammad Khan Sharaf al-Din Oghli Tekelu, to promote the image of the family as the hereditary line of governors, by appearing on an official occasion in the company not only of his eldest son, but also of his (eldest?) grandson.

Jaᶜfar Beg (or Sultan) is mentioned more consistently by the sources during his father's revolt in Herat, in 972/1564 (see *supra*), where he takes part in military campaigns. If in 950/1543 he was probably still quite young, he is clearly an adult by 972/1564; in fact, although a representative of the third generation, he seems closer in age to Musayyib Khan, his uncle, than to the son and the other nephew of the latter. Jaᶜfar Beg escapes from Herat when it becomes evident that the Herat rebellion is defeated. After a short sojourn at the court of Pir Muhammad Khan Uzbek of Balkh,[78] he continues to India and enters the service of the Mughal emperor Akbar, son of Humayun, where he is mentioned as early as 973/1565 or 6.[79] His subsequent military actions will make him obtain some favours from the Mughal ruler and he will rise to a certain prominence at Akbar's court. He died in Akbar's service about 30 years later, in 1001/1593.[80] It seems that one of his sons, named Kamkar Khan, was also an amir in the service of Akbar.[81]

Another Sharaf al-Din Oghli Tekelu of the third generation is Mustafa Khan, Musayyib Khan's own son. A *tazkira* devotes a note to his accomplishments as poet and musician.[82] According to this information, he died young, during the early period of the reign of Shah ᶜAbbas I.

The circumstances of Mustafa Khan's death are explained by Iskandar Beg in a short paragraph recording miscellaneous events of the tenth year of Shah ᶜAbbas's reign,[83] i.e., 1004-5/1596-7. Indeed, the passage gives the account of the final destruction of the Tekelu tribe (*ṭāyifa, ṭabaqa*) as such, which was achieved by royal order by means of a well-planned and well-conducted massacre (*qatl-i ᶜāmm-i ān ṭāyifa farmūdand*). The source enumerates the different offences and crimes that the Tekelu were alleged to have committed in the past, starting with the betrayal of Ulama Sultan and Ghazi Khan which, it must be stressed, went right back to 940 A.H.,[84] and ending with a recent involvement of some Tekelu with a Mazandarani rebel. The Shah decreed that every Tekelu found anywhere should be put to death by the governor of the region or place concerned. It is noteworthy that, at that time, the Tekelu were again residing mainly in Hamadan. However, political power in the region had not been returned to them. The governor of the province was a Cheghani amir, and it was he who led the purge of the Tekelu. Mustafa Khan, son of Musayyib Khan Sharaf al-Din Oghli, was among the

grandees of the tribe (*az ᶜuẓamā-yi ān ṭabaqa*) who were thus put to death. Interestingly, those of the Tekelu *qūrchī* soldiers who somehow survived the massacre were later permitted to rejoin their detachments as before.

CONCLUSIONS

The first goal of studying and following up individual careers, or—still better—family careers, is to build a detailed database. As a sufficient amount of information is gathered, patterns of social and political promotion emerge and a wider analysis can be attempted. The Sharaf al-Din Oghli Tekelu are an interesting example, especially because of their three-generation span over many years, and their particular relationship to the ruling family.

In a broader context, the history of the family highlights the general social and political trends in later 16th-century Iran and the mutual relationship between the Qizilbash and the Safavid dynasty. The social importance and duties of kinship, on both the paternal and maternal sides, are to be stressed. The high status of the Shah's kinsmen should not be overlooked, as well as the special dimension of the dilemma of loyalty to the ruling Shah and to fellow tribesmen. It becomes clear that these social rules affect the political scene and the struggle of the amirs to maintain their independence from the central government.

The history of the tribal family studied here, its rise to prominence on account of the personal merit of its founder,[85] its promotion on a kinship basis and its collapse, together with other Qizilbash tribal groups, reflects the general trends of the period and announces the change that was taking place by the end of the 16th century.

The change in the social status of the Qizilbash takes place not only under pressure from the central government. It is also a result of the Qizilbash's progressive assimilation in the local milieu reflected, among other things, in the new perception they had of themselves, as can be seen, for example, in their engagement in artistic and literary activities.[86]

There is equally a change in the political importance of the Qizilbash, as the power balance shifts towards the strong personal rule of the Shah. This became particularly apparent in the process of dismantling the big tribal holdings, which covered large areas or whole regions, in the decimation of the tribal elites and in the scattering of the Qizilbash amirs to different parts of the country. However, it seems noteworthy that as Shah ᶜAbbas I took more and more steps to re-establish the Safavid state in a new form, the pattern of political and social promotion on the basis of personal merit was repeated under his rule in relation to the non-Qizilbash, royal ghulam troops.

NOTES

1. It should be stressed that the terms 'tribal' and 'tribe' are used here to describe people from non-urban and non-permanently settled populations, leading a nomadic or semi-nomadic life and organised in groups based on multiple ties, of which kinship is only one of the elements. I am aware that the anthropological and social definition of what a tribe really was, and is, continues to be the subject of a great deal of discussion among social scientists.
2. The career of Salman Khan Ostajlu (d.1033/1624), and earlier, that of his grandfather, ʿAbd-Allah Khan Ostajlu (d.973 or 4/1565 or 6), are good examples. For a summary of their career and references to the sources see Maria Szuppe, La participation des femmes de la famille royale à l'exercice du pouvoir en Iran safavide au XVI^e siècle, 1^ère partie, *Studia Iranica* 23/ii (1994), 211-58 (pp. 221, 223) [hereafter Szuppe, "Participation", I]. Another example is the career of the members of the ʿAbdelu branch of the Shamlu: in the late 980s A.H. (1570s), they were simultaneously holding posts in Herat (ʿAli-quli Khan Shamlu, d.997/1589) and at the central court (Sultan-Husain Khan, his father, d.988/1580), see Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ed. Īraj Afshār, 2 vols (Tehran 1334/1955), pp. 135, 258-60 [hereafter Iskandar Beg]; Qāżī Aḥmad Qummī, *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, ed. Iḥsān Ishrāqī, 2 vols (Tehran, 1359-63/1980-4), p. 665 [hereafter *Khulāṣat*]; Mullā Jalāl al-Din Yazdī Munajjim, *Tārikh-i ʿAbbāsi (Ruznāma-yi Mullā Jalāl)*, ed. S. Vaḥīdniyā (Tehran 1366/1987), pp. 37, 50 [hereafter Mullā Jalāl].
3. The classic example is one of the leading Shamlu amirs, Husain Khan (d.941/1535), son of a sister of Shah Ismaʿil I, who, before having been promoted to the rank of khan, had been called Husain Mirza, see for instance Amīr Maḥmūd b. Khwāndamīr, *Tārīkh-i Shāh Ismāʿīl-i avval va Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, British Library, ms. Or. 2939, fol. 120a and, more explicitly, fol. 124a [hereafter AM], and, respectively, pp. 229, 237 of the printed edition of the above-mentioned text, ed. Ghulām-Riżā Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Īrān dar rūzgār-i Shāh Ismāʿīl va Shāh Ṭahmāsb-i Ṣafavī, ta'ālīf-i Amīr Maḥmūd b. Khwāndamīr* (Tehran 1370/1991). In the later part of the 16th and in the 17th centuries, when the dynastic family became more extended, people several generations removed from their Safavid maternal ancestor were still referred to as Mirza. A good example is that of Muzaffar-Husain Mirza (who was not a Qizilbash, but a descendant of the Niʿmatullahi Yazdi family), a grandson of Khanish Khanum (d.999/1591), who was a daughter of Shah Tahmasb Safavi. For a more detailed study of the Safavid dynastic policy and the importance of the royal in-laws and cousins, see Szuppe, "Participation", I, pp. 211-39. There is also evidence suggesting that the Mirzas born of Safavid mothers could, at least in theory, claim the right to the throne; it would seem that one royal son-in-law, Amir Khan Turkman, entertained such ambitions for his children and grandchildren, ibid., p. 214. Kathryn Babayan, in her study of the 17th-century "Safavi women in courtly and local Isfahani culture", in preparation, suggests that the Safavid women, by the fact of being born into the royal family, had the right to inherit the throne. I am grateful to Dr Babayan for kindly sending me a working draft of her study.
4. The study of 'tribal loyalty' in the mediaeval and modern periods is a difficult task because of the lack of source information and the impossibility of conducting field studies. The Safavid sources suggest, however, the existence of some sort of 'tribal loyalty', or group loyalty; see, for example, Iskandar Beg, p. 281, who uses the expression *taʿaṣṣub-i oymāqiyyat* ("attachment, loyalty to the tribal group"), and *ḥimāyat-i īl vaʿashīrat* ("support, defence of the tribe and kindred"), in a context when an Ostajlu amir is arrested on the charge of being opposed to such loyalties (year

990/1582); and again, ibid., p. 299, when a rebel Turkman amir, in order to assemble his people, appeals to the tribal loyalty, *ta ʿaṣṣub-i oymāq*, of the Turkman (year 992/1582). See also *infra*, note 51, the passage concerning Ummat Khan Zu'l-Qadr for what can be considered as another example of the 'tribal loyalty' mentality.

5. My spelling of 'Tekelu' follows the advice Professor Louis Bazin gave me several years ago.
6. Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusain Navā'ī (Tehran 1357/1978), p. 293 [hereafter Rūmlū]; AM, fol. 176b; Shāh Ṭahmāsb Ṣafavī, *Tazkira-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, British Library, ms. Or. 5880, fol. 11b [hereafter Ṭahmāsb]; Mīrzā Beg Ḥasan Junābadī, *Raużat al-ṣafaviyya*, British Library, ms. Or. 3388, fols 139b, 170b [hereafter Junābadī]; and Budāq Munshī Qazvīnī, *Javākhir al-akhbār*, ms. Dorn 288 (Gosudarstvennaya Publichnaya Biblioteka im. M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina, Saint-Petersburg), fols 310a-b, 315a-b [hereafter Budāq]. See also Martin B. Dickson, *Shāh Ṭahmāsb and the Uzbeks (The duel for Khurāsān with ʿUbayd Khān: 930-946/1524-1540)*, Ph.D. Dissertation (unpublished) (Princeton University 1958), pp. 348 *sqq.* [hereafter Dickson]; Roger M. Savory, Some notes on the provincial administration of the early Ṣafavid empire, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 27 (1964), 114-28 (pp. 118-19); and Maria Szuppe, *Entre Timourides, Uzbeks et Safavides: questions d'histoire politique et sociale de Hérat dans la première moitié du XVI^e siècle*, Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, Cahiers de *Studia Iranica* n° 12 (Paris 1992), pp. 109-17 [hereafter Szuppe, *Hérat*], concerning the career of Muhammad Khan Tekelu in Herat (with the following amendment to p. 117, that at least one of Muhammad Khan's viziers is mentioned: Khwaja Muhammad Sharif Tehrani (d.984/1576) whose *takhalluṣ* was 'Hijrī' and who was the paternal grandfather of Nur Jahan Begum, the celebrated wife of the emperor Jahangir of India. Khwaja Muhammad Sharif's life and career, as well as those of his descendants, are detailed in Muḥammad Mufīd Mustaufī Bāfqī Yazdī, *Jāmiʿ-yi Mufīdī*, ed. Īraj Afshār (Tehran 1340/1961), III, p. 167-9, in Amīr Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iqlīm*, Cambridge University Library, ms. Nn. 3, 58, fol. 527a-b [hereafter *Haft iqlīm*], and in Navvāb Ṣamṣām al-Daula Shāh Navāz Khān [Mīr ʿAbd al-Razzāq Khwāfī Aurangābādī], *Maʿāthir al-umarā*, ed. Maulavī ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, 3 vols + Index (Calcutta 1888-94), I, pp. 128-9, 134 [hereafter Shāh Navāz Khān].
7. Khūrshāh b. Qubād Ḥusainī, *Tārīkh-i Īlchī-yi Niẓāmshāh*, British Library, ms. Or. 153, fol. 54a [hereafter Khūrshāh]. Muhammad Khan is named a follower *(mulāzim)* of Juha Sultan the then leader of the Tekelu, Junābadī, fol. 139b.
8. About this nomination, see Khūrshāh, fol. 53b, and Dickson, pp. 348-51, for the discussion.
9. Difficulties occur in establishing the exact date of Muhammad Khan's nomination (certain sources would have it as early as 942 A.H., Khūrshāh, fol. 53b), but he took up his functions as governor in spring 943/1536. During the short period of about six months, between 962 and 963 A.H., Sultan-Muhammad Mirza was recalled to the court, but Muhammad Khan was maintained as governor of Herat and tutor to another royal prince, Ismaʿil Mirza, newly arrived in Herat; shortly afterwards, the latter was recalled to Qazvin in turn, and Sultan-Muhammad Mirza was sent back to Herat *(Khulāṣat*, p. 379; Iskandar Beg, p. 125).
10. ʿAbdī Beg Navīdī Shīrāzī, *Takmilat al-akhbār, tārīkh-i ṣafaviyya az āghāz tā 978 hijrī qamarī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusain Navā'ī (Tehran 1369/1990), p. 112 [hereafter ʿAbdī], gives the date of Muhammad Khan's death as 7 Shavval 964/3 August 1557. *Khulāṣat*, pp. 390-1, puts it in Zu'l-Qaʿda 964/late August - late September 1557, and says that he died on his way back from Mashhad where he went to pay homage to the new governor of the province, Sultan-Ibrahim Mirza Safavi, a duty that he had insisted on

performing in person regardless of his advanced age (*kabr-i sinn; pīrī*), weakness (*ża'f*) and bad health (*bīmārī; nā-tavānī*).

11. Budāq, fol. 310a-b, who is an eye-witness of the events in Baghdad; see also, Iskandar Beg, pp. 49, 68; *Khulāṣat*, pp. 215, 235-6; Khūrshāh, fols 43b, 48b-49a. Jean Aubin, La mission de Robert Bransetur (Un arrière-plan diplomatique de la campagne de Hongrie de 1529), in *A tudumány szolgálatában*, Emlékkönyv Benda Kálmán, 80. születésnapjára (Budapest 1993), 47-61, gives interesting details on Ottoman-Persian-European relations during this most troubled period around the year 1530. On the passage of Robert Bransetur, a London merchant, and of Jean de Balbi, envoy of Charles V (Charles Quint) in 1530 through Baghdad, governed by Muhammad Khan Tekelu, see ibid., pp. 51, 57.
12. Iskandar Beg, pp. 330-1.
13. This was in addition to the fact that the Shah's maternal kinsmen were the Mowsellu Turkman, Iskandar Beg, p. 331.
14. The marriage of Muhammad Khan and his Turkman wife seems to have taken place at the latest in 943/1536, as in this year he is already referred to as the husband of the royal maternal aunt (*khāla*), but the possibility of a chronicler's anachronism is not to be excluded, Fażlī Khūzānī, *Afżal al-tavārīkh, daftar* 2, British Library, ms. Or. 4678, fol. 94b [hereafter Khūzānī].
15. *Khulāṣat*, p. 390, says that Muhammad Khan had seven sons, but there are eight names mentioned in the list of his sons that follows in the same source: a certain Mali or Bali (?) Beg is named as the sixth son. He is not taken into account here as he does not appear elsewhere. Table 3 gives the names of Muhammad Khan's sons in the order of the *Khulāṣat, loc. cit.*
16. AM, fol. 221b; also see Szuppe, *Hérat*, pp. 37, 110.
17. In 950/1543 they welcome the Emperor Humayun in Herat, AM, fols 203b, 213a; *Khulāṣat*, pp. 303-5; Iskandar Beg, pp. 97-8. Qazaq Khan is taking part in military campaigns in 955/1548, 957/1550, 958/1551, (AM, fols 220b-222a, 225b; Rūmlū, pp. 437, 448), and Tatar Sultan in 957/1550 (Rūmlū, p. 443; *Khulāṣat*, p. 344).
18. ʿAbdī, p. 112; *Khulāṣat*, p. 972; Junābadī, fol. 218a-b; Riżā-qulī Khān "Hidāyat", *Raużat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, ed. A. Parviz (Tehran 1339/1960), VIII, p. 119 [hereafter Riżā-qulī Khān, *Raużat*]; Malik Shāh Ḥusain Sīstānī, *Iḥyā' al-mulūk*, ed. Manūchihr Sutūda (Tehran 1344/1965), p. 171 [hereafter Malik Shāh Ḥusain], adds that even during this period of his father's government, Qazaq Khan used to take part in the conduct of state matters.
19. ʿAbdī, p. 123.
20. This particular expression in ʿAbdī, p. 123. This is a typical representation by a historiographer of a 'rebel' type. See also Junābadī, fols 218b, 220a; Riżā-qulī Khān, *Raużat*, pp. 118-19, particularly stressing the corruption of his administrators (but the source is late); Rūmlū, pp. 543-7; and Malik Shāh Ḥusain, pp. 168, 170-1.
21. Junābadī, fol. 218b; Riżā-qulī Khān, *Raużat*, pp. 118-19, to sustain such an accusation the fact is quoted that, in 971/1564, Pir Muhammad Khan Uzbek, governor of Balkh, marched against Mashhad, but did not menace Herat.
22. Junābadī, fols 218b, 220a, on the *ghulām*, and Riżā-qulī Khān, *Raużat*, p. 119, on the Tekelu.
23. ʿAbdī, p. 123; *Khulāṣat*, p. 448; Rūmlū, p. 545; Malik Shāh Ḥusain, pp. 170-1; Riżā-qulī Khān, *Raużat*, p. 120. The Safavid punitive force was a major army, mobilised originally to combat an Uzbek invasion, headed by several main dignitaries of the state: Sultan-Ibrahim Mirza Safavi (Shah Tahmasb's nephew) governor of Mashhad, Badiʿ al-Zaman Mirza Safavi (another royal nephew) governor of Sistan, Maʿsum Beg Safavi (a royal kinsman of the Shaikhāvand line) the *vakīl*, and his son, Sadr al-Din

Khan, as well as the leading Qizilbash amirs of the time: Amir Khan Mowsellu Turkman, Aras Beg Rumlu, Amir Aslan Beg Afshar, Shah-quli Khan Afshar, Ghaib Sultan Ostajlu, and many others, ʿAbdī, p. 123; Rūmlū, p. 545; Qāżi Aḥmad Ghaffārī, *Tārīkh-i jahān-ārā* (Tehran 1343/1964), pp. 309-10 [hereafter Ghaffārī]; Junābadī, fol. 219b; Malik Shāh Ḥusain, p. 170 (particularly for the mobilisation of the army from Sistan); Riżā-qulī Khān, *Raużat*, pp. 120-1.

24. In 969/1562, Husain-quli Beg is mentioned as the commander of a Tekelu army sent by Qazaq Khan from Herat to raid and loot the Hazara tribes; from this expedition Husain-quli Beg brings back much booty, including 3000 horses, *Khulāṣat*, p. 435; Rūmlū, p. 536.
25. Junābadī, fols 219b-220a; apparently, the same reason makes the Tekelu elders (*āqā*) back the three brothers in their action.
26. The then governor of Ghuriyan was Safi Vali Khalifa, Ghaffārī, p. 310; Rūmlū, p. 545; *Khulāṣat*, p. 448. ʿAbdī, p. 123, adds that he was the son of Sufiyan Khalifa Rumlu (a well known amir of the first half of the 16th century); Junābadī, fol. 220a, calls him Safi Vali Sultan Rumlu; Riżā-qulī Khān, *Raużat*, p. 120, quotes his name as Muhammad Sultan Rumlu.
27. The generals of Qazaq Khan's army were again his brother Husain-quli Beg, and an officer (*naukar*) named Husain Khan Tekelu, ʿAbdī, p. 124. Although the Safavid royal army was at its full strength (see note 23), it was not all of the Safavid troops who confronted the Herat rebels in this last battle, but an advance detachment, sent with the greatest speed by the generals to rescue the anti-Qazaq Khan party, ʿAbdī, p. 124; Rūmlū, pp. 545-6; Ghaffārī, p. 310.
28. The battle took place on 10 Jumada II, 972/13 January 1565, ʿAbdī, p. 124, Ghaffārī, p. 310, but according to Rūmlū, pp. 545-7, on 10 Rabiʿ II, 972/15 November 1564. Riżā-qulī Khān, *Raużat*, p. 120, says that Qazaq Khan lost 1800 men in the fighting, but ʿAbdī, p. 124, uses only the word "many". The survivors fled, some to Herat, but they did not stay in the city for long, and some directly to the mountains; *Khulāṣat*, p. 449; Junābadī, fol. 221a.
29. Qazaq Khan gives himself up on 16 Jumada II, 972/19 January 1565, ʿAbdī, p. 124, Ghaffārī, p. 310; (on 16 Rabiʿ II, 972/21 November 1564, according to Rūmlū, p. 547, who gives also a variant reading: 12 Rabiʿ II/17 November). For the details of his death, see ʿAbdī, p. 125, Ghaffārī, p. 310, who adds that his severed head was sent to the court, and Junābadī, fol. 221a, who alone says that he was executed. Riżā-qulī Khān, *Raużat*, p. 121, adds that all the wealth of Qazaq Khan passed into the hands of Maʿsum Beg Safavi, the commander-in-chief of the Safavid army.
30. The first Ostajlu governor, Amir Ghaib Khan, was rapidly replaced by Shah-quli Sultan Yakan; then from 985/1577, Herat was governed by ʿAli-quli Khan Shamlu and, later, by his descendants, ʿAbdī, p. 125; Rūmlū, p. 650; Riżā-qulī Khān, *Raużat*, p. 127.
31. *Khulāṣat*, p. 988: the place was named Qabla. Although it is not explicit that the Shirvan mentioned is the province on the Caspian sea, rather than the area in north Khurasan, Qabla is known as one of the main towns in Shirvan province, see *Haft iqlīm*, fol. 616a, and Muḥammad Mufīd Mustaufī Bāfqī Yazdī's geography *Mukhtaṣar-i Mufīd*, ed. S. Najmabadi, *Moḫtaṣar-e Mofīd des Moḥammad Mofīd Mostoufī*, 2 vols, Beihefte zum TAVO B 97/1-2 (Wiesbaden 1989-91), I, p. 295 [hereafter *Mukhtaṣar-i Mufīd*], which also lists a Qalʿa-yi Qabla in the same province, ibid., p. 296.
32. *Khulāṣat*, pp. 456, 988, Khāva is given to Musayyib Khan as his *mavājib* (regular salary) and *tiyul* (revenue land); for these terms, see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk, a manual of Ṣafavid administration (ca 1137/1725)*, Persian text in facsimile (B.M. Or. 9496), translated and explained by V. Minorsky (London 1943; repr. Cambridge 1980), pp.

28, 29, 100 [hereafter *TM*]. The *Farhang-i jughrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān*, 10 vols (Tehran 1328-36/1949-57), I, p. 78, lists two villages named Khava in the region of Tehran (Ray), one in the vicinity of Shahriyar, and the other in the Varamin district. The latter Khava possesses a 'tepe' (mound), which is usually the site of a historical monument in ruins or, most probably, the previous site(s) of today's village.

33. *Khulāṣat*, p. 1024.

34. Rūmlū, p. 638, alone mentions that he has been a fiancé of the royal princess, Shahr-Banu Khanum (d.991/1583); the marriage did not take place, however.

35. Iskandar Beg, p. 223. The previous leader of the Tekelu, Ordughdi Khalifa (d.990/1582) was removed from that office and given lands in Shirvan (on the Caspian Sea or in north Khurasan?) on the accession of Shah Muhammad Khudabanda, Iskandar Beg, p. 227.

36. Iskandar Beg, pp. 263, 342; Varamin and Tehran are specifically mentioned as Musayyib Khan's lands in the year 994/1586—the province of Ray was then considered to be the best land in central Iran (Persian Iraq)—but already in 988/1580, Ray is described as "full of the Tekelu", and Varamin is controlled by Musayyib Khan's people. According to *Mukhtaṣar-i Mufīd*, I, p. 121, Tehran was developed mostly under Shah Tahmasb, who built a fortress (*ḥiṣār*) there.

37. Vali Khan Tekelu, later accompanied by his son ʿAlī Sultan Pakmal, is mentioned as the governor of Hamadan province from the end of 985/1577-8 to 994/1586; Sulagh Husain Tekelu is holding lands in the province in 992/1584 and controlling Dinavar and Saʿadabad until 994/1586, *Khulāṣat*, pp. 827, 828; Iskandar Beg, pp. 301, 321-2; Riżā-qulī Khān, *Raużat*, p. 174. Mukhtar Sultan Tekelu, a nephew of Musayyib Khan, who was given lands in Shirvan in 990/1582, is mentioned in the Ray region by 992/1584, *Khulāṣat*, p. 729; Iskandar Beg, p. 296. Tekelu amirs are also mentioned in Laristan (a region they lose in 994/1584), *Khulāṣat*, p. 826.

38. As already mentioned, the mother of Musayyib Khan was a daughter of Musa Sultan Mowsellu Turkman. Also, Vali Khan Tekelu, governor of Hamadan, issuing from a separate branch of the tribe, was married to a daughter of Amir Khan Mowsellu Turkman, governor of Azarbaijan, Iskandar Beg, p. 301.

39. Amir Khan Mowsellu Turkman, residing in Tabriz, was the governor of Azarbaijan from 985/1577 to 992/1584, while his brothers and sons had lands all over the province, Iskandar Beg, p. 227. Muhammad Khan Mowsellu Turkman (who was related to Amir Khan) and his sons held Kashan from 985/1577 to 994/1586, *Khulāṣat*, p. 826; Iskandar Beg, pp. 227, 301. Sava was in the hands of Sultan Maʿsum Khan (Abu'l-Maʿsum Khan Tarkhan) during the same period, Iskandar Beg, pp. 227, 434; *Khulāṣat*, p. 826. The amir governing Qum from 985/1577 was Haidar Sultan Chābuq, probably a Turkman or related to them, as his son, Adham Khan is indifferently named Turkman or Tekelu by the sources, Iskandar Beg, p. 227; *Khulāṣat*, p. 828. In any case, in 992/1584, Qum belongs to an unspecified "Turkman amir", Iskandar Beg, p. 434. The remaining central provinces were held by important amirs of other tribes; for example, Qazvin by Sultan-Husain Khan Shamlu (a royal kinsman), Khwar and Simnan by Shah-quli Sultan Tabat-Oghli Zu'l-Qadr. All the amirs holding territories in Central Iran had the title of "amir of the court" (*amīr-i darbār*), Iskandar Beg, p. 227.

40. Muḥammad Yūsuf Vālih Iṣfahānī, *Khuld-i barīn*, ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddiṯ (Tehran 1372/1993), p. 557 [hereafter Muḥammad Yūsuf]. Even though this source is rather late for the period studied here, the remark should not be overlooked as it is an expression of what was considered in those days a perfectly natural and logical cause and effect relationship.

41. Iskandar Beg, pp. 263-4, 290.

42. Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg b. Āqā Khān Begdilī Shāmlū "Āẕar", *Ātishkada*, ed. Ḥasan Sādāt Nāṣirī (n.p. 1339-40/1960-1), I, p. 87 [hereafter Āẕar]; Riżā-qulī Khān "Hidāyat", *Majmūʿ al-fuṣaḥā*, ed. Muẓāhir Muṣṭafā, 6 vols (Tehran 1336-40/1917-21), I, p. 114 [hereafter Riżā-qulī Khān, *Majmūʿ*]; Ṣādiqī Beg Afshār "Kitābdār" [Sadiḳ Afṣar], *Taẕkira-yi majmaʿ al-khavāṣṣ* [*Mecma ul-havass*], ed. ʿAbd al-Rasūl Khayyāmpūr (Tabriz 1327/1948), pp. 29-30 [hereafter Ṣādiqī]; Shāh Ḥusain "Hādī", *Khair al-bayān*, British Library, ms. Or. 3397, fol. 419a [hereafter Shāh Ḥusain Hādī]; Valī-qulī Khān Dāghistānī, *Taẕkira-yi riyāż al-shuʿarā*, British Library, ms. Add. 16,729, fol. 424a [hereafter Valī-qulī Khān].

43. To mention just a few examples from among the Tekelu or Tekelu-related people only, active in the second half of the 16th and in the early 17th c.: "Shāni" Tekelu (= Maulana Shani Tekelu Mashhadi, d.1023/1614), who lived at Ray and then at Hamadan, Āẕar, I, 66; "Arshi" Tekelu (= Tahmasb-quli Beg Tekelu) who was in the service of Shah Tahmasb at the royal court, ibid., p. 79. Also, Abu'l-Maʿsum Mirza (d.1005/1596), who is said to be a son (or rather a grandson) of Musa Sultan Mowsellu [Turkman]—and thus a close relation of the Sharaf al-Din Tekelu—and a cousin (a maternal uncle's son *khālūzāda*) of Shah Muhammad Khudabanda, was a good portraitist, painter, carver, bookbinder, etc., see Qāżī Mīr Aḥmad Qummī, *Gulistān-i hunar*, ed. Aḥmad Suhailī Khwānsārī (Tehran 1352/1973), p. 149 [hereafter *GH*]. It must also be noticed that Abu'l-Maʿsum is styled 'Mirza' which would normally suggest that he was also descended from a Safavid mother. There are many other examples of the Qizilbash's early interest in artistic and literary activities, see also footnotes 44 and 45. For another opinion, but based on the analysis of only two Safavid sources, see R.M. Savory, The *Qizilbāsh*, education and the arts, *Turcica* 6 (1975), 168-76.

44. Szuppe, *Hérat*, pp. 138-40, on Muhammad Khan's patronage of Amir Mahmud (active before and around 957/1550) in Herat, and *GH*, pp. 141-2, on Aqa Hasan's activities. One of the variants of the *Gulistān-i hunar*, quoted by V. Minorsky (transl.) in *Calligraphers and painters: A treatise by Qāḍi Aḥmad, son of Mīr-Munshī (ca A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606)*, Smithsonian Institution, Occasional papers n° 2 (Washington 1959), p. 163, mentions Maulana Qasim Qanuni of Herat, who was the court musician of Qazaq Khan, and who left Herat "bought out" by Sultan-Ibrahim Mirza Safavi, one of the greatest patrons of the period, in 967/1559.

45. Shāh Ḥusain "Hādī", fol. 419a, gives the name of one poet, Qasim Beg Hālatī. Also, the poet Mirza Mashrabi Tekelu, whose pen name was either 'Sipāhī' or 'Fanā'ī', was for some time among the people surrounding Musayyib Khan (during the reign of Shah Muhammad), before emigrating to India where he died, Valī-qulī Khān, fol. 429a; Ṣādiqī, p. 125.

46. Valī-qulī Khān, fol. 430a.

47. Iskandar Beg, pp. 211, 217; Muḥammad Yūsuf, pp. 553-4; *Khulāṣat*, p. 650, quotes ʿAlī Khalifa Qajar as the *ḥākim* of the *vilāyat* of Tehran.

48. J. Calmard, Marʿashīs, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², VI, pp. 510-18; M. Szuppe, La participation des femmes de la famille royale à l'exercice du pouvoir en Iran safavide au XVI^e siècle, 2^nde partie, *Studia Iranica* 24/i (1995), 61-122 (pp. 97-9) [hereafter Szuppe, "Participation", II].

49. For the term *shāhsevān* see *The Cambridge History of Iran*, VI, pp. 264-5.

50. *Khulāṣat*, pp. 696-7; Iskandar Beg, p. 249, stresses that he was the Shah's cousin, and a man of mild and gentle nature (*mard-i ḥalīm va salīm al-nās*); Muḥammad Yūsuf, pp. 587-8, says that he shut himself up in his house announcing that he had been taken ill (*pahlū bar bastar-i bīmārī-yi tan-parvarī guẕāsht*): behaviour interpreted by the rebel amirs as an encouragement.

51. Iskandar Beg, p. 323, (...) *va Musayyib Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Oghli Tekelū paighām dādand ki u-rā bā navvāb-i humāyūn qarābat-i qarība-st agar umarā-yi Turkmān bi-jihhat-i qatl-i Amīr Khān az farzand-i arjamand* [= Sultan-Hamza Mirza, son of Shah Muhammad] *tavahhum dārand u-rā dar īn umūr chi dākhil ast* (...). The other amir who receives a royal letter is the Zu'l-Qadr ally of the rebels, Ummat Khan, governor of Fars; the court tries to persuade him that, being a Zu'l-Qadr, he has in fact nothing in common with the Tekelu and the Turkman tribes, ibid.; and Muḥammad Yūsuf, pp. 749-50.
52. Iskandar Beg, p. 323; according to Musayyib Khan's version of the facts, it was the plotting and intriguing of the Shamlu and Ostajlu that resulted in an unjustified assassination of Amir Khan Turkman.
53. Iskandar Beg, p. 260; Szuppe, "Participation", I, pp. 218-19, 222.
54. Iskandar Beg, pp. 333-5; Muḥammad Yūsuf, p. 771, Muhammad Khan was the *"ṣāḥib-i ikhtiyār va madār-i ʿalaihi kār va bār-i daulat"*.
55. The names of the rebel amirs can be found in *Khulāṣat*, pp. 823-7, Iskandar Beg, pp. 301, 322-3, 337, 339; Muḥammad Yūsuf, p. 747.
56. *Khulāṣat*, p. 825; Iskandar Beg, pp. 322-3.
57. *Khulāṣat*, p. 826; Iskandar Beg, p. 301. For the office of *davātdār*, held by one of Muhammad Khan Turkman's sons, see *TM*, pp. 63, 89.
58. *Khulāṣat*, pp. 823-4; Iskandar Beg, p. 296; Muḥammad Yūsuf, p. 747.
59. On this battle and the disposition of the rebel and loyalist forces, see *Khulāṣat*, p. 823; Iskandar Beg, p. 337-40; Muḥammad Yūsuf, p. 777; Riżā-qulī Khān, *Raużat*, p. 227. Among the Tekelu amirs killed in the battle or executed soon afterwards were Vali Khan Tekelu, governor of Hamadan, and his son ʿAli-Sultan Pakmal, *Khulāṣat*, p. 825; Iskandar Beg, pp. 322-3, 339.
60. After the battle, the Tekelu seek safety in Ray, Hamadan and Laristan, their tribal territories. The greater part of the Turkman also escape to Hamadan; from there some of them, such as Ismaʿil Sultan and Gulabi Beg, respectively brother and son of Amir Khan Turkman, go to Baghdad, under Ottoman rule. Others, like Sultan-Murad Beg, another son of Amir Khan, and Shah-Budaq Sultan, return to the Safavid court, while still others go in the direction of Sava and Qum, and the Zu'l-Qadr amir, Ummat Khan, takes the road to Isfahan and Shiraz, see *Khulāṣat*, pp. 826-7; Iskandar Beg, p. 340; Muḥammad Yūsuf, p. 785. Some, like Vali Khan Sultan b. Muhammad Khan Turkman who has been left by his father to guard Kashan, fly to Khurasan, also in a state of rebellion, *Khulāṣat*, p. 826.
61. *Khulāṣat*, p. 828; Iskandar Beg, p. 342; Muḥammad Yūsuf, p. 788.
62. Muḥammad Yūsuf, p. 785. Most probably the baggage-train contained also the Turkman and Tekelu women and children.
63. Iskandar Beg, p. 341.
64. ʿAli-quli Khan Ostajlu was given Ray, and Pir Ghaib Khan Ostajlu, Hamadan, an area where other Ostajlu amirs also obtained lands (it is worthy of notice that the mother of Pir Ghaib Khan Ostajlu was a sister of Vali Khan Tekelu, the previous governor of the province); the amirs mentioned in the Qum region are ʿAli-quli Khan Quroghlu (?) Zu'l-Qadr, Shah Verdi Khalifa Inanlu Shamlu, and Murshid-quli Sultan Shamlu, *Khulāṣat*, pp. 827-8; Iskandar Beg, p. 342.
65. *Khulāṣat*, p. 828.
66. Ibid., p. 828; Iskandar Beg, p. 341.
67. *Khulāṣat*, p. 874. Also, Qum seems to have been temporarily returned to the Turkman, from 996/1588 to 998/1590; its governor is a new character, apparently not implicated in the late rebellion, Sulaiman Khalifa Turkman. In 998/1590, Qum is already governed by Husain Khan Shamlu, while Sulaiman Khalifa Turkman holds the Tun region, Iskandar Beg, p. 381; *Khulāṣat*, p. 913. Other Turkman governors in

western Khurasan in 998/1590 are: Shah Budaq Sultan in Junabad, and Mustafa Sultan Kangarlu in Tabas-i Gilaki, *Khulāṣat*, pp. 913-14.
68. *Khulāṣat*, p. 729, alone gives the name of Mukhtar Sultan's father.
69. Ibid., p. 729, Ordughdi Khalifa's lands, in Shirvan, were given to him in 985/1577; there is a chance that they might have been situated in the same region as those given to Mustafa Beg Tekelu b. Muhammad Khan (Musayyib Khan's brother) in 972/1564 (see note 31).
70. Mullā Jalāl, p. 77.
71. Some of them are mentioned by name: Abu'l-Qasim (Beg) Sultan Hajjilar, Abu'l-Fath Beg Shamlu b. Fulad Beg the *amīr-ākhūr*, Haqq Verdi Sultan, Baqir Beg, Budaq Qaraguna Khabuslu (Khanaslu ?), Turabi Beg b. Vali (Deli) Ikhtiyar Turkman, and Murtaza-quli Beg Zu'l-Qadr, nephew of Yaʿqub Khan. This list of names is composed from the following sources: Mullā Jalāl, pp. 98-9; Iskandar Beg, pp. 431, 436; *Khulāṣat*, p. 919.
72. Mullā Jalāl, p. 77.
73. While under siege in Istakhr, Yaʿqub Khan opens negotiations with the Safavids through his vizier, Mirza Jan Beg. The latter succeeds in his mission and obtains guarantees of safe-conduct for Yaʿqub Khan, who leaves Istakhr with one or two of his followers and presents himself at the Shah's court in Shiraz, *Khulāṣat*, p. 918; Mullā Jalāl, pp. 96-7; Junābadī, fol. 294a; Iskandar Beg, pp. 434-5. Mullā Jalāl, p. 97 says that he was even reconfirmed as *amīr al-umarā* of Fars, while *Khulāṣat*, p. 918, affirms that Bunyad Beg the *yūzbāshī*, also a Zu'l-Qadr, became a new governor of Fars. When the Zu'l-Qadr warriors start to arrive at Shiraz, they assemble around Yaʿqub Khan, and not Bunyad Beg; the court is worried to see the extent of authority still retained by Yaʿqub Khan and decides to arrest him, *Khulāṣat*, p. 919; Mullā Jalāl, p. 99; Iskandar Beg, p. 436; Junābadī, fol. 294b.
74. *Khulāṣat*, p. 919; Mullā Jalāl, p. 99.
75. The details of his execution are quite horrible as scenes of cannibalism take place, *Khulāṣat*, p. 919; Mullā Jalāl, p. 99; Junābadī, fol. 294b (who does not mention the cannibalism); Iskandar Beg, p. 436.
76. *Khulāṣat*, p. 919, simultaneously, Vali Khan [Sultan], son of Muhammad Khan Turkman, is killed; the heads of Musayyib Khan and of Vali Khan Sultan are sent to the royal court.
77. Bāyazid Biyāt [Bayāt], *Tadhkira-i Humāyūn wa Akbar, A History of the Emperor Humāyūn from AH 949 (AD 1542) and of his successor the Emperor Akbar up to AH 999 (AD 1590)*, Persian text with notes and preface, ed. M. Hidayat Hosein, Bibliotheca Indica n° 264 (Calcutta 1941), p. 16 [hereafter Bayāt].
78. ʿAbdī, p. 124; Rūmlū, p. 546.
79. There is a long note on Jaʿfar (Beg) Khan in Shāh Navāz Khān, I, pp. 507-9, from which the information that follows is extracted.
80. Bayāt, p. 11 n. 1.
81. Kamkar Khan, the second son of Jaʿfar Khan, is mentioned in Shāh Navāz Khān, III, p. 159, which gives the details of his career.
82. Valī-qulī Khān, fol. 430a, who quotes Taqī Auḥadī's book as source for this note. This refers to the famous *taẕkira* of Taqī al-Din Iṣfahānī Auḥadī (973 - *ca* 1030/1565 or 6 - *ca* 1621), the *ʿUrfat-i ʿāshiqīn*, composed in India in the early 17th century, but which I was unfortunately unable to check for myself; see Valī-qulī Khān, fol. 89a-b, and Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the Library of India Office*, 2 vols (Oxford 1903), n° 2895; A. Sprenger, *A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindùstàny Manuscripts of the Libraries of the King of Oudh* (Calcutta 1854), I, p. 95.
83. Iskandar Beg, pp. 530-1.

84. Ibid., p. 530. It is worth noticing that Muhammad Khan Sharaf al-Din Oghli Tekelu is again singled out as loyal to the throne, in contrast to the two amirs. Also, see *supra*, p. 82.
85. Another example of a career based on personal merit in the early Safavid period is that of Ulama Sultan Tekelu, who was of modest origin, but was promoted to amir as a reward for his outstanding military achievements; at the end he rose to the office of amir al-umara of Azarbaijan, Iskandar Beg, pp. 49, 66. However, no personal loyalty to the Shah was displayed in his case, as he deserted to the Ottomans in 940/1534, while Muhammad Khan Tekelu stayed loyal, see *supra*, p. 82. For a general discussion of developments in the relationship between the Safavid Shahs, from Isma'il I to 'Abbas I, and their Qizilbash troops, see Masashi Haneda, *Le Chah et les Qizilbāš. Le système militaire safavide*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 119 (Berlin 1987).
86. See above notes 42-5. The process of assimilation of the Qizilbash in the provinces of the Iranian plateau during the 16th and the 17th centuries, and its means, forms and results is a subject left open to investigation, which I hope to undertake in the not too distant future.

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Le *Dār al-Salṭana* de Qazvin, deuxième capitale des Safavides

Ehsan Echraqi

Les préparatifs du transfert de la capitale des Safavides, de Tabriz à Qazvin, remontent à l'année 951/1544.[1] Mais c'est seulement en 965/1557, quand Shah Tahmasb I y installa son palais royal (*daulatkhāna*), que cette ville fut officiellement choisie comme la capitale de la dynastie.[2] Qazvin retrouva alors la prospérité politique, administrative et culturelle dont elle jouissait jadis et fut donc, dans de nouvelles conditions, l'objet de différentes transformations.

Rappelons brièvement l'importance que Qazvin revêtait dans son passé du point de vue stratégique et comme voie de communication. Les Sassanides, pour repousser les attaques des Dailamites, avaient déjà transformé Qazvin en un centre militaire.[3] Les Arabes envahissant l'Iran rencontrèrent à leur tour la même résistance dans la région du Dailam.[4] Au début de l'Islam, Qazvin conserva sa situation de ville frontière et les Arabes l'ont appelé *thaghar*,[5] comme ils avaient l'habitude d'appeler certaines de leurs frontières. Pour encourager les populations arabes à émigrer et à s'installer à Qazvin, et pour pouvoir faire de cette région une zone frontière, des expressions élogieuses furent employées pour désigner Qazvin. Le terme *bāb al-janna*[6] qui, d'après les différents récits, lui a souvent été attribué, est significatif quant aux valeurs spirituelles et religieuses que l'on accordait à la ville. 'Abd al-Karim Rāfi'ī, mort en 623/1226, dans son livre intitulé *al-Tadwīn fī akhbār Qazwīn*, de même que Hamd-Allah Mustaufi dans son célèbre *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, rapportent de nombreux récits à ce propos.

A l'époque saljukide, quand Alamut devint le quartier général de l'ordre des ismaéliens nizariens, les souverains saljuks transformèrent Qazvin en base militaire pour les expéditions contre ces hérétiques.[8] L'installation des Sultans saljukides, en particulier Muhammad ibn Malik Shah, à Qazvin procura à cette ville un nouvel aspect dans sa conception

architecturale et artistique. L'établissement des Ilkhanides en Iran à l'époque de Hülegü débuta par la répression des ismaéliens et la destruction de leurs forteresses. La conquête de celle d'Alamut en 654/1256 par Hülegü mit fin aux activités des ismaéliens. Qazvin commença alors à perdre de son importance militaire et l'Azarbaijan fut mis en valeur en tant que centre économique et militaire.

Arrivés au pouvoir en 907/1501, les Safavides recueillirent en héritage des installations administrative, politique et militaire de Tabriz, l'ancienne capitale des dynasties déchues des Qara Qoyunlu et des Aq Qoyunlu. Shah Ismaᶜil choisit cette ville comme sa capitale, d'une part pour protéger et développer son centre de pouvoir originel (Shirvan, Chukhur Saᶜd, Gurjistan, Diyarbakr et Anatolie), et d'autre part à cause de sa proximité d'Ardabil qui était le centre spirituel le plus important des Safavides. La guerre de Chaldiran en rajab 920/août 1514 et la conquête de Tabriz par Sultan Selim ainsi que les expéditions militaires renouvelées du Sultan Suleiman Qanuni vers les frontières ouest de l'empire safavide sous Shah Tahmasb I—qui durèrent pendant presque vingt ans—ont convaincu le souverain et ses chefs militaires de l'instabilité de Tabriz en tant que le siège *permanent* du gouvernement de ce nouvel Etat. D'un autre coté, les attaques successives des Uzbeks menées dans le Khurasan, necessitaient la présence du roi dans cette région et l'éloignait de Tabriz, rendant ainsi la capitale vulnérable. Shah Tahmasb et ses haut dignitaires décidèrent alors à changer le centre du pouvoir.

Les raisons qui ont conduit le souverain safavide à choisir Qazvin pour capitale et les conséquences qu'impliqua ce choix pour la ville sont les deux questions que je vais aborder dans cet exposé.

(1) Qazi Ahmad Qummi, dans le récit des événements de l'année 962/1554, nous rapporte ce qui suit:

> La volonté de ᶜĀlam-ārāy pour le choix du *Dār al-salṭana* porta sur Qazvin, car sa situation au sein des pays protégés et les conditions qu'il offrait pour le séjour d'hiver ainsi que sa proximité des grandes villes en faisaient un endroit inégalé....[9]

A l'intérieur des pays protégés et du vaste Etat des Safavides, qui s'étendait de l'Euphrate aux monts Hindukush et du Daghestan jusqu'au Golfe Persique, Qazvin occupait effectivement une place centrale. De plus, son éloignement des zones frontières de l'est et de l'ouest écartait le danger de la chute de la capitale qui pouvait mener à la chute de l'Etat.

(2) Les premières sources safavides qui rappellent les expéditions militaires de Shah Tahmasb, mentionnent souvent Qazvin comme étant

une étape pour le séjour d'hiver de ce souverain, étape dont le choix était fondé non seulement sur des raisons militaires, mais aussi sur des raisons économiques et pratiques du point de vue du ravitaillement.[10]

(3) Depuis des siècles, Qazvin constituait une région importante du plateau de l'Iran tant elle offrait des possibilités de communication vers diverse régions. En effet, elle était située sur l'ancienne route principale du Khurasan, qui reliait la Transoxiane et le Khurasan à l'Asie Mineure et à Constantinople. Qazvin était par ailleurs reliée à Isfahan par l'intermédiaire des routes secondaires qui passaient par Sava et Kashan. Elle reliait par ailleurs le Gilan et le Mazandaran par les passages montagneux d'Alamut et de Taliqan et les montagnes du nord de Qazvin, en suivant le cours du Shah-rud. Depuis Siyadahan (le Takistan d'aujourd'hui), elle était reliée d'un coté à l'Azarbaijan et de l'autre à Kirmanshah et au Kurdistan.

(4) Il s'avère, d'après certaines expressions employées dans le *Tazkira* attribué à Shah Tahmasb que trente-deux ans avant que le roi ait choisi Qazvin comme son Daulatkhana officiel, il mentionnait déjà cette ville en tant que capitale. En rapportant les événements de l'année 933/1527 il nous dit en effet:

> Le jeudi 12 du mois de zu'l-hijja/9 septembre (lundi!) et à une heure propice, j'arrivai au *dīvānkhāna* de mon père à Qazvin et donnai d'ordre de demander publiquement aux émirs, aux habitants et aux commerçants de se présenter.[11]

Par ailleurs, dans le récit des événements de l'année 938/1532, il raconte:

> Un jour à Qazvin je me rendis dans le bain que j'avais fait construire au début du quartier de Jaᶜfarabad. Sortant du *ḥammām* je m'assis dans le jardin de la maison de Zanil Khan et les chefs de villages de Qazvin m'apportèrent des mets....[12]

Dans un autre passage relatif à l'année 957/1550, il est dit:

> Ils m'avaient placé en haut de la terrasse du *shāh-nishīn*, je m'assis sur mon siège... (p. 97).

Qazi Ahmad Qummi, l'auteur du *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, dans le récit des faits historiques de l'année 962/1555 écrit:

> La construction du nouveau Daulatkhana n'étant pas achevée, ils s'assirent dans l'ancien Daulatkhana.[13]

Ce passage indique l'intention de Shah Tahmasb, déjà depuis le début de son règne, d'installer sa capitale à Qazvin.

En installant son Daulatkhana dans cette ville, ce souverain s'appuyait certes sur l'importance de Qazvin en ce qu'elle offrait, du point de vue géographique, des communications et des conditions stratégiques et militaires. Mais ce choix permettait également à Shah Tahmasb d'atteindre ses objectifs politiques et religieux.

En effet Qazvin constituait, jusqu'à l'époque safavide, l'un des centres importants des sunnites et de l'orthodoxie musulmane. La madrasa Ḥaidariyya, l'une des institutions religieuses (*ḥauza ᶜilmiyya*) active sous Shah Tahmasb, appartenait auparavant aux *aṣḥāb-i Abū Ḥanīfa.* A l'époque saljukide,[14] face aux troubles causés par les ismaéliens nizariens, Qazvin servait non seulement comme un centre militaire, mais aussi comme un foyer de propagande religieuse contre ce mouvement shiᶜite.[15]

Dans le panégyrique adressé à Shah Tahmasb, Maulana Hairati, le poète shiᶜite de la cour de ce souverain et l'auteur de plusieurs poèmes à la louange des imams shiᶜites duodécimains déplore la situation religieuse à Qazvin et encourage le roi à faire assassiner les sunnites. En attirant l'attention du roi sur l'existence nombreuse d'adeptes du sunnisme dans les différentes classes de la société à Qazvin, le poète recommande à Shah Tahmasb, dont il loue l'autorité, de se mettre à la bonne oeuvre de les massacrer même si cela devait se faire un par un. Considérant les sunnites comme des subalternes, Hairati trouve que leur élimination ne pouvait être que bénéfique pour l'Etat. La haine que ce poète éprouvait pour les sunnites se révéle par ailleurs dans un quatrain ou il appelle à la malédiction divine sur l'ensemble des sunnites de Qazvin.[16]

A son avènement au trône, Shah Tahmasb employa toute sa force pour la propagation de la religion shiᶜite et c'est sous son règne que le shiᶜisme s'instaura pleinement comme la religion officielle de l'Etat. Dans sa capitale Qazvin, ce souverain suivait de près la propagande et le rayonnement du shiᶜisme. Les mosquées et les madrasas furent ornées des slogans shiᶜites; la construction des édifices tels que *tauḥīdkhānas*, mosquées, madrasas et d'autres institutions religieuses fut entreprise; les anciennes mosquées et les sanctuaires des saints shiᶜites furent restaurés et remaniés; les cérémonies de deuils religieux se firent en quantité; les poètes furent encouragés à composer de la poésie religieuse et à developper les élégies funèbres; le "conseil de bonne conduite" et la "restriction d'acte prohibé" entrèrent en vigueur. Tous ces efforts de propagande shiᶜite avaient en même temps pour but d'affaiblir d'autres mouvements religieux.[17]

Shah Tahmasb adopta une politique de répression particulièrement sévère contre les écoles spirituelles et philosophiques et les ordres mystiques des soufis. Bien que l'Etat safavide eût été inspiré dans son

fondement spirituel du shiᶜisme et du soufisme, depuis Shah Ismaᶜil et jusqu'à la fin de cette dynastie, le *taṣavvuf* en tant que doctrine universelle fut rejeté et les adeptes des ordres furent persecutés. Les sultans se contentèrent de maintenir dans les ordres les soufis qui leur étaient dévoués. Sous la surveillance du *khalīfat al-khulafā* les mystiques fidèles vaquaient à la prière pour la stabilité de l'Etat et formaient ainsi le bras fort du pouvoir contre les ennemis du Shah à l'intérieur du pays.[18]

Au défilé militaire qui fut organisé a l'occasion de la victoire de Shah Tahmasb sur les Uzbeks, des centaines de *tabarrā'iyān* passèrent devant le souverain avant les vizirs, les mustaufis, les écrivains et les muhtasibs.[19] Les shahs sultans ajoutèrent aux titres de *ẓill-Allāh, khāqān-i sikandar shaᶜn,* ou *gītī-sitān* qu'ils portaient, celui de *murshid-i kāmil,* cela uniquement dans le but de spiritualiser leur royaume. Sur l'ordre de Shah Tahmasb les adeptes de Mahmud Pasikhani, connus sous le nom de *nuqṭaviyya,* furent poursuivis. Les dirigeants de cette secte, Muhammadi Qazi Bidguli et Maulana Qasim Kūpālī, furent assassinés et un groupe de leurs partisans emprisonnés.[20] Parmi ces derniers se trouvait Hayati, le célèbre poète qazvini, qui resta deux ans en prison et qui après sa libération emmigra en Inde pour servir à la cour du souverain moghol, Nur al-Din Muhammad Jahangir. Un autre poète, Abu'-l Qasim Amri, qui avait la grande estime de Shah Tahmasb, fut accusé par ce dernier d'appartenir à la secte des nuqtaviyya et, en conséquence, privé de sa vue sur l'ordre du roi. Le poète composa alors le quatrain suivant:

> O Sire, tu ôtas mon habit de lumière
> O Sire, tu me repoussas injustement.
> Te louant trente années jour et nuit
> j'eus en récompense la cécité.[21]

La situation géographique de Qazvin joua par ailleurs un rôle considérable dans le choix de cette ville pour capitale. En effet, les routes de montagne reliaient Qazvin au Mazandaran et au Gilan. Dès les premiers siècles de l'Islam ces régions et les contrées montagneuses voisines servaient de refuge aux guerriers qui luttaient contre le califat et leurs sujets en Iran. De solides dynasties locales indépendantes comme celles qui furent établies dans le Tabaristan, Ruyan, Gilan et Dailam, de même que la plupart des mouvements politiques ou religieux shiᶜites comme ceux des zaidites ou des ismaéliens et autres virent le jour dans ces régions.

Dès la fondation de leur Etat, les Safavides ne cessèrent de combattre ces pouvoirs locaux. Pour mettre fin à la révolte de Khan Ahmad Gilani, Shah Tahmasb dut rassembler ses principales forces et arrêter Amira Dabbaj, le gouverneur de Rasht. Le soulèvement du Gilan maintint longtemps Shah ᶜAbbas en difficulté, et son successeur Shah Safi réussit difficilement à vaincre la révolte de Qarib Shah Gilani.[22] Par ailleurs, les

gouverneurs locaux du Mazandaran n'arrêtaient pas de causer des troubles aux dirigeants safavides.

Considérant ces faits, je pense que l'installation du siège du gouvernement safavide à Qazvin, en dehors de tous les avantages qu'elle offrait, assurait à Shah Tahmasb la surveillance permanente des passages montagneux de l'Alburz et du bassin de la mer Caspienne.

Shah Tahmasb, conscient de la position importante de Qazvin du point de vue stratégique et des voies de communication, ne la jugeait cependant pas—dans ses limites d'alors—appropriée à la capitale d'un vaste pays. La décision fut donc prise par le roi de fonder une nouvelle ville à coté de l'ancienne Qazvin. En 951/1544, et pendant son séjour d'hiver à Qazvin, Shah Tahmasb fit acheter à cette fin les terrains appelés Zangiabad qui appartenaient à Mirza Sharaf Jahan, fils du haut fonctionnaire et de l'homme de savoir renommé, Qazi Jahan.[23] Ces terrains, situés au nord de la vieille ville de Qazvin, étaient destinés à abriter un immense jardin et des monuments prestigieux. Pour tracer ce projet de grande envergure, Shah Tahmasb ordonna de convoquer les ingénieurs et les architectes experts dans les différentes régions du pays. Quinze ans ont été nécessaires pour la réalisation de cet ensemble somptueux de jardin que l'on appela Saᶜadatabad et qui contenait les célèbres palais royaux d'ᶜAli Qapu et de Chihil Sutun, l'ᶜImarat-i Shirvani, le Gunbad-i Munnabat-Kārī et d'autres édifices de prestige.[24] Suivant les régles de la géométrie, l'espace du jardin était aménagé en passages, avenues et pelouses. Des platanes, des peupliers blancs, des ormes et des fleurs de différentes couleurs longeaient les bords du ruisseau qui traversait l'allée principale en son milieu.[25] Sur l'ordre de Shah Tahmasb, des artistes habiles parèrent les facades extérieures et intérieures des édifices des ornements qui comprenaient des peintures murales et des motifs décoratifs et épigraphiques d'une grande beauté. Maulana Malik Dailami, le grand maître en calligraphie, orna de belles écritures l'ivan de Chihil Sutun ainsi que le Daulatkhana et d'autres édifices royaux. Sur le portail du Daulatkhana il inscrivit quatre distiques composés par Qazi ᶜAta-Allah Razi, frère de Qazi Muhammad Razi, qui comptaient parmi les poètes favoris de Shah Tahmasb. Qazi ᶜAta-Allah Razi évoque dans son poème la grandeur de ce palais royal. En le qualifiant de *bihisht-i barīn,* le paradis céleste, et de *khair al-manāzil,* la plus prospère des demeures, la poète trouve non seulement le moyen de suggérer la splendeur du palais mais aussi de formuler en *abjad* les deux dates de construction de l'édifice.[26]

Maulana Muzaffar ᶜAli, l'élève du peintre inégalé Behzad, devenu lui même sans pair, fut un autre maître de talent exceptionnel qui participa à la décoration des palais royaux: le Daulatkhana et l'ivan de Chihil Sutun. Nous n'avons pas de renseignements sur le rôle que jouèrent d'autres grands peintres de l'époque dans l'ornementation du Daulatkhana. Sadiqi Kitabdar, disciple de Muzaffar ᶜAli, Mir Zain al-ᶜAbidin, le maître de Shah Tahmasb en peinture dont les élèves tenaient un atelier, ainsi que Maulana ᶜAbd al-Jabbar Astarabadi, calligraphe et maître d'atelier, faisaient[27] probablement partie des artistes qui, sur l'ordre de Shah Tahmasb, se ruèrent vers ce nouveau pôle administratif, politique et économique du pays que fut la deuxième capitale safavide. A cette époque en effet Shah Tahmasb continuait encore à protéger les artistes, en particulier les peintres et les musiciens. Il avait ordonné à ᶜAbdi Beg Navidi, poète et historien de sa cour, d'exprimer par la poésie la splendeur du jardin de Saᶜadatabad avec ses palais royaux et leurs ornements. Le poète accomplit cette oeuvre dans un *khamsa,* qu'il intitula *Jannāt-i ᶜAdan* où il décrit longuement onze peintures murales.[28] D'après Qazi Ahmad dans son *Gulistān-i hunar,* l'une de ces peintures qui montre Zulaikha et les jeunes filles egyptiennes était réalisée par Shah Tahmasb lui-même.[29] Le Sultan ordonna par ailleurs à chacun de ses émirs, vizirs, princes ou proches, de bâtir, à leur guise, un jardin et un palais au voisinage de Saᶜadatabad. ᶜAbdi Beg mentionne de nombreuses personnalités parmi ses hauts dignitaires en signalant à chaque fois les édifices qu'ils firent construire. Les noms de certains d'entre eux, comme Bahram Mirza, Shah Niᶜmat-Allah, Mahin Banu Sultanum (la fille cadette du roi), le Qurchi-bashi et Husain Beg Yuzbashi Ustajlu, montrent une mosaïque de personnalités différentes qui étaient installées autour du Daulatkhana de Qazvin.[30]

La nouvelle ville étant bâtie, Shah Tahmasb l'appela Jaᶜfarabad en raison des félicités que le nom de Imam Jaᶜfar Sadiq prodiguait. Le souverain lui a donné de plus le surnom de *bāb al-janna,* ce qui veut dire "la porte du paradis". Ces appellations significatives montrent d'une part l'appartenance de Shah Tahmasb au shiᶜisme et d'autre part sa croyance en les traditions anciennes écrites qui indiquaient Qazvin comme un lieu de residence béni et de bon augure. C'était donc une oeuvre pie que de s'installer à Qazvin. Qazi Muhammad Razi dans ses poèmes à la louange de Qazvin rapproche le sens de ces appellations à la quiétude que l'on retrouvait dans celle ville.[31]

Sur l'ordre de Shah Tahmasb d'autres travaux furent entrepris. Un nouveau bazar, une mosquée et un hammam s'élevèrent à l'ouest de la nouvelle ville. Certaines parties du Masjid-i Jamiᶜ ᶜAtiq, telles que l'ivan nord et la salle de prière furent reconstruites. Le mausolée de Husain ibn ᶜAli ibn Musa al-Riza, dans le vieux cimetière, fit l'objet de restauration.

La mosquée appelée Panja ᶜAli fut bâtie près du nouveau Daulatkhana.

La présence des ᶜulama à Qazvin transforma cette ville en un grand centre religieux shiᶜite. La madrasa Haidariyya, l'ancienne madrasa des Ashab-i Abu Hanifa, était l'une des institutions religieuses actives de cette époque.[32]

Shah Tahmasb resta assez longtemps au pouvoir pour assurer à son Etat une solide organisation gouvernementale. Les bases de celle-ci reposaient sur le shiᶜisme duodécimain et l'ascendance du prophète et de l'organisation soufi de la *ṭarīqa* safavide. Le roi, défenseur de la religion, était un *murshid-i kāmil.* La défaite de Shah Ismaᶜil dans la guerre de Chaldiran avait affaibli le lien du maître et du disciple.[33] Pour remplir cette lacune, Shah Tahmasb, descendant de Shaikh Safi, était obligé de sensibiliser l'opinion publique en s'appuyant sur la religion et son appartenance à la famille du prophète. Les doutes qui planaient à ce propos devaient disparaître après l'ordre de Shah Tahmasb de réécrire, en version modifiée, le *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā* d'Ibn-i Bazzaz. En effet, Abu'l- Fath Husaini, qui fut chargé de cette tâche, rédigea ce nouvel ouvrage en démontrant les preuves de l'ascendance alide de la dynastie safavide. Bien des années après, Shaikh Husain Pirzada Zahidi écrivit le *Silsilat al-nasab-i ṣafaviyya* comme le livre généalogique incontestable des Safavides.

La contribution de l'Etat safavide dans l'instauration et la propagation du shiᶜisme en tant que religion officielle, devait également se faire sentir. Dans cette direction, Shah Tahmasb accordait un soutien sans limite à la religion et faisait inviter et rassembler à Qazvin des ᶜulama shiᶜites de premier rang qui étaient dispersés à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur du pays. Il octroyait à ces ᶜulama des soyurghals et des privilèges financiers ou encore des bénéfices en *vaqf* et introduisait les plus renommés d'entre eux dans les affaires sociales du pays.[34] Sous Shah Tahmasb, l'Iran devint un point d'appui et un refuge pour les théologiens shiᶜites d'autres pays. Quant aux ᶜulama et aux *sādāt* iraniens qui, pendant longtemps, avaient souffert en dissimulant leur opinion, ils trouvèrent dans l'Etat safavide la protection recherchée. De Bahrain, Qatif, de l'Iraq et surtout de la Syrie et du Jabal ᶜAmil les ᶜulama shiᶜites se ruèrent vers l'Iran et la plupart d'entre eux s'installèrent à Qazvin. On peut en nommer certains comme Muhaqqiq Karaki (ᶜAli b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜĀlī) et son fils Shaikh ᶜAbd al-ᶜĀlī, Mir Sayyid Husain al-Husaini Jabal ᶜAmili, Mir ᶜAla' al-Nabi qui appartenait à la famille des sayyids Marᶜashi de Qazvin, Shaikh Baha al-Din Muhammad fils d'ᶜAbd al-Samad ᶜAmili, Mir Niᶜmat-Allah Hilli, Shaikh Ibrahim Qatifi ainsi que des dizaines d'autres. Muhaqqiq Karaki, qui occupait le rang le plus élevé parmi les ᶜulama, jouissait de la haute considération de Shah Tahmasb, qui émit des *farmāns* à son nom et le laissa totalement libre de ses actes.[35] Grâce à l'exégèse (historique/

interpretation) qu'il fit de la monarchie et aux efforts qu'il déploya pour consolider l'organisation religieuse de l'Etat, Shaikh Karaki fut même appelé *mukhtari' al-shīᶜa.* De nombreux théologiens, comme Shaikh Qatifi, qui n'approuvaient pas les commentaires de Karaki, perdirent la bienveillance du roi et furent disgraciés. L'obstination de Shah Tahmasb dans la création des institutions religieuses et la propagation du shiᶜisme ainsi que son acharnement dans la lutte qu'il menait contre les autres mouvements religieux et les sectes, conduisirent au renforcement et au développement de l'Islam shiᶜite.

Les soufis fidèles qui s'étaient dévoués à Shah Ismaᶜil et l'avaient aidé dans son accession au trône perdirent le grand crédit dont ils jouissaient dans le passé auprès du roi. Le khalifat al-khulafa qui n'occupait plus qu'une position protocolaire, prenait, dans les audiences et réceptions officielles, la même place que celle qui était réservée aux émirs, aux qizilbashs, aux haut fonctionnaires ou au *ṣadr al-ṣudur.*[36] Alors que l'opposition de Shah Ismaᶜil II à la politique religieuse de son père avait provoqué la réaction des ᶜulama et des différentes classes de la société, sa décision de faire massacrer à la fois les princes safavides et les soufis ne suscita par contre aucune protestation.[37]

A la mort de Shah Tahmasb en 984/1576, l'Etat safavide avait une structure assez solide et, malgré tous les événements qui eurent lieu par la suite, il n'a pas subi de grandes modifications dans son organisation. Qazvin en tant que seconde capitale des safavides resta pendant plus d'un demi siècle au centre des divers changements et au cours des dix dernières années du règne de Shah Tahmasb se transforma en une grande ville qui atteignait son apogée. A cette époque Qazvin avec ses quarante-cinq avenues principales, brillait comme une pierre précieuse au centre d'immenses jardins. La position de Qazvin sur les voies de commerce et sa centralisation administrative et politique faisaient couler vers le nouveau bazar et le *qaiṣariyya ṭahmāsbī* infiniment de marchandises diverses et en particulier de la soie. Antony Jenkinson, le représentant de l'Angleterre à la société moscovite demanda à Shah Tahmasb de consentir à frayer une nouvelle voie commerciale par la Volga et la Caspienne. Qazvin, située à la tête de cette voie, facilitait ainsi le transport des marchandises dans toutes les directions du pays. Un tel centre politique, économique et administratif permit à Qazvin de devenir, comme toute autre capitale du monde, un foyer d'intenses activités intellectuelles, culturelles et artistiques. Si le transfert de l'art et de la culture s'est réalisé à une époque de Herat à Tabriz et de là à Qazvin,

c'était désormais Qazvin qui inspirait les tendances artistiques dans la troisième capitale safavide, Isfahan.

NOTES

1. Qāżī Aḥmad Qummī, *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, éd. E. Echraqi, 2 vols (Tehran 1359-63/1980-4), p. 312. Le transfert de capitale de Tabriz à Qazvin a été discuté par Michel M. Mazzaoui, From Tabriz to Qazvin to Isfahan: Three phases of Safavid history, *Z.D.M.G.*, suppl. 3/i (1977), 514-22 (esp. pp. 515-19); il remarque que "the Qazvin phase recognized the need for religious as well as political consolidation of the new Shiᶜi Iran under Shah Tahmasb" (p. 514).
2. Ibid., p. 399.
3. ᶜAbd al-Karīm al-Rāfiᶜī, *al-Tadwīn fī akhbār Qazwīn* (Beirut 1987), I, p. 32.
4. Ibid., p. 46.
5. Ibid., p. 33.
6. Ibid., p. 3.
7. Ḥamd-Allāh Mustaufī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, éd. ᶜA. Navā'ī (Tehran 1339/1960), pp. 758-72.
8. Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓl-Allāh, *Jāmiᶜ al-tavārīkh (Ismaᶜīliyān, Fāṭimiyān, Nizāriyān)*, éd. M.T. Dānishpazhūh et M. Mudarrisī Zanjānī (Tehran 1356/1977), p. 126.
9. Qāżī Aḥmad Qummī, p. 378.
10. Ibid.; Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ᶜālam-ārā-yi ᶜAbbāsī*, éd. Ī. Afshār (Tehran 1334/1955), p. 96. Cf. Mazzaoui, p. 517.
11. *Taẓkira-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, éd. Amr-Allāh Ṣafarī (Tehran 1363/1984), pp. 2-3.
12. Ibid., p. 26.
13. Qāżī Aḥmad Qummī, p. 379.
14. Al-Rāfiᶜī, İ, p. 54.
15. Iskandar Beg, pp. 148-9.
16. Qāżī Aḥmad Qummī, p. 375.
17. Ibid., pp. 597-9; M.T. Dānishpazhūh, Yik parda az zindigī-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsp, *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyāt-i Mashhad*, no. 4 (1350/1971); Iskandar Beg, pp. 122-3.
18. *Taẓkirat al-mulūk*, éd. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī (Tehran 1953), p. 18.
19. Qāżī Aḥmad Qummī, p. 203.
20. Āfushta'ī Naṭanzī, *Nuqāvat al-āṣār*, éd. E. Echraqi (Tehran 1350/1971), p. 515.
21. Naṣr-Allāh Falsafī, *Zindigānī-yi Shāh ᶜAbbās-i avval*, III (Tehran 1358/1979), p. 907.
22. Ḥasan Astarābādī, *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī (az Shaikh Ṣafī tā Shāh Ṣafī)*, éd. E. Echraqi (Tehran 1366/1987), p. 236.
23. Qāżī Aḥmad Qummī, p. 312.
24. ᶜAbdī Beg Navīdī, *Kulliyāt*, ms. de la Bibliothèque Centrale de l'Université de Tehran, no. 2425, fol. 506ro.
25. Qāżī Aḥmad Qummī, pp. 312-13.
26. Ibid., p. 401.
27. Iskandar Beg, pp. 174-5.
28. ᶜAbdī Beg, *Kulliyāt*, fol. 526ro; voir sur ces peintures mon article, Description contemporaine des peintures murales disparues des palais de Šâh Ṭahmâsp à Qazvin, dans *Art et société dans le monde Iranien*, éd. C. Adle (Paris 1982), 117-26.
29. Qāżī Aḥmad Qummī, *Gulistān-i hunar*, éd. M. Suhailī Khwānsārī (Tehran 1352/1973), p. 138, cf. la traduction par V. Minorsky, *Calligraphers and painters* (Washington 1959), p. 182.

30. ᶜAbdī Beg Navīdī, *Dauḥat al-azhār*, éd. ᶜA. Minā'ī Tabrīzī et A. Rahimov (Moscou 1974), pp. 48-62.
31. Qāżī Aḥmad Qummī, *Khulāṣat*, p. 400.
32. M.A. Gulrīz, *Mīnūdār yā bāb al-jannat-i Qazvīn* (Tehran 1368/1989), p. 651.
33. R. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids* (Cambridge 1980), p.46; tr. A. Ṣabā, *Īrān-i ᶜaṣr-i Ṣafavī* (Tehran 1363/1984), p.40.
34. Qāżī Aḥmad Qummī, *Khulāṣat*, pp. 597-8; cf. ᶜAbd-Allāh Afandī-yi Iṣfahānī, *Riyāż al-ᶜulamā* (Qum 1401/1981), III, pp. 455-60.
35. *Riyāż al-ᶜulamā*, III, p. 456; Muḥammad Bāqir al-Khwānsārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt*, éd. M.T. al-Kashfī et A. Ismāᶜīlyin (Tehran-Qum 1390-2/1970-2), IV, p. 464. [Pour une nouvelle perspective sur l'adhésion des ᶜulama shiᶜites du Liban à la cour de Tahmasb, voir A.J. Newman, The myth of the clerical migration to Safawid Iran: Arab Shiᶜite opposition to ᶜAlī al-Karakī and Safawid Shiᶜism, *Die Welt des Islams* 33 (1993), 66-112 (ed.)].
36. *Taẓkirat al-mulūk*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāqī, p. 18.
37. Naṭanzī, *Nuqāvat al-āṣār*, p. 34.

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Sufis, Dervishes and Mullas: the Controversy over Spiritual and Temporal Dominion in Seventeenth-Century Iran

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DEFINING THE SAFAVID IDIOM

With the accession in Isfahan of the last Safavid Shah, Sultan Husain (1105–34/1694–1722), nearly two centuries after the establishment of the Safavid empire, the shari^{c}a-minded (purist) ^{c}ulama's version of Imamism had finally been enthroned at court. An edict (1106/1695) prohibiting all non-shar^{c}i activities, sealed by the Shah and signed by the Shaikh al-Islam of Isfahan (Majlisi II) and six other prominent ^{c}ulama, was to be read in all mosques.[1] To distinguish this farman from previous ceremonial Edicts of Repentance (*tauba*) issued by former Safavid Shahs, in some provincial mosques the text of the decree was engraved in stone.[2] Provincial functionaries were ordered to enforce the shari^{c}a; and so as to set an example, those who had neglected to impose such prohibitions in the past were chastised. In the Maidan-i Naqsh-i Jahan 6000 bottles of fine Georgian and Shirazi wine from court cellars were publicly smashed. In all social gatherings, music and dance were forbidden and coffee houses were closed down. Prostitution, gambling, backgammon, chess, opium and "colourful herbs" were banned. Islamic garb was to be enforced. Women, those matrixes of modesty and purity in Islam, were also targetted. Shah Sultan Husain is said to have decreed that contrary to past practice, women (*nisvān*) should not linger in the streets (*maḥalāt*) and bazaars (*asvāq*) without shar^{c}i and ^{c}urfi reasons. They should not

* This paper was presented in memory of Martin B. Dickson, who with his knowledge and charisma resurrected the Safavid world for his students. It is he who pointed me in the direction of Abu Muslim. Portions of this article have been extracted from my unpublished dissertation, *The waning of the Qizilbash: The temporal and the spiritual in seventeenth century Iran* (Princeton 1993).

stroll in gardens and go on pleasure promenades with anyone other than their husbands. They should not loiter in public gatherings (*maᶜrika*). They were to move out of their private harem only with the permission of their husbands or their male legal guardians (*ṣāḥib-i ikhtiyār-i sharᶜī*).[3]

Although it is hard to ascertain the degree to which this decree would have been enforced, it did mark a decisive break with the Safavid past, with a vernacular tradition of Islam practised by the Qizilbash, the spiritual and military backbone of the Safavids.[4] This privileged elite venerated the founder of the Safavid empire, Shah Ismaᶜil, whom they saw as the embodiment of a living godhead. Their beliefs led them to sacrifice their lives entering the battlefield unarmed, thinking that the miraculous powers of their master would shield them. It is not solely on the basis of his personal charisma that Ismaᶜil wielded such power, for from his ancestor Shaikh Safi al-Din Ishaq (d.1334) he had inherited the headship of the Safavid order and hence, a saintly aura and a spiritual legitimisation that in early modern Islamdom was so intimately associated with sufism and the dervish culture. Moreover, in the Anatolian context where Ismaᶜil's grandfather, Junaid (d.1460), had spent over a decade (1448–59) in exile from Ardabil accumulating Turcoman disciples and engaging in *ghazā*, the prestige of this family of saintly men had become imbued with divinity. Junaid is said to have claimed to be God and his son, Haidar (d.1488), who introduced the ritual Qizil Taj that symbolised membership to this transformed sufi order, the son of God.[5]

A particular synthesis of sufism, ᶜAlid loyalty, and *ghuluww* informed the web of beliefs that bound the Qizilbash together to their Safavid pirs.[6] Shah Ismaᶜil's *Dīvān*, addressed to the Qizilbash and most probably composed while together they began the conquest of the Safavid imperium, preserves a flavour of this synthesis, of the spiritual landscape of the Qizilbash. Messianic claims abound in Ismaᶜil's poetry, where he presents himself as the reincarnation of a host of heroes from Iran's cultural past.[7] Epic heroes such as Feraidun, Khusrau, Jamshid, Zahhak, Rustam and Alexander, as well as prophets like Adam, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad are evoked, all of whom are shrouded with the mythical mystic of the supernatural. ᶜAlids, however, figure prominently. In his *Dīvān*, Ismaᶜil identifies himself not only with ᶜAli, but with all the Imams, for like them he had been illuminated, he had inherited the *nūr-i ilāhī* and so possessed the esoteric knowledge of prophetic revelation.[8] For Shaikh Ismaᶜil the esoteric experience of the Divine entailed becoming that godhead and actually sitting on his throne. "In my opinion", writes Ismaᶜil, "prophecy is the innermost mystery of sainthood".[9]

When Shaikh Ismaᶜil conquered Tabriz with his Qizilbash (1501), he fulfilled the aspirations of Junaid and Haidar; he succeeded in adding

temporal power to Safavid spiritual dominion. Then Ismaᶜil adopted the Persian title of "Shah", in the political sense of the term, and styled himself *mahdī*, making use of the Imami paradigm of an eventual emergence of the Hidden Imam. Ismaᶜil came to place his messianic claims within an Imami framework. But Shah Ismaᶜil, the Qizilbash, and the Imami ᶜulama each had their own particular perceptions of Imamism.[10]

Although Shah Ismaᶜil had publicly embraced the Imami faith, Andrew Newman has rebuked the historiographic "myth of clerical migration" to Safavid Iran and has demonstrated that in the first half of the 16th century Arab Imami ᶜulama, indeed, rejected Qizilbash Islam, even refusing to emigrate from Ottoman Sunni territory.[11] Some like Shaikh ᶜAli Karaki (d.940/1534), however, accepted Shah Ismaᶜil's patronage, perhaps in the hope of converting the Safavids to a more purist version of Imamism.[12] In this process, however, those ᶜulama who had accepted court patronage were forced to cater to the messianic nature of Shah Ismaᶜil's rise to power. Initially, Imami clerics had made use of *ḥadīth* customarily employed when discussing eschatological and apocalyptic events relating to the advent of the Mahdi to parallel Ismaᶜil's emergence (*khurūj*).[13] But by the reign of Shah Sultan Husain, the leading mujtahid of Isfahan, Majlisi II, came to interpret the rise of Shah Ismaᶜil as a sign of the coming of the "Lord of the Age".[14] The appearance of the Mahdi was relegated to the near future. Yet, still coloured by the messianic tenor of Safavid revolutionary rhetoric, Majlisi II predicts that the Mahdi will emerge in 65 years (1143/1731). Safavid Shahs were, then, stripped of all spiritual dominion and instead were awarded secondary or derived sharᶜi authority: *sharīᶜat* came to outshine *ṭarīqat* legitimacy. Now the activities of Safavid Shahs were sanctioned so long as they were in accord with the instructions of qualified mujtahids: only then did the shariᶜa law enjoy a supreme role in the formation of public and political order. By this point the Qizilbash, shorn of their religious aspect, no longer functioned as a cohesive group and very few of them would have entered the battlefield unarmed—willing to sacrifice their lives for Shah Sultan Husain—a mere temporal dynast who derived legitimacy from a forged Musavi descent and by enforcing a strict observance of the shariᶜa.[15]

THE *RADDS* AGAINST ABU MUSLIM AND SUFIS

Tensions between the spritual landscape of Qizilbash Islam and that of the newly adopted imperial religion, Imamism, had surfaced from the very inception of Safavid rule. It was not until the Qizilbash had waned at

court, however, that Imami orthodoxy received the necessary political sanction to redraw their map of Imamism in Safavid Iran; sufism and ghuluww, tendencies so embedded in classical Safavid culture were, then, cast as heretical and expunged from the boundaries of legitimacy. Formalisms began to quench the free-spirited experiment that had given birth to the Safavid idiom. Since politics and religion were so intimately linked in Safavid Iran, the transformations occurred on all levels; repercussions of the erosion of Qizilbash Islam manifested themselves in the realms of written and oral culture, in forms of sociability, as well as in politics.

Inasmuch as new paradigms of authority emerged in Safavid political culture, new loci of intellectual socialisation too began to take shape. Public arenas in which the dervish cult had found nourishment were hermetically sealed. The mix of religious currents and eddies had flowed through coffeehouses, bazaars, and central squares where mullas and dervishes had spoken of their religious quests, some genuinely believing in their missions, others seing them as a profession—merely a means of gaining a livelihood. There the inhabitants of the Safavid imperium had been exposed to different religious orientations and practices. At least up to the age of Shah Sultan Husain, the choice of following or abandoning a particular mujtahid, mulla, or dervish seems to have been as free as the flow of the currents.

Here, I shall analyse the cultural repercussions of the waning of Qizilbash Islam encoded in religious texts that delineate the controversy over the concepts of authority and its relationship to the spiritual and the temporal in 17th-century Iran. I would like to focus on disputations (*radd/rudūd*) penned by the ᶜulama against sufis and Abu Muslim (d.755), the religious warrior who was instrumental in the establishment of the ᶜAbbasids. These polemics are a product of the absolutist Safavid Shah ᶜAbbas I's age (1587–1629), when the tensions revolving around ghuluww and sufism finally exploded.[16] The bulk of these polemics coincide with a period during which the power of the Qizilbash was waning at court: at a time when the betrayal of Qizilbash Islam was beginning to become an institutional reality (post 1590).[17] Shah ᶜAbbas I's successor, Shah Safi's reign (1629–42), saw the ghulams in full control of the political arena. Power now lay in the hands of the corps of slaves that ᶜAbbas I had introduced at court and on the battlefield for the purpose of supplanting the political influence of the Qizilbash. It had taken a century for the Safavids to consolidate their domains and dilute the political power of the Qizilbash. The fact that these disputations flourished towards the end of ᶜAbbas I's reign and into that of Safi's—rather than upon the inception of the Safavid dynasty, when Shaikh Ismaᶜil took on the title of Shah and publicly embraced Imamism—is testimony to the concomitant waning of both Qizilbash spirituality and political might.[18]

Most of these disputations were written by purist ᶜulama and therefore represent the perspective of the shariᶜa-minded. They are one discourse among a variety of discourses embedded in the clash between Qizilbash Islam and Imamism. Purist ideas concerning "heretical" behaviour and "reprehensible" activities were drawn, however, from genuine features of Safavid local culture. Polemical works against sufis are a precious source that must not be ignored in the reconstruction of the spiritual landscape of the Qizilbash. The shariᶜa-minded attack on ghuluww and sufism provides us not only with the image of the generic sufi that was no longer acceptable by such an orthodoxy, but also with the practical problems the ᶜulama encountered in their attempts to convert the Turco-Iranian population of Safavid Iran to their version of Imamism. They highlight the differences between syncretic and purist tendencies in Imamism, between the use of song, mystical poetry and dance, and prescribed ritual prayer in the path of communion with God; between guidance of a pir/dervish, and of the ᶜulama; and between reciting Rumi's *maṣnavī* and cursing that Uzbek qazi. A picture of the wide variety of religious men who fell under the rubric of sufis, as well as the doctrinal contentions between them and the shariᶜa-minded come to light with a second series of refutations, a second discourse penned by the sufi-minded ᶜulama in defence of sufism. A more nuanced picture of the concept of sufism in the Safavid context comes to life here, for the sufi-minded ᶜulama endeavoured to distinguish between those sufis who were learned in the religious sciences and those who had been imbued with ghuluww and were barely literate.

It was Abu Muslim who was the first target of the shariᶜa-minded attack. For such a popular figure to have been singled out and fallen victim to the waning of the Qizilbash, points to a deeper association between Abu Muslim and the Safavids. Indeed, a link can be reconstructed, for Safavid revolutionary propagandists used the *Abū Muslim-nāmas* as a medium through which to spread their beliefs. The *Abū Muslim-nāma* is an epic history revolving around the heroic and religious feats of its protagonist, Abu Muslim. Evidence indicates that during the ghulat-inspired phase of the Safavid movement (1447–1501) Haidar or Junaid utilised *Abū Muslim-nāmas* as tools to incite the Turcomans of Anatolia and Syria—those tribesmen who would convert to Qizilbash Islam and take up arms to fight for their beliefs. Storytellers referred to as "Sūfīyān-i Ardabīl" would recite stories about Muhammad b. Hanafiyya (d.700) and Abu Muslim to draw parallels between the nature of Abu Muslim's *daᶜwa* and the aims of the Safavid revolutionaries.[19]

When the historical Abu Muslim had died, some of his followers (Abu Muslimiyya), in true ghulat fashion, claimed that he had not died, for they believed that he was in occultation (*ghaiba*) and would soon

return (*rajᶜa*) to establish justice on earth. Most of the extant manuscripts of the *Abū Muslim-nāma*s name Abu Tahir Tusi/Tarsusi, a storyteller (*qiṣṣa-khwān*) at the court of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi (d.421/1030), as their source. The story mirrors the well-known historical narrative that has been passed down to us. What remains consistent in all versions is the basic structure of events. It is this corpus that was probably canonised and recorded by the blind panegyrist Abu Tahir, who made use of oral folk accounts circulating among the ghulat, accounts that derived from real historical events. Variations do occur at key points. These reflect the historical memory of the different lineages and meanings associated with Abu Muslim's daᶜwa, for each ghulat group that lent him support produced its own version of history. That the genealogies preserved in the *Abū Muslim-nāma*s correspond to the ones recorded by early heresiographers, justifies using them as a historical source, rather than relegating them to the realm of myth and fantasy.[20]

Two 16th-century Persian manuscripts of the *Abū Muslim-nāma*, products of the culture of Anatolia, Syria and Iran, capture the aura of what being a Shiᶜi meant for some Safavid disciples.[21] Embedded in Abu Muslim's narrative, in the characters introduced, and in the ghali symbolism that relates each character to a particular episode, lies a genealogy that links the Kaisaniyya to the Muslimiyya and the Imamiyya. These two *Abū Muslim-nāma*s depict Muhammad b. Hanafiyya (d.700) as the heir to the imamate after the martyrdom of Husain (d.680). In practice then, up to the 16th century, Kaisaniyya lineages were still conceived by some as an integral part of the Shiᶜa. Moreover, for those Qizilbash and Tajik disciples of Junaid, Haidar and Ismaᶜil who had been exposed to such versions of the *Abū Muslim-nāma*, Imams such as Muhammad Baqir and Jaᶜfar al-Sadiq were seen as partners to a single spiritual lineage that tied Muhammad and ᶜAli together with Muhammad b. Hanafiyya, the ᶜAbbasid Ibrahim b. Muhammad (d.749), and the Imamiyya Muhammad Baqir (d.737).[22] Here, I do not intend to imply that the Safavids were a Kaisaniyya offshoot, but that they utilised Kaisaniyya legitimacy elucidates the nature of the spiritual landscape of the Qizilbash. Beyond providing evidence of a continuity in religious movements that derived legitimacy from early ghulat like the Kaisaniyya, these *Abū Muslim-nāma*s reflect a conception of the Imamate that saw the transference of the *naṣṣ* among the Banu Hashim, crisscrossing between matrilineal and patrilineal lines of both ᶜAlid and ᶜAbbasid branches, as legitimate.

In 1501, when Shah Ismaᶜil proclaimed his public allegiance to the Imami faith, the Husaini/Musavi lineage of the Safavids had not yet been officially engraved upon their genealogical tree. It is true that during their revolutionary phase (1447–1501) Safavid pirs had played on descent from the family of the Prophet. Shaikh Safi al-Din's hagiography, the

Ṣafvat al-ṣafā (by Ibn-i Bazzaz, 751/1350), was first tampered with during this very phase.[23] An initial stage of revisions saw the transformation of Safavid identity as Sunni Kurds into blood descendants of Muhammad. Precisely which bloodline remained explicitly vague, for Shaikh Sadr al-Din (d.1392) is recorded as having been clueless as to whether the Safavids were "ᶜAlavis or Sharifs".[24] Although ᶜAlid associations had been evoked in Safavid propaganda, its exact genealogical form, whether Hasani, Husaini, or for that matter Kaisani, remained ambiguous, at least in view of explored evidence.

It was Safavid Husaini descent that Ismaᶜil came to emphasise as he began to take hold of temporal reins. "I am a Husaini, my curse upon Yazid", he writes in his *Dīvān*, and personally signs his name "Ismaᶜil b. Haidar al-Husaini" in a piece of his writing preserved in the Istanbul University Library.[25] Now, a second attempt (914/1508) to further clarify Shaikh Safi's pedigree, this time linking him to the seventh Imam Musa al-Kazim, was forged into the *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā*, probably in conjunction with the first political betrayal of the Qizilbash.[26] In 1508 Shah Ismaᶜil I massacred a group of loyal sufis from Lahijan—special disciples who had cared for him and given him refuge from the Aq Qoyunlu Sultan Rustam (d.902/1497).[27] These apostles had placed Shah Ismaᶜil on the throne and had for seven years maintained their eminence. Jean Aubin provides us with the nuances of this betrayal.[28] It is an Iranian and a sayyid—an urban convert from Rasht (Mir Najm al-Din)—who masterminded this takeover. Beyond the ethnic dimension, Aubin sees the massacre of the Lahijani sufis as representative of the tensions between the old landed elite and the new victorious tribal force, between "men of pen" and "men of sword". It represented as well a tension between Qizilbash Islam and the post revolutionary need for a shariᶜa (Sunni or Shiᶜi)-imposed stability.[29]

It was not until Shah Tahmasb had successfully quashed the first civil war (1524–36) and controlled the Qizilbash, that the Husaini/Musavi identiy of the Safavids was reiterated, and a purist version of Imamism, one that was closer to the textual ideals of Islam, was officially adopted. Hence, Tahmasb's public announcement of his first Edict of Repentance (1534) and his commissioning of the official recension of the *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā*, revised by Abu'l-Fath al-Husaini in 940/1533.[30] The newly concocted genealogy of the Safavids revealed no sign of Abu Muslim or of Muhammad b. Hanafiyya, instead his bloodline was traced back to Musa al-Kazim. Since some Qizilbash and Tajiks revered Imami Imams such as Muhammad Baqir and Jaᶜfar al-Sadiq, and saw them as partners to the spiritual lineage of the Kaisaniyya and the Muslimiyya, perhaps initially this Husaini/Musavi identity may not have come as a shock. But it became clear once Shaikh ᶜAli Karaki banned the recitation of *Abū*

Muslim-nāmas, and issued an injunction (*fatvā*) sanctioning the cursing of Abu Muslim, that the shari^{c}a-minded ^{c}ulama's version of Imamism was at a variance with Qizilbash Islam, and that tensions between the ghuluww of the Qizilbash and the purism of the shari^{c}a-minded were bound to explode.[31]

Inhabitants of the Safavid domains had been exposed to *Abū Muslim-nāmas* through the oral tradition of storytelling. Storytellers (qissa-khwans)—a target of attack by the anti-Abu Muslim polemists—then functioned as one medium through which ghulat beliefs and motifs were kept alive in oral culture. For the newly established Imami orthodoxy, the threat posed by these storytellers induced Shaikh ^{c}Ali Karaki to issue a fatva condemning Abu Muslim and the transmitters of these stories. Shaikh ^{c}Ali Karaki was asked whether one could curse Abu Muslim. He states in his fatva: "Not only is it lawful (*jāyiz*) to curse him, but it is legitimate to curse anyone who is attracted to him, and it is necessary to distance oneself from him. So do not listen to the false stories about Abu Muslim, for these stories have been concocted by the qissa-khwans...".[32]

Hamavi, a student of Shaikh ^{c}Ali, preserves this fatva in one of the earliest extant Safavid polemics against Abu Muslim (*Anīs al-mu'minīn*, written in 938/1531). He draws a picture—of course, seen through purist lenses—of the dynamics between the then hegemonic culture of the sufiesque ghulat and the newly established Imamism. Shaikh ^{c}Ali Karaki and Hamavi, both representatives of Imami orthodoxy, saw the religiosity of the populace as heretical—especially since the stories of the Imams had become embedded within the story of Abu Muslim. Hamavi draws linkages between the instigators of innovation (*bid^{c}at*) and the *Abū Muslim-nāma* raconteurs. He speaks of the first two Safavid Shahs' policy of banning the recitation of *Abū Muslim-nāmas* and views it as fundamental to the annihilation of bid^{c}at. What is even more illuminating is that Hamavi states that Shah Isma^{c}il destroyed Abu Muslim's tomb in Nishapur. This information does not appear in the official chronicles. If this is indeed the case, then Shaikh Isma^{c}il, upon his enthronement and espousal of Imamism, openly rejected this ideology that had allowed his revolution to succeed. By banning the *Abū Muslim-nāmas*—the very propaganda tool used by the Safavid revolutionaries—and desecrating the tomb of Abu Muslim, Shah Isma^{c}il publicly renounced his former identification with this ghali warrior and denounced the godlike hero of the Qizilbash and some Tajiks.

The Qizilbash, however, refused to heed the call of their pir and the ^{c}ulama. The climate was not ripe for such a ban, since the Qizilbash still wielded much power and the *Abū Muslim-nāmas* were too much part of their cultural heritage for them to forsake their hero overnight. In fact, if one maps the ebbs and flows in the Safavid policy of banning the

recounting of *Abū Muslim-nāmas* onto the political history of the period, one sees that it was when Isma^{c}il and Tahmasb were attempting to control the political arena and abate the Qizilbash that these bans were decreed. The date of Hamavi's *Anīs al-mu'minīn* (1531), in which he complains about Shah Tahmasb's inability to enforce this ban on *Abū Muslim-nāma* racounteurs, coincides with the period of the first civil war (1524–36), which began during the regency of Shah Tahmasb. This marked the first turbulent phase of Tahmasb's rule when the Shah "was buffetted by rival blocs of Qizilbash clans".[33] In the midst of this first civil war, naturally, there was an inability to enforce edicts. The chaos, however, had allowed for a rise in the expression of Qizilbash Islam; for the Safavid Shahs could not enforce their newly adopted shari^{c}a-minded version of Imamism. It is during the first civil war, when the Qizilbash had free rein, that the tomb of Abu Muslim was rebuilt and his stories recited once again according to Hamavi. We know from the story of the Nuqtavi Darvish Khusrau that during the second civil war (1576–90) ghulat impulses resurfaced.[34] By this time, some *oymāqs* who joined the ranks of Darvish Khusrau expressed their ghuluww not in terms of Qizilbashism but in terms of Nuqtavism: the ghulat of some oymaqs in reverence toward the Safavid *silsila* had faltered.[35] Shah ^{c}Abbas I killed the Nuqtavis and many oymaq supporters of Darvish Khusrau. Now, with the suppression of the ghulat of the Qizilbash, the end of the second civil war, and the usurpation of the political role of the Qizilbash by the ghulams, the scene was ripe for a reemergence of anti-Abu Muslim propaganda.

The ghuluww of the Qizilbash and some Tajiks, the vitality of sufism as a socioreligious force and the respect philosophy enjoyed among Iranian intellectuals, had also minimised the early attack by shari^{c}a-minded ^{c}ulama like Shaikh ^{c}Ali Karaki against Abu Muslim and Hallaj. Despite isolated attacks that continued to surface during the reign of Shah Tahmasb (1524–76), ghulat figures like Darvish Khusrau—although under close ^{c}ulama scrutiny and in sufi guise—maintained their *khāniqāhs* and their practices. By the age of Shah ^{c}Abbas I (1587–1629), when the ^{c}ulama were being recruited in large numbers for a variety of clerical posts, perhaps due to the marriage that had taken place between intellectual styles from Jabal ^{c}Amil and Iran, prominent mujtahids like Shaikh Baha'i and Mir Damad had included *ḥikmat* and *taṣavvuf* in their studies on *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*. Due to their stature in both religious and political elite circles, so long as they were alive, polemics against sufism and philosophy would not be well received, and were in fact rare in this period. By the time the first extant polemic against Abu Muslim was penned in Isfahan, both Mir Damad and Baha'i had passed away.[36] All three leading proponents of an eclectic approach to God—Mir Findiriski (d.1640), Mulla Sadra (d.1640) and Majlisi I (d.1660), were not to receive

Shah Safi's patronage. Some like Majlisi I, and Muhsin-i Faiz—all of whom were students of Baha'i and/or Mir Damad, and all of whom mixed sufism and/or philosophy in their approach to religion—came to defend and condemn some of the gross generalisations being voiced by the shari^{c}a-minded ^{c}ulama, generalisations that saw Hallaj, Bistami, Ibn-i ^{c}Arabi, and even Rumi as heretics (mulhids and zindiqs).

This lumping of wild sufis together with mystical poets and philosophers can be seen in the pseudo-Ardabili's polemic, the *Ḥadīqat al-Shī^{c}a*.[37] The *Ḥadīqat al-Shī^{c}a* inaugurates a second wave of polemics, this time including attacks against sufis. It delineates the linkages drawn by the shari^{c}a-minded between the adepts of Abu Muslim and sufis, thus illuminating why a wave of anti-sufi polemics followed a wave of anti-Abu Muslim disputations. The pseudo-Ardabili concludes a section of his tract against Abu Muslim by saying: "So whoever disagrees with this hadith (a sound hadith from Imam Riza that denies any association between Ja^{c}far al-Sadiq and Abu Muslim) and the like is a heretic (*kāfir*) and shall go to hell; for both Shi^{c}is and Sunnis have written that Abu Muslim supported the Al-i ^{c}Abbas and disagreed with Imam Ja^{c}far and denied the Imamate of ^{c}Ali. These types of kafirs are liked by mulhids, Sunnis, and sufis. And if mulhids consider him to be from among themselves and like him it is no surprise; for those who like him are the source of unbelief (*kufr*)... they have departed from Islam. Sunnis like him because he supported the ^{c}Abbasids, and sufis like him because he claimed *ḥulūl* [incarnation of the divine in the human being]; for sufism is based upon hulul and *ittiḥād* [unity with God], and they are attracted to anyone who makes such claims...".[38] According to the pseudo-Ardabili the thread that ties the ghulat together with the sufi was the common belief in ittihad and hulul. The connection lies in questions concerning the soul, the individual, the divine, and their interrelationship—issues that preoccupied the ghulat and were later taken up by some sufis and philosophers. The meaning that the ghulat and the sufis ascribed to the relationship between the individual and the divine was tinged by polytheistic attitudes, for some disciples saw their pirs as divine.

Majlisi I forms the other link that ties these two waves of polemics together. We know that in the 17th century the disputations against Abu Muslim were first articulated by the purist Mir Lauhi (alive in 1081/1670) in opposition to the syncretic Majlisi I, who would praise Abu Muslim from the minbar of the Masjid-i Jami^{c}-i ^{c}Atiq in Isfahan. Having tagged Abu Muslim an enemy of the Imams, Mir Lauhi states that he came under popular attack, especially by the sufis.[39] We also know that the second series of polemics against sufis transpired between Majlisi I and his shari^{c}a-minded student Muhammad Tahir Qummi.[40] Once again, Mir Lauhi provides us with the background to these refutations. In the course

of Mir Lauhi's attempt to confirm the sufi proclivities of Majlisi I, he informs us that "thousands of copies" of the *Tauḍīḥ al-mashrabain* and the *Uṣūl al-fuṣūl al-tauḍīḥ* were in circulation in Isfahan. These books dealt with "the rejection and affirmation, the truths and fallacies of tasavvuf disputed between Majlisi I and Mulla Muhammad Tahir Qummi, the Shaikh al-Islam of Qum."[41]

Majlisi I's defence of figures such as Hallaj links him to the sufis, who in the language of the Safavid polemicists are referred to as the "adepts of Hallaj" (*murīdān-i Ḥallāj*). Majlisi I belonged to the circle of clerics who had assimilated into the hegemonic culture of the dervish cult, to the extent that he revered the same cultural heroes. The populist dervish culture seems to have coloured some ^{c}alims, like Majlisi I, more than others. According to Mir Lauhi, the populace regarded Majlisi I as a saint. Although Mir Lauhi's voice is one that had been embittered by Majlisi I's popularity, the French traveller Chardin, who visited his tomb in Isfahan shortly after his death, confirms the fact that people venerated Majlisi I.[42] "People in that day and age," says Mir Lauhi, "revered the deeds and acts (*ḥālāt va kamālāt)* of that scholar (Majlisi I), to such an extent that after his death, they did not think the Sahib-i Zaman (Mahdi) could hold a candle to him. They ascribed miracles to his mule and broke pieces off his grave and wore them as amulets."[43]

For some Turks and Iranians, Majlisi I possessed a spark of divinity. The ghulat sensibilities of some believers, which led them to seek constant guidance and communication with a living god or prophet, was being channelled to dervishes as well as to ^{c}alims like Majlisi I. This role, just like the one dervishes played in the religious cosmology of believers, had repercussions for the shari^{c}a-minded ^{c}ulama, who were attempting to reserve that role for the awaited Mahdi. Those early debates among the ^{c}ulama concerning the divine or human nature of the Imams that had been articulated during the period of the Imams' presence (874)—an era in which ghuluww and Imamism had once before come into close contact—were revived here.[44] This time they centred on the divine qualities of other intermediaries between God and the believer; pirs, dervishes, ^{c}alims and philosophers.

The traditional undercurrent of tensions between these three religious styles was kindled once a figure like Mulla Sadra attempted to crystallise metaphysics and mysticism with theology. Sadra's views were certainly controversial for the shari^{c}a-minded who did not believe in transcending beyond rational proofs. Sadra spoke of the interplay between experience and formal knowledge—which incorporated a balanced degree of both variables.[45] He was one who practised what he preached. Of his experience in Kahak, where he had settled for some years due to "the hostility of his (my) contemporaries to extinguish the

flames of his (my) soul", he writes, "I came to know divine secrets that I had never before comprehended, mysterious enigmas unveiled themselves —in a manner that rational argumentation had never before been able to unfold. Better said, all metaphysical secrets that I had known through rational proofs, now, finally I had experienced the intuitive perception—the direct vision."[46]

For an audience untrained in metaphysics these statements, taken out of context, may sound like remarks the ghulat would utter. Sadra, however, was attempting to reunite the spiritual exercises of the 'real' sufi, who was driven by self-purification, with the method of the philosopher, who in his pursuit of wisdom ultimately sought knowledge of the self. It is clear from the defence Mulla Sadra provides in his *Kasr aṣnām al-jāhiliyya*, where he attacks those assumed sufis who know nothing of sufism and *ᶜirfān*, and in his *Sih aṣl*, where he attacks the ignorant shariᶜa-minded ᶜulama, that he was trying to draw distinctions around the two groups who had misunderstood his ideas. Mulla Sadra was responding to the vulgar and superficial categorisations that lumped sufis and philosophers together with wild dervishes who emphasised intuition and experience over formal knowledge. He was responding as well to those sufis who claimed to be in direct contact with God. Four decades later, Mulla Sadra's student, Muhsin-i Faiz, in his *Muḥakāma bain al-mutaṣawwif wa ghairihim* (written in 1072/1662) would still attempt to make these distinctions.[47] By that time, however, 20 tracts against sufis had been compiled by the shariᶜa-minded ᶜulama: the debates had reached their peak.[48]

Both Faiz and Sadra's voices are critical for understanding the different dimensions of these polemics. In their attack on pseudo sufis, whom they call mutasawwif—literally, those who are turning into sufis—they distinguish between those assumed sufis with ghulat colourings and sufis. They speak of the ways in which the popularisation of sufism and the dervish cult had led to social disorder and to Muslims being led astray. In addition, both Faiz and Sadra attribute the shariᶜa-minded ᶜulama's aversion to mysticism and philosophy to their narrow-mindedness, a predicament that had led them to define the sufi in such broad terms as to encompass those so-called sufis along with the piety-minded sufis and philosophers. Here we begin to see how a socioreligious phenomenon such as the popularisation of sufism was capitalised on by the shariᶜa-minded to discredit their traditional opponents—the doctrinal sufis and philosophers.

"Today", says Sadra, "the word sufi is used to refer to any individual who attracts a following and who has assemblies gorging on stew (*āsh*), mystical concerts (*samāᶜ*), clapping and stamping."[49] Of the influences Sadra sees as having affected this group, he singles out their exposure to

popular beliefs during their childhood. They embraced these beliefs due to their association with ignorant persons, associations that would prevent them from seeking true knowledge and gnosis (*maᶜrifat*).[50] Their ignorance and rejection of the shariᶜa led them to repeat words of ecstasy (*shaṭḥiyāt*) others had voiced. Clueless as to their meaning, they uttered them and identified themselves with sufis like Hallaj. Mimicking his words, they would say "Anā'l-Ḥaqq" (I Am Truth/God), or those of Bistami, "Ṣubḥānī" (Glory Be To Me). Perhaps they would even mimic the words Sadra had uttered during his retreat in Kahak. Sadra feels that these sufis had no respect for formal knowledge and considered intuition and experience the only true means of attaining God. That is why Sadra in his *Kasr aṣnām al-jāhiliyya* emphasises the need to acquire knowledge of the shariᶜa and to follow the pillars of Islam before any self-purification and transcendence could occur. These sufis he sees as unlearned and, therefore, complete charlatans and pretenders. *ᶜĀrifs*, or 'real' sufis, according to Sadra are rare people. To attain maᶜrifat, one must begin by "worshipping in accordance to the shariᶜa without which spiritual exercises are confusing and confused". Sadra concludes by saying, "If one sways from studying the shariᶜa, he will not attain the type of devotion a philosopher arrives at nor the spiritual state of a sufi—in that case he is lost."[51]

A category of sufis who had no interest in the pursuit of knowledge and shariᶜa-prescribed ritual is not one delineated solely by Sadra, for it permeates the criticism of the shariᶜa-minded polemicists too. Muhammad Tahir Qummi, the rebellious student of Majlisi I, states in his *Tuḥfat al-akhyār* (1075/1665) that the followers of Hallaj and Bistami, inasmuch as they have abandoned their quest for knowledge, prevent their adepts from seeking knowledge (*ᶜilm*) and reason (*ᶜaql*) hindering them from attaining God.[52] The anticlericalism of these assumed sufis is manifest in their rejection of formal knowledge. According to the pseudo-Ardabili, some "claim that they are the only ones who understand God". Furthermore, they say that "reading religious books is forbidden (*ḥarām*). Whatever the ᶜulama arrive at in 70 years or more of study can be attained in an hour of guidance with the pir."[53] "And I saw a man", says the pseudo-Ardabili, "who not only was unlearned in the religious sciences (*ᶜulūm-i dīniyya*) but was illiterate, and just because he interpreted the *Gulshan-i rāz* (Mahmud Shabistari, d.1320) people considered him to be above the ᶜulama of the age." These types of people, according to the pseudo-Ardabili, "are numerous and have fooled the masses and have given themselves the name of sufis, so that perhaps they may gain respect among the masses... or perchance they hope to fool those among the masses who have no inclination (*mail*) towards the ᶜulama."[54]

It is no surprise then that Mulla Sadra was determined to identify the

true sufi, who in addition to his pursuit of formal religious knowledge and rational proofs engaged in the spiritual quest for God. Qummi and the pseudo-Ardabili instead blurred the distinctions between the type of sufi Sadra talked about and the omnipresent phenomenon of the sufiesque ghulat. Threatened by this phenomenon, the ᶜulama al-din came to channel his threat from the sufiesque ghulat to the doctrinal sufis as well as the philosophers. The connections, however, are not far-fetched for these 'supposed' sufis adopted their image, as well as the language of the real sufis. The cases of Darvish Khusrau and Darvish Riza, two dervishes who claimed to be mahdis under ᶜAbbas I and Safi, demonstrate how sufism continued to act as a haven for mahdist pretensions. The polemicists too speak of how heretics (mulhids) are often mistaken for dervishes and how they make "use of tasavvuf as a sanctuary (*panāhgāh*) for their corrupt ideas...".[55]

When describing this type of sufi Mulla Sadra states: "they say that they are friends (*walī/auliyā*) of God and claim closeness to him. At this time I see a group of these blind ones who claim that their leader had attained gnosis (maᶜrifat) and that he is in the process of seeing God, and to his stupid disciples he says that they have attained God and are near him while no inspiration has befallen him, he says. 'I shall send down something like what God has sent down...'."[56] The picture Sadra paints of this so-called pir is one who in practice claims something very close to prophethood, at times articulated under the rubric of a wali, yet making use of sufi terminology—an example of the synthesis between ghuluww and sufism, and an inkling of the nature of Shah Ismaᶜil's movement.

Seventeen years after the *Ḥadīqat al-Shīᶜa* was written, during the last year of ᶜAbbas II's rule, when the attacks against sufis were at their peak, Mulla Muhammad Tahir Qummi writes of the followers of Hallaj and Bayazid: "it is not as the followers (*tābiᶜān*) of Hallaj and Bayazid think, that with spiritual exercises one can become an Imam and a Caliph and can attain such a high stature... this group considers obedience to their pirs as obligatory and they call them Imams and Caliphs and this is why their pirs, when they get the chance, make their khuruj."[57] Qummi goes on to cite an example of one such phenomenon. Nurbakhsh (d.869/1464), he says, "who was a grand pir of this group (*ṭāyifa*), made claims that he was the Mahdi and the Imam and made his khuruj during the reign of Shahrukh."[58]

Once again Qummi ascribes a meaning to sufism that embodies the essence of ghuluww—the belief in the potential divinity of human beings.[59] Of the rituals and doctrines of these assumed sufis Qummi says: "they go into seclusion for 40 days and refrain from eating meat and stay in dark places alone so that their temperament (*mazāj*) becomes corrupt and they start seeing visions and have dreams in which they ascend to

heaven and to the throne and see God in the form of their pir, and sometimes they even see themselves as God and think that they have attained their quest and that in reality they are God."[60]

It can be argued that the ghuluww of some sufis described here by Qummi and the pseudo-Ardabili may appear to be an exaggeration aimed at discrediting their 'real' sufi opponents. But then how are we to account for Sadra's depiction of the contemporaneous group whose pir utters words like, "I shall send down something like what God has sent down"? In fact, if we place these polemics within their historical context, we see that these kinds of claims were not an anomaly. Qummi himself speaks of Nurbakhsh, who claimed mahdihood. Shah Ismaᶜil too played on the ghulat sensibilities of the Qizilbash, claiming in his poetry that he was the Mahdi. We know as well that figures like Darvish Khusrau and Darvish Riza continued to espouse these beliefs or at least to capitalise on them well into the 17th century.

The polarisation that came to separate the shariᶜa-minded from the sufi and the philosophically-minded in the 17th century concluded an era that had seen the merging of doctrinal (ᶜirfan) sufism with brotherhood (tariqat) sufism, the spiritual with the temporal, the cerebral with the intuitive, and reason with experience. Mysticism, theology and philosophy had been in many respects inseparable during the two centuries (14th and 15th) in which the Safavid movement was incubating. The fire had been kindled among the ᶜulama once Mulla Sadra attempted to conceptualise, metaphysically, the Safavid synthesis. Sadra rationalised the ᶜarifs' experience of transcendence—of a direct vision of God. This the shariᶜa-minded could not tolerate. Qummi, the rebellious student of Majlisi I, voices what lies at the heart of shariᶜa-minded objections: the ᶜulama al-din's desire to control access to all channels of communication with God. They were opposed to the democratisation of the quest for God. Spiritual authority, according to Qummi, was the prerogative of the auliya: the twelve Imams and the ᶜulama al-din. Only the ᶜulama al-din and the future Mahdi could make use of charisma, the power of divination, and the interpretation of dreams. During the ghaiba, the ᶜulama al-din were to play the role of the Imams. The content of Mulla Qasim's (d.1664) public preaching against ᶜAbbas II demonstrates that some ᶜulama saw this role as encompassing the political sphere as well.[61]

The degeneration of the word 'sufi' could not be avoided, for it had become politically tainted. Shahs Ismaᶜil, Tahmasb, ᶜAbbas I and Safi were obviously seeking to eliminate sufiesque-ghulat elements in the interest of their dynasty and their empire, for the synthesis between sufism and ghuluww continued to give birth to messianic uprisings by pirs who dressed like dervishes, made use of sufi terminology, and

functioned through the sufi institution of a khaniqah. In this process the word sufi had come for the most part to denote only a follower of the oral mystic tradition, while the word ᶜarif was applied to a follower of the written tradition of sufism. Sadra and Faiz's painful attempts succeeded in preserving respect for ᶜirfan at court and in the madrasa. Inasmuch as these dichotomies emerged as a consequence of the debates and their political context, Shah Ismaᶜil, the Qizilbash, the inspired poets and philosophers, and the wandering, dancing, howling dervishes may well have all been regarded as sufis, in the 15th-century meaning of the word.

Great care must accordingly be taken by those modern interpreters of the Safavid past for whom the term sufi has taken on a pejorative bent; but for whom its redefinition has blurred its classical meaning. The fact that other modern interpreters tend to restrict sufi to the 'high' tradition has led to what are apparently misconceptions concerning the literature, philosophy and even history of the Safavid period. All this is reflected in the religious and courtly sources by the obvious changes in connotation of the word sufi, and indeed philological precision here would be of great significance in tracing the intellectual and religious currents of Safavid history. Vladimir Minorsky admonished us half a century ago that this "point need[s] special investigation."[62] This article aimed at initiating one such query.

NOTES

1. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm b. Zain al-ᶜĀbidīn Nāṣirī, *Dastūr-i shahriyārān*, British Library, ms. Or. 2942, fol. 43b.
2. According to Rasūl Jaᶜfariyān this farman was circulated throughout Iran, for it appears as an inscription (*katība*) on mosques in Kashan, Lahijan, Tabriz and Luristan. For facsimiles see *Dīn va siyāsat dar daura-yi Ṣafavī* (Qum 1370/1991), pp. 441-5.
3. Abū Ṭālib Mīr Findiriskī, *Tuḥfat al-ᶜālam*, Tehran University ms. Microfilm 4955, fol. 206a.
4. Toward the end of Shah Sulaiman's reign, a shariᶜa-minded representative of the ᶜulama, Muhammad Baqir Majlisi, was named Shaikh al-Islam of Isfahan (1689), the chief mujtahid of the realm. This court-appointed position would allow Majlisi II to begin to enforce the purist version of the shariᶜa from above. The degree to which Majlisi II's attempts were successful remains to be studied. We know, however, that by the reign of Shah Sultan Husain (1694), Majlisi II had sufficient political support and sanction to enforce othodoxy. Shariᶜa-minded Imamism had finally found its seat at court. But alas, Majlisi II would only have five years in which to actualise his goals, for he died in 1699.
5. See Faẓl-Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's description of Junaid and Haidar in his *Tārīkh-i ᶜālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, pp. 259-309 (fols 132a-158a). It is true that Khunjī (d.927/1521) was a Sunni at the court of Sultan Yaᶜqub Aq Qoyunlu (d.896/1490), an opponent of

the Safavids, yet it is Khunjī's choice of negative characterisation of Junaid and Haidar that is revealing. I would like to thank John Woods for providing me with an advance copy of his complete edition of the *Tārīkh-i ᶜālam-ārā-yi Amīnī* (London 1992).

6. The term ᶜAlid is used here to denote all those who regarded descent in the male line from ᶜAli, not primarily from Fatima, as legitimate. For those who gave precedence to the whole family of ᶜAli, any descendant of Abu Talib could become a leader. The word *ghuluww* (n.) is derived from the Arabic root "gh-l-w", literally meaning "to exceed the proper boundary", hence, *ghālī* (s.), *ghulāt* (pl.) is rendered incorrectly as "extremist". "Exaggerator" is a more correct rendering of the word. Wadād al-Qāḍī has delineated three phases, within the first three centuries of Islam, in which the definition of ghuluww had been transformed. Al-Qāḍī argues that in the first century of Islam (Phase I) the term was specifically attributed to some Shiᶜi adherents of Mukhtar whom both the followers of Mukhtar and Muhammad b. Hanafiyya regarded with suspicion. In Phase I the distinguishing characteristics of the ghulat were a belief in the continuance of prophecy, a will to establish a utopia on earth, *ghaiba* (Saba'iyya), *rajᶜa* (the return of some of the dead before resurrection) (Saba'iyya), and the "raising beyond human levels" of figures perhaps like ᶜAli. The ghulat were considered distinct from Mukhtar and the Kaisaniyya in Phase I. In Phase II, the era of Shiᶜi heresiographers like Naubakhti (d.913), Shiᶜis attempted to separate themselves from the ghulat, but not on the basis of rajᶜa and ghaiba for these were precepts adopted by the Imamis. New standards for ghuluww were articulated at the expense of lumping many of these groups into one and super-imposing historical continuity on them. Here precepts such as *hulūl* (incarnation of a divine spark in humans), *tanāsukh* (transmigration of the soul) and the notion of cyclical time were emphasised. Finally, Phase III (3rd century A.H.) saw the articulation of a Sunni definition of ghuluww, a very flexible one that encompassed even those who went beyond the bounds of Islamic textual ideals. Despite the evolution of the meaning of the term ghuluww, Wadād al-Qāḍī maintains that it did encompass a specific set of beliefs and was not a random mixture of "wild ideas". See Wadād al-Qāḍī, The development of the term Ghulāt in Muslim literature with special reference to the Kaysāniyya, in *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islam Wissenschaft* (1974), 295-319. With all the ambiguity surrounding the term ghuluww, I have still chosen to use it in an effort to make it more specific for the student of Islamdom. In this attempt at specificity I hope, however, to remain loyal to a system of beliefs that never entered the annals of Islamic history as a coherent body of ideals and practices.
7. For Ismaᶜil's *Dīvān*, written under the pen-name Khaṭā'ī, see: Tourkhan Gandjei (ed.), *Il canzoniere di Shah Ismāᶜīl* (Naples 1959). Vladimir Minorsky, The poetry of Shāh Ismāᶜīl I, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1942), 1006-53. Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Hatayī Divanı. Şah İsmail Safevī edebī hayatı ve nefesleri* (Istanbul 1956). Wheeler M. Thackston, The *Diwan* of Khataʾi: pictures for the poetry of Shah Ismaᶜil, *Asian Art* 1/iv (1989), 36-63.
8. Thackston makes this point in ibid., p. 63 n. 45.
9. Ibid., p. 56.
10. Here I am not implying homogeneity of belief among the Qizilbash, or the Imami ᶜulama for that matter, my point is that hegemonic Qizilbash beliefs and practices were very different from the shariᶜa-minded version.
11. Andrew Newman, The myth of the clerical migration to Safavid Iran, *Die Welt Des Islams* 33 (1993), 66-112.
12. See ibid., pp. 78-91, for Karaki's role at the court of Shah Ismaᶜil.

13. For example, the *Arbaʿīn ʿuqāb* written for Shah Tahmasb (930-84/1524-76). See Dānishpazhūh's description in the *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi kitābkhāna-yi dānishgāh-i Tihrān*, 18 vols (Tehran 1340/1961), III, p. 1069; and Āqā Buzurg's *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, 25 vols (Tehran and Najaf 1355-98/1936-78), I, p. 419. Also see Qāżī Aḥmad Qummī, *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, ed. I. Ishrāqī, 2 vols (Tehran 1359/1980), I, p. 79.
14. Majlisī II, *Rajʿat*, ed. Abū Zarr Bīdār (Tehran 1367/1988), pp. 16-17.
15. Two years before Shah ʿAbbas II's death in 1075/1664, Mulla Qasim, who had gained a large following both among the local Isfahanis and some courtiers, publicly attacked ʿAbbas II. Mulla Qasim claimed that ʿAbbas II was an illegitimate ruler and that the throne should be transferred to the son of a certain Shaikh al-Islam (Mirza Qazi) who descended from a pure line of Imams and was the grandson of ʿAbbas I through his granddaughter Gauharshad Begum. Valī Qulī Shāmlū, *Qiṣaṣ al-khāqānī*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Pers. ms. 227, fol. 259b.
16. When does this wave of debates begin? The earliest in this series of disputations is the *Ṣaḥīfat al-irshād* by Sayyid Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān b. Jaʿfar Rażavī (d.1041/1632), Marʿashī Library, ms. 4014. The author, who knew Mir Lauhi and his father from Mashhad, mentions that upon his long-awaited journey to Karbala, he hears of the attack on Mir Lauhi (fol. 113b; also cited in R. Jaʿfariyān, Rūyrūyi-i faqīhān va ṣūfīyān dar ʿaṣr-i Ṣafaviyya, *Kayhān-i Andīsha* 33 (1369/1990), p. 109). The author could have travelled to Karbala after Shah ʿAbbas I liberated Baghdad (1624) from nearly a century of Ottoman rule. Passage to the *ʿatabāt*, however, was only safe once the Ottomans pulled their forces out of Iraq-i ʿArab, between Shavval 1035/July 1626 and Zu'l-Qaʿda 1038/June-July 1629, when they once again began their campaigns into Iraq.
17. The date 998-9/1590 has been chosen as the inauguration of the Isfahani phase of Safavid rule for several reasons. To begin with it marks the end of the second civil war (984-98/1576-90) when ʿAbbas I was finally able to consolidate power and abate the Qizilbash after nearly 15 years of turmoil. The death of Yaʿqub Khan Zu'l-Qadr (998/1590), marking the victory of ʿAbbas I over the rebelling Qizilbash, inspired the contemporary Āfushta'ī Naṭanzī to write a history of the reign of ʿAbbas I, *Naqāvat al-āṣār fī ẕikr al-akhyār*, ed. I. Ishrāqī (Tehran 1350/1971), pp. 7-8. It also marks the date upon which Isfahan was conceived as a capital city (1000/1592). See Robert McChesney, Four sources on Shah ʿAbbās's building of Isfahan, *Muqarnas* 5 (1980), p. 105.
18. Three extant polemics from Shah Tahmasb's reign (1524-76) were written against Abu Muslim and sufis. There appears to have been a lull until the above mentioned wave began to flow towards the end of Shah ʿAbbas I's reign.
19. ʿAbd al-Ḥusain Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla-yi justojū dar taṣavvuf-i Irān* (Tehran 1366/1987), pp. 228-9. Zarrīnkūb unfortunately does not quote his source. Associations between Abu Muslim and Ismaʿil are also constructed in the *Junaid-nāma*, the epic revolving around Ismaʿil's grandfather. At the end of the *Junaid-nāma* the reader is sent to the *Abū Muslim-nāma* to follow the story of his descendants. A manuscript of the *Junaid-nāma* (Suleimaniye Library, Fatih ms. 4354) was copied in Rabiʿ al-avval 969/November 1562. The compiler notes that it was translated from Persian in 924/1518 [cited by I. Melikoff, *Abū Muslim le porte-hache de Khorasan dans la tradition epique Turco-Iranienne* (Paris 1962), p. 79 (hereafter *Abū Muslim le porte-hache*)]. A second copy [Blochet (1932-3), II, 19 (Supplément 636)] was entitled *Kissa-i Seyyid Cuneyd ve Reside-i ʿArab*. Ahmet Karamustafa has identified the translator as Vāḥidī, a learned sufi most probably of the Khalvatiyya or the Zainiyya order. See Karamustafa's critical edition and analysis of Vāḥidī's *Menākib-i Hvoca-i Cihān ve Netice-i Cān* (Cambridge 1993), pp. 43-7.

20. Here I am totally indebted to Madelung's meticulous research on the Kaisaniyya (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*,[2] IV, pp. 836-8) which has allowed me to recognise and reconstruct genealogies evoked in each version of the *Abū Muslim-nāmas*. Although Madelung acknowledges that there is some coalescence between the Muslimiyya and the Khurramiyya, he sees the Kaisaniyya, the Muslimiyya and the Khurramiyya as separate groups.
21. Irene Melikoff, in her study of the romance of Abu Muslim (*Abū Muslim le porte-hache*, p.72) has consulted these two *Abū Muslim-nāmas* in Persian, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supp. Pers. ms. 842, 842 bis, 843-4 (16th century). Melikoff notes that one difference between the Persian and the Turkish versions consulted is that in the Persian version Abu Muslim first goes to Imam Muhammad Baqir, who lives in a palace in the mountains of Lebanon and it is with his approval that Abu Muslim goes to seek out the ʿAbbasid Ibrahim b. Muhammad.
22. The Abu Muslim legends continued to be recited and utilised by ghulat figures like Shaikh Beddredin and Haci Bektash. In addition, one of Haci Bektash's spiritual genealogies links him to the Imamiyya Imams Riza, Musa al-Kazim, Jaʿfar al-Sadiq, Muhammad Baqir, and then through Abu Muslim to the ʿAbbasid Ibrahim b. Muhammad, Muhammad b. ʿAli, switching to the Kaisaniyya, Abu Hashim and Muhammad b. Hanafiyya, and finally back to the Imamiyya Husain, Hasan and ʿAli. Melikoff, *Abū Muslim le porte-hache*, pp. 65-6; Abdūl Baki Gölpinarli, *Manakib-i Haci Bektash-i Veli "Vilāyet-Name"* (Istanbul 1958).
23. Aḥmad Kasravī in his *Shaikh Ṣafī va tabārash* (Tehran 2535/1976), delineates three phases, Sunni, Sayyid and Husaini/Musavi, of transformations that the genealogy of Shaikh Safi undergoes.
24. Zeki Velidi Togan, Sur l'origine des Safavides, *Melanges Massigon II* (Damascus 1959), pp. 346-8. He uses a copy of the *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā* (Ayasofya ms. 3099), dated 896/1491, where Shaikh Sadr al-Din states: *dar nasab-i mā siyādat hast likan suʿāl nakardam ki ʿalavī ya sharīf va mushtaba mānd*. Togan notes that in this Ayasofya manuscript there exists a passage where Shaikh Sadr al-Din speaks of his ʿAlid descent without qualifying descent from Fatima or from his Hanafiyya concubine. Also see Yaʿqub Khan Aq Qoyunlu's letter addressed to Bayazid II regarding the death of Haidar (d.1488) where Yaʿqub Khan links Haidar to the family of Muhammad (*khāndān-i auliyā va dūdmān aṣfiyā*). Naṣr-Allāh Falsafī, *Zindigānī-yi Shāh ʿAbbās-i avval*, I (Tehran 1339/1960), p. 3. The letter appears in Feridun Bey's *Münsheāt al-Selātin*, 2 vols (Istanbul 1857-9/1274-5), I, pp. 300-1.
25. Wheeler Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khata'i", p. 57. Ismaʿil's signature is preserved in the Istanbul University Library; Falsafī provides a photo in *Zindigānī-yi Shāh ʿAbbās-i avval*, I, p. 151.
26. Togan, "L'origine des Safavides", makes use of three manuscripts, two pre-Safavid (i.e. pre-1501) (Leiden ms. 2639 dated 890/1485, Ayasofya ms. 3099 dated 896/1491) and one Safavid (Ayasofya ms. 2123 dated 914/1508) to demonstrate that a tampering with Safavid genealogy takes place where the Safavids are transformed from descendants of the Prophet, without further elaborations, into Husaini/Musavis. Moreover, he demonstrates that the Husaini/Musavi incorporation into the *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā* occurred before Mīr Abū'l-Fatḥ al-Ḥusainī's recension commissioned by Shah Tahmasb in 940/1533. The *Futūḥāt-i Shāhī* (927/1521) by Ṣadr al-Dīn Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Amīnī Haravī (Kitābkhāna-yi Vazīrī-yi Yazd, ms. 5774), is the first chronicle from the Safavid period to include a Husaini/Musavi genealogy for Shah Ismaʿil.
27. For an analysis of the relationship between the Aq Qoyunlu and the Safavids, see John E. Woods, *The Aqqoyunlu: Clan, Confederation, and Empire* (Minneapolis and Chicago 1976), especially pp. 139-84.

28. Jean Aubin, Révolution Chiite et conservatisme. Les soufis de Lāhejān, 1500-1514 (Etudes safavides II), *Moyen Orient & Océan Indien* I (1984), 1-40. Aubin, however, assumes here that the *Ross Anonymous* is an early source, yet evidence—both art historical and literary—indicates that it was most probably committed to writing in the middle of the 17th century. I would like to thank Massumah Farhad for having provided me with the pictorial evidence. For more on the painter, Muʿin Musavvir, whose signed miniatures appear in the earlist manuscripts of the *Ross Anonymous/ The History of Shah Ismaʿil*, see Massumah Farhad, The art of Muʿin Musavvir: A mirror of his times, in Sheila Canby (ed.), *Persian masters: Five centuries of painting* (Bombay 1990). For a recent study on the dating of the *Ross Anonymous* see A.H. Morton, The date and attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*. Notes on a Persian History of Shah Ismāʿīl I, in C. Melville (ed.), *Persian and Islamic Studies in honour of P.W. Avery* (Pembroke Papers 1, Cambridge 1990), 179-212. Morton makes use of the author's annotations to the British Library manuscript of the Ross and proposes the 1680s for its composition.
29. Ismaʿil II's (1576-7) flirtation with Sunnism demonstrates the degree to which a shariʿa-imposed stability, whether Shiʿi or Sunni, was an option available for the Safavids to embark upon.
30. For the 1534 repentance see Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusain Navāʾī (Tehran 1357/1978), I, p. 249, and Martin Dickson, *Shāh Tahmāsb and the Uzbeks (The Duel for Khurāsān with ʿUbayd Khān 930-946/1524-1540)*, unpublished dissertation (Princeton 1958), pp. 277-8.
31. It is important to note that both the official fabrication of Safavid Musavi lineage (1533) and the issuance of this fatva coincide with a period when Karaki attained the peak of his power at Tahmasb's court (1531), symbolised by his ability to secure the position of Sadr for his candidate Muʿizz al-Din al-Isfahani (d.952/1546). See Caroline Beeson, *The Origins of conflict in the Safavi religious institution*, unpublished dissertation (Princeton 1982), pp. 58-65, and Andrew Newman, "The myth of the clerical migration", p. 100.
32. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad Ḥamavī, *Anīs al-mu'minīn*, ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddiṣ (Tehran 1363/1984), p. 189.
33. Martin Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols (Cambridge 1981), I, p. 240 n. 15.
34. The Nuqtavis were an offshoot of the Hurufis. Mahmud Pasīkhānī (d.1427), the founder of the Nuqtavis, had broken off from his Hurufi pir Fazl-Allah Astarabadi (d.1394). They seem to be the first recorded sufiesque-ghulat movement since the Safavid revolution to have enjoyed a wide following among the Qizilbash. The movement initially made an imprint during the last decade of Tahmasb's reign. Cabalistic Nuqtavi interpretations of events foresaw the downfall (in 1593) of Shah ʿAbbas I and his replacement by a Nuqtavi disciple who had attained unity with God.
35. Converts to the Safavid cause organised themselves militarily onto *oymāqs*, a Mongol term "generally and quite loosely translated as tribe". Martin Dickson, *Shāh Tahmāsb and the Uzbeks*, p. 6.
36. The *Iẓhār al-ḥaqq va mi'yār al-ṣadq* (1043/1633-4), Marʿashī Library, ms. 4014, was written by Aḥmad b. Zain al-ʿĀbidīn ʿAlavī, a student of Baha'i and Mir Damad. Sayyid Ahmad was also the son-in-law of Mir Damad. The first in this series of polemics against Abu Muslim, the *Ṣaḥīfat al-irshād* by Sayyid Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān b. Jaʿfar Ražavī, Marʿashī Library, ms. 4014, was written between 1626 and 1629 in Mashhad. The fiery exchange between Mir Lauhi and Majlisi I seems to have been oral.

37. The *Ḥadīqat al-Shīʿa* (Tehran 1343/1964) must have been written after 1055/1645, since the pseudo-Ardabili states that in his times people still visited the tomb of Shaikh Abu 'l-Futuh ʿIjli Shafiʿi in Isfahan, thinking that it was the tomb of Shaikh Abu'l-Futuh Razi. Chardin provides some background and states that in 1055/1645, a marble inscription with the name of Shaikh Abu 'l-Futuh was found in Isfahan (Cemetery of Chamalān), and some ʿulama thought that it belonged to the Razi who had compiled the famous commentary on the Qur'an (Abu 'l-Futuh). Two mosques and a tomb were built there. Later, a mulla called Mir Lauhi, using an historical passage, proved that that Shaikh Abu 'l-Futuh was buried in Rayy and that this one was a Sunni Turk and heretic. According to Chardin, two thousand people demolished the mosque and the tomb. Chardin, *Les Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, ed. L. Langlès, 10 vols (Paris 1811), VIII, p. 20. Chardin's last departure from Isfahan was in 1086-7/1677. The *Ḥadīqat al-Shīʿa*, then, must have been written between 1055/1645 and 1086-7/1677, for it quotes from the *Hādī ilā al-nijāt* by Ibn-i Hamza, a contemporary of Abu 'l-Futuh Razi, to prove that Razi was buried in Rayy and mentions that people still visit that tomb thinking it is the tomb of Shaikh Abu 'l-Futuh (i.e. it had still not been demolished at this date). This raises the possibility that Mir Lauhi may have himself written this polemic ascribed to Ardabili. For further discussions on the dating of the *Ḥadīqat al-Shīʿa*, see Mahdī Tadayyun, Ḥadīqat al-Shīʿa yā Kāshif al-Ḥaqq?, *Maʿārif* 2/iii (1364/1985). Tadayyun argues that the *Ḥadīqat* was not written by Ardabili and was composed some time during 1070-1100/1659-88.
38. Pseudo-Ardabīlī, *Ḥadīqat al-Shīʿa*, pp. 552-3.
39. The *Khulāṣat al-favā'id* by ʿAbd al-Muṭālib b. Yaḥyā Ṭāliqānī, Marʿashī Library, ms. 4014, probably written during the third decade of the 17th century, mentions that the sufis took Mir Lauhi's criticism of Abu Muslim to heart. "Those irreligious ones who every day chose a new pir from among themselves took Mir Lauhi's statements personally and told him: you have insulted our pirs and their spiritual ancestors." (fol. 118b).
40. These two tracts are preserved in the *Taudīḥ al-mashrabain* and summarised in the *Usūl al-fusūl al-taudīḥ*, Milli Library, ms. 2204 and Marʿashī Library, ms. 4296.
41. Sabzavārī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Lauḥī, *Kifāya al-muhtadī fī maʿrifa al-Mahdī*, also referred to as *Arbaʿīn*, Tehran University, ms. 1154, fol. 189a.
42. Chardin, *Les Voyages*, VIII, p. 6. Chardin's first journey to Isfahan occurred between April 1667 and January 1668. Majlisi I died in 1660.
43. Mīr Lauḥī, *Arbaʿīn*, fol. 8b.
44. On these early tendencies and debates see Sayyid Ḥusain Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *An Introduction to Shīʿi Law* (London 1984), p. 27.
45. See James Morris, *The Wisdom of the Throne: an introduction to the philosophy of Mullā Sadrā* (Princeton 1981), pp. 7-12.
46. Henry Corbin, La place de Mullā Ṣadrā Shirāzī (ob.1050/1640) dans la philosophie iranienne, *Studia Islamica* 18 (1963), p. 93. Corbin is quoting here from the prologue to Ṣadrā's *Asfār al-arbaʿa*.
47. Kāshānī, Muḥsin-i Faiż, Muḥākama bain al-mutaṣawwifa wa ghairihim, *Nashriya-yi Danishkada-yi Adabiyāt-i Tabrīz* 2/ix (Summer 1336/1957).
48. *Al-Sihām al-māriqa fī aghrāḍ al-zanādiqa* (Marʿashī Library, ms. 1576) written between the years 1650 and 1664 by Shaikh Zain al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Shahīdī enumerates 19 disputations against sufis.
49. Shīrāzī, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad (Mullā Ṣadrā), *Kasr asnām al-jāhiliyya*, ed. M.T. Dānishpazhūh (Tehran 1340/1962). I am quoting from the Persian translation by Muḥsin Bīdārfar (Qum 1405/1984), p. 62.

50. Ibid., p. 43.
51. Ibid., pp. 50-2.
52. Qummī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir, *Tuḥfat al-akhyār* (Qum 1393/1973), pp. 13-14. Qummi sees the fact that this group does not emphasise knowledge (ʿilm) and the recitation of the Qur'an—a fundamental pillar of Islam—as bidʿat (p. 148).
53. Pseudo-Ardabīlī, *Ḥadīqat al-Shīʿa*, pp. 581-2.
54. Ibid., p. 592.
55. Ibid., p. 580.
56. Mullā Ṣadrā, *Kasr asnām al-jāhiliyya* (Persian trans.), pp. 24-6.
57. Qummī, *Tuḥfat al-akhyār*, p. 25 and the *Risāla-yi radd bar sūfiyān*, Marʿashi Library, ms. 4014, fol. 85b. According to Qummi, Hallaj too claimed to be God (*Radd bar sūfiyān*, fol. 74b).
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., p. 80, Qummī states "followers of Hallaj and Bayazid engage in bidʿat". On page 112, he says "one of the bidʿats of this group is their belief in tanasukh; those who believe in tanasukh are zindiqs and mulhids...".
60. Ibid., pp. 61-2.
61. See note 15.
62. V. Minorsky (ed. & trans.), *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (London 1989), p. 126.

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Shiʿi Rituals and Power
II. The Consolidation of Safavid Shiʿism: Folklore and Popular Religion

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Although for a long time obscured by the scarcity of sources and reliable research, the circumstances of the imposition of Twelver Imami Shiʿism by Shah Ismaʿil and his motives are now somewhat better known. As I have shown in the first part of the present research,[1] this imposition of Shiʿism on a Persian population then widely of Sunni obedience was relatively easier in the territories previously under Aq Qoyunlu control than in the former Timurid realm based on Herat. The Shah and his Persian notables and Qizilbash had to be more cautious there, notably when implementing the proclamation of the Shiʿi *khuṭba* and the ritual cursing of the first two or three caliphs.[2] Despite their brutality, the measures of intimidation or retaliation seem to have been less efficient in Khurasan than in Iraq (central Persia). As in the case of Tabriz, where the local elite could always flee to the Ottomans, former Timurid officials or other members of the Herati intelligentsia found rewarding prospects in Uzbek-controlled Central Asia and mostly in Timurid-Mughal India. The main Persian trend of emigration was directed to India. Although it had begun long before Safavid times, it was, from the middle of the 16th century, considerably increased. Discontented or persecuted opponents, or those who merely sought better living conditions, left for India from all parts of the Safavid realm. This included even Shiʿis (laymen and ʿulama) and many features of Persian Shiʿi ceremonies influenced local Indian indigenous rituals, both in their Sunni and Shiʿi environments. Some of these features, being perpetuated by tradition, remained as a vivid

* I thank Charles Melville for his precious help in reading the draft of this article. In compliance with his advice, the transliteration has been simplified and harmonised with the rest of the volume.

testimony of Shi^{c}i rituals, as they were performed in Safavid times, whereas in Persia they developed along different lines.

Since a large-scale conversion to Shi^{c}ism could not be obtained only by intimidation or coercion, various devices were utilised to enforce and propagate the officially proclaimed Imamism. Although it did not prevent crypto-Sunnis from infiltrating the higher offices, officially approved religious authorities and notables were set in place. Imami theologians, initially taught in *madrasa*s according to the traditional curriculum perpetuated in the ^{c}*atabāt* ("sacred thresholds" of Iraq), were brought in, or placed themselves at the service of the Safavids. Their main function was to re-elaborate, teach and propagate the Imami doctrine to fit the new situation created by the existence of an officially Shi^{c}i state. But contrary to what has been said and generally accepted, there was no "clerical migration" of Arab Twelver ^{c}ulama to Iran. The Syrian-Lebanese *mujtahid* of Jabal ^{c}Amil, ^{c}Ali al-Karaki (d. 940/1534), who joined Shah Isma^{c}il soon after his capture of Tabriz and proclamation of Shi^{c}ism (907/1501), was for many decades the only Arab Imami mujtahid who associated himself with the Safavid court. His support of Safavid Shi^{c}ism and his position concerning the expansion of the role and authority of the *faqīh* in the absence of the Hidden Imam were strongly criticised by Shi^{c}i clerics from Arab Iraq, the Gulf and the Hejaz.[3] Clerical notables, such as the *ṣadr*, were in fact seldom appointed to propagate Imamism in the Safavid realm.[4] This role was generally devolved upon the mujtahids who also acted as a sort of censor of moral conduct regarding every aspect of spiritual and temporal life.

By the time of the imposition of Twelver Shi^{c}ism, popular literature was propagated by various storytellers (sing. *maddāḥ, qiṣṣa-khwān, daftar-khwān,* ^{c}*āshiq,* etc.) generally known under the generic name of *ma^{c}raka-gīrān*. Besides Shah Isma^{c}il / Khata'i's Divan, *Abū Muslim-nāma*s and related epico-religious texts, sometimes re-arranged to enhance Safavid pretensions as apocalyptic avengers of Imam Husain's blood, continued to be told or sung to propagate ritual devotion both to Abu Muslim and the Safavids. Some Imami ^{c}ulama, starting with al-Karaki, strongly reacted against the *Abū Muslim-nāma*s and other epics which they banned, lumping them together with reproved Sufi practice.[5] A study on this and other epico-religious literature, including sagas of authentic or so-called avengers of Husain's blood, such as Mukhtar or Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya, as well as non-Islamic literature and storytelling (of the *Shāh-nāma* and Kuroghlu's epic) will be published separately. That will also include the *maqtal-nāma*s as well as elegiac poetry specifically dedicated to Shi^{c}i mourning. My attention here is mainly focused on the respective attitudes of royal and religious authorities towards popular religion and devotion. An attempt will also be made to retrace some

aspects of rituals, mostly connected with Muharram ceremonies and other communal celebrations, which have never been properly described in their historical setting. Far from being exhaustive, this research will require further investigation taking into account recent studies on ritual theory and practice.

SHI^{C}I COMMEMORATIONS AND RITUALS: AN OVERVIEW

Whereas canonical religious obligations of the Shi^{c}is are more limited than those of the Sunnis (three daily prayers instead of five; Friday prayer tending to take a facultative character or to be simply forbidden in the absence of the Hidden Imam), their periodic ceremonies are rich in all kinds of celebrations. The liturgical Islamic year is punctuated by ritual mourning (^{c}*azādārī*) of the Ahl-i bait and the Imams, and also by joyful gatherings (Ar. ^{c}*Īd*, Pers. ^{c}*aid*) marking the anniversaries of their births, or other events celebrated by the Shi^{c}is, such as the Ghadir Khumm (commemoration of ^{c}Ali's designation by the Prophet at the farewell pilgrimage) on 18 Zu'l-Hijja. The birth of the Prophet is celebrated together with that of the sixth Imam (Ja^{c}far al-Sadiq), on 17 Rabi^{c} al-avval (the Prophet's birth, *mīlād,* is celebrated on 12 Rabi^{c} al-avval by the Sunnis). The feast of the sacrifice (^{c}*aid- i qurbān*) was also an important socio-religious gathering much celebrated from the Safavid period and Nauruz remained the Iranians' greatest festival (see below). Many Persian feasts (*jashn*) or rites (*ā'īn*) were also celebrated according to the lunar calendar.

But from the imposition of Shi^{c}ism, the general mood is given by ritual mourning of Imam ^{c}Ali's martyrdom (21 Ramazan) and, above all, the commemoration of the death of Imam Husain and other martyrs of Karbala during, at least, the first ten days of the month of Muharram. These ceremonies provide the canvas for the development of all Shi^{c}i rituals. After their elaboration in their original Arabian environment and their diffusion in the Turko-Persian area (among all communities: Sunnis, Shi^{c}is, *ghulāt* or other heterodox movements), these rituals underwent a further evolution under the Safavids. They constituted a sort of catalyst of emotive feelings of persecution, widely spread in popular Shi^{c}ism, which could always be utilised in some way to fulfil political aims.

As it is evident that there exists a profound dichotomy between doctrinal Imamism and ritual practices of the various socio-religious groups performing Shi^{c}i ceremonies, my analysis will limit itself to presenting what may be known about the general character of these rituals and the attitude of political and religious authorities regarding

them. Persian sources being generally vague or even silent on this subject, the main available sources remain essentially the accounts or testimonies of European travellers. Both Persian and European sources being particularly discreet about ceremonies held in private (such as some rauza-khwanis), I will of course be unable to treat this subject. Although the pressure of religious leaders on the conscience of the faithful may be strong, political and religious power had little influence on this form of inner piety.

Available documentation covers the reigns of the Safavid Shahs unequally. I will, however, endeavour to follow the chronological order. The main observations on Safavid Muharram ceremonies by European travellers are assembled in a Table.[6] Abridged details given in the Table from these often lengthy accounts of the ceremonies will be discussed hereafter and in the commentary of the document presented in the Appendix.

I. Shiᶜi rituals before Shah ᶜAbbas I

Apart from imprecise indications of Qizilbash rituals, we know very little about Shiᶜi ceremonies under Shah Ismaᶜil. Features of mourning ceremonies, which probably existed before in the Turko-Persian area, had already penetrated into *ᶜĀshūrā* rituals. The same year when Shah Ismaᶜil took the power in Tabriz (907/1501), on the day of ᶜAshura in Damascus some "rascals from Iran and Qalandars" (*aubāsh al-ᶜajam wa'l-qalandariyya*) gathered themselves, proclaimed that they were "heretical" Shiᶜis (*rawāfiż*), mangled their faces and did other similar things. Some people, scandalised by their behaviour, complained to the temporary governor who sided with these "heretics" and blamed their detractors.[7] While Safavid Shiᶜism was being outlawed by the Ottomans and the Uzbeks, such "rafizi" practices seem to have spread rapidly throughout Iran. According to a European testimony, towards the middle of the 16th century, in the island of Hurmuz, Muslims of the Shiᶜi minority held their Muharram ceremonies in the great mosque of Jalalabad, located at the margin of the town. Every year, they cut themselves with knives (*navalhas, sic*) "for the love of Mohammad".[8] Such mortifications persisted both in ᶜAshura rituals and private mourning held in honour of deceased persons.[9] Grief mixed with remorse forming the basis of the Husainid cult, in addition to such practices as dishevelling the hair, beating chest and forehead with the fist (attested at least from the Buyid and Saljuqid periods), these bloody rituals were progressively introduced into Shiᶜi mourning. Besides the above-mentioned wounds to the forehead with large knives and swords, there are also early 17th-century

accounts of burning and scorching in various parts of the body [Kakash], of self beating with chains [Kotov] etc.

The first substantial European account of Safavid Shiᶜism is provided by the Venetian (whose family was settled in Cyprus), Michele Membrè, who was sent on a mission to Persia under Shah Tahmasb. What he observed on canonical cursing of the caliphs and Qizilbash rituals is of primary importance.[10] Although we do not know when the usage was established, the Husainid "passion", which is called "achiur" then lasts ten days. This is obviously the custom followed by Imami Shiᶜis, for the Qizilbash and related heterodox movements seem to have celebrated Muharram for twelve days in honour of the twelve Imams.[11] Mourning is then held in black. Violet and blue are however attested in later accounts, along with black or other dark colours. Young men colour their skin black. Some penitents bury themselves to the head on the "begun" [Begum] square. In the evening, all the ladies go to their mosques and attend a sermon on the passion of Husain and weep bitterly.

Theatrical aspects, self-inflicted violence and bloody clashes between celebrants are absent from Membrè's observations at Tabriz. Apart from factional strife at Qazvin, we have no clear mention of Shiᶜi rituals as observed by travellers till the beginning of the 17th century.

II. Shah ᶜAbbas I and Shiᶜi rituals

Despite his achievements as a restorer of Safavid authority and state, Shah ᶜAbbas remains rather puzzling in his attitude towards religion. After having first favoured the Nuqtavi heresy, which he may have considered as a new ideological basis to replace Qizilbash ideal, he crushed the movement when it endangered his own power.[12] He appeared so tolerant towards non-Islamic religions that some Catholic missionaries pretended he intended to become a Christian.[13] In search with more direct links with his Persian subjects, he favoured popular religion by such acts of devotion as his pilgrimage on foot to the sanctuary of the Imam Riza at Mashhad.[14] But the main features of his conception of power, rulership and royal prerogatives may be seen at work in his policy towards Shiᶜi mourning rituals. Under his rule, Muharram ceremonies, which had until then been apparently rather limited to their devotional and folkloric aspects, became a great festival, both civil and religious. The same may be said about the commemorations of ᶜAli's martyrdom, on 21 Ramazan. Although it was less elaborate, its celebration became so similar to Muharram rituals that both ceremonies were sometimes confused.[15] There were also mutual influences between Muharram ceremonies and other religious and non-religious festivals

(see below). Besides mourning and lamentation assemblies, processional rituals developed considerably. But, at least for a foreign observer, self-inflicted or mutual violence remained one of the main features of Shiᶜi mourning from that time. Despite the often imprecise character of the available documentation, I'll endeavour to trace briefly Shah ᶜAbbas's actions respecting these Shiᶜi mourning rituals.

(i) *Factional strife : sticks, stones, swords and firearms*

Urban and even rural factionalism between various socio-religious groups has been a recurrent phenomenon in Iran, reported at least from the 4th/10th century. From Safavid times, most cities of Iran were divided into rival groups, the *Ḥaidarī* and *Niᶜmatī* factions. Since they are seldom identified under these names in European sources, there have been misinterpretations about their origins. The Niᶜmatis take their name from the sufi Shaikh Shah Niᶜmat-Allah Vali Kirmani (d. 834/1431), founder of the Niᶜmat-Allahiyya. His spiritual and material heritage was divided into Persian and Indian branches of the order. Although it entertained good relations with Safavid power, its influence in Persia declined from Shah ᶜAbbas's reign and disappeared as an organised sufi order until its restoration on a different basis in the 18th century.[16] A rather well known dervish community called Haidari had gathered around the sufi Shaikh Qutb al-Din Haidar Tuni, also called Zava'i (d. 618/1221). After his death, Zava was renamed Turbat-i Haidariyya. Because of their excessive ascetism and seclusion, the number of these Haidaris gradually decreased, although some groups did subsist, notably in India.

Many Persian sources have mistaken this Haidar Zava'i with the correct eponym of the Haidari party under the Safavids, a certain Qutb al-Din, Sultan Mir Haidar Tuni (d. 830/1427), a member of the Qalandariyya order who lived and had his followers in Tabriz.[17] Some other authors (such as the Qajar writer Iᶜtimad al-Saltana, partly following Chardin, or Fasa'i, in his *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*) wrongly thought the Haidariyya were named after Sultan Haidar Safavi.[18]

It has been surmised that the origin of the Haidari-Niᶜmati conflict was rooted in 8th/14th century Shiᶜi-Sunni sectarian and doctrinal disputes, Mir Haidari Tuni being a Shiᶜi (according to Shushtari's *Majālis al-mu'minīn*), and the Niᶜmat-Allahiyya being Sunnis before their gradual conversion to Shiᶜism under the Safavids.[19] Although this factionalism was witnessed, at different times, in the three successive Safavid capitals (Tabriz, Qazvin, Isfahan), the gradual polarisation of old feuds under Haidari and Niᶜmati banners remains poorly documented in the 16th century. The only substantial account is provided by the Venetian Vincentio d'Alessandri, who visited Tabriz and Qazvin in Tahmasb's reign.

According to him, the nine wards of the city of Qazvin were divided into two factions, the "Nausitai" and the "Himicaivartu", five for the one and four for the other. They had been permanently feuding for over 30 years and "nor could the king or any other put a stop to it".[20]

The very origin of Haidari-Niᶜmati division has been attributed by the later traveller in Safavid Persia, Father Krusinski (1675-1756), to Shah ᶜAbbas's policy of *divide et impera*. He says that he created in each town artificially-opposed parties called *Pelenk* and *Felenk*. He even tried to impose this policy at Qandahar. Opponents were given permission to fight, only with stones and sticks, during Muharram ceremonies.[21] Although ᶜAbbas I did not create *ex nihilo* the Haidari-Niᶜmati factions, under whatever name, he surely encouraged this factionalisation for political reasons, as did other rulers or governors after him. Instead of turning itself against political power, socio-political discontent and dissent could thus be expressed in relatively controlled outbursts of violence. Factional strife, which lost its doctrinal aspects and was rooted in popular fanaticism, reached its climax in Muharram ceremonies and was observed in other religious rituals (mourning for ᶜAli, *ᶜaid-i qurbān*) or festive occasions such as cock-fights or other sports.[22] Although it cannot be ascertained whether all Muharram penitents belonged to either of these factions, according to most testimonies, violent clashes between the opponents were meant to represent the great turmoil in which Imam Husain perished. According to a widely spread belief, those who die in these commemorations directly enter the gates of Paradise.

Shah ᶜAbbas's taste for spectacles such as gladiatorial displays has been observed.[23] Some months after he had crushed the Nuqtavi movement, one day after his arrrival at Qazvin, on 20 Jumada I, 1003/2 March 1595, he organised by decree a battle between Niᶜmatis and Haidaris on the Maidan-i Saᶜadat. The Mir Haidar party won and a similar fight was also decreed at the shrine of Shahzada Husain.[24] Della Valle, who was acquainted with Shah ᶜAbbas's astronomer Mulla Jalal and describes at length the Shah's participation in festivities and ceremonies, says in his account of mourning rituals for ᶜAli's martyrdom on 21 Ramazan in the year 1026/1617, that, when he is in town, the king in person accompanies the procession of one of the two congregations which he wants to favour. Despite precautions to preserve order, entrusted to the vizier of Isfahan and the king's treasurer, fights over precedence often entailed the death of several persons. The Shah often took pleasure in siding with one of the parties. After having brought them to blows, he would go and sit at a window to watch the dismal issue of the battle.[25] Such a Machiavellian attitude in manipulating the factions was also observed in later rulers.[26]

This inclination for displays of socio-religious violence was

tempered by a pragmatic sense of the need to maintain order. In these ritual fights, Shah ᶜAbbas authorised factions to use only long sticks. This also applied to various socio-religious corporate bodies (artisan guilds, quarters, ethnic groups etc.), for there were often old rivalries between them, mostly about precedence. De Gouvea, our first 17th-century observer, says that most of the penitents were armed only with sticks, five or six feet long, painted in various colours. Although participants were later seen carrying swords, pikes, knives etc., sticks remained in use. They are described as: long and thick staffs [della Valle]; "gros bastons" [de Montheron]; golden staffs made on purpose for that feast [Gaudereau]; staffs looking like levers [Tavernier]. Under Shah Sultan Husain (1704), de Bruin says that some were armed with painted staffs, well gilded, ten feet long. Others had an unsheathed sword in one hand and a shield in the other. He observed that the chief of police (*dārūgha*) took great care to maintain order. He was accompanied by more than a thousand horsemen; soldiers equipped with firearms were placed in the narrow streets. This enabled order to be maintained on that occasion. But outbursts of violence could not always be prevented. Ten years later, 300 persons were killed by repression on the Isfahan maidan [Krusinski]. Populations in the Caucasus were particularly turbulent in Muharram ceremonies. At Shamakhi, under Shah Sulaiman, on the third day of the feast penitents were allowed to fight with swords, which they did to the point of mutilating or killing each other [Struys]. Under Shah Sultan Husain, Haidari and Niᶜmati factions at Shamakhi, usually armed with staffs half a pike's length and slings, "began some years ago to use fire arms, so that the battle does not end without bloodshed." Despite their endeavours to stop these disorders, governors could not prevent the youths showing their bravery in these fights.[27] Obviously, self-inflicted or mutual injuries seem to have been more violent in northern areas. According to Olearius, among the welcome cortege preceding the ambassador's train entering Ardabil, there were men stripped to the waist. Although the skin of their arms and breasts was pierced with stilettos, they did not seem to suffer any pain, which made Olearius think they were under the influence of some charm. In a procession meant to represent Husain's funeral, held in the early morning (following the ᶜAshura), Olearius saw young lads cutting themselves above the elbow and clapping the wounds with their hands, making the blood spurt out all over their arms. They did this in remembrance of the effusion of Husain's innocent blood and as a way to expiate their own sins.[28]

There is no evidence that Shah ᶜAbbas I ever authorised factions to use stones in their fights. As is the case with unsheathed swords (an instrument used to express remorse or protest when turned against themselves by the penitents), stones, as well as pieces of wood or bones

knocked rythmically together by black or red-coloured young beggars [della Valle], belonged primarily to mourning rituals which were later called *sang-zanī* and the penitents *sang-zan* (see below). Men would go through the town, in groups of two penitents, besmeared with black naphta, "black as negroes", only their teeth being visible. Each one held a stone in one hand. They knocked these stones against one another and kept saying *"ksen ksen tausen ksen"* [Husain Husain Hasan Husain?] for ten days [Kotov]. Under Shah Safi, these sang-zans were poor begging boys who, during the feast, lay at night in the ashes brought out of the Shah's kitchen. With their black shining skin, rubbed over with soot and naphta, they looked like little devils [as already observed by della Valle]. They were called "Tzaktzaku" [from their 'leitmotiv', *Shāh Ḥusainam kū?*]. They knocked little stones one against the other and sometimes smote their breasts with them, to express their sorrow for the death of Husain [Olearius]. Chest smiting with heavy stones was also observed [Bedik] as well as stone-knocking, with further details. Strange contortions and grimaces of the sang-zans were noticed by Struys. Penitents knocking stones as one does with castanets were also noticed by Chardin. He also observed black-coloured men knocking stones, hanging out their tongues and screaming with all their strength "Hossein! Hassen!". He explains that these meant to represent Husain's thirst, whereas those tinted with blood meant to represent Husain being drenched in blood [a similar observation by della Valle]. These penitents were rascals begging throughout the town on that occasion.

Although testimonies remain rather vague, fighting with stones was noticed from Shah Safi and ᶜAbbas II's time [Sainte-Trinité; Poullet], with apparently a further evolution under Shah Sulaiman. Fights with stones and sticks were less strictly repressed when the Shah was not in town, since the great provost (*dārūgha*) derived great profit from them.[29] According to Kæmpfer, all the cities in Persia were split into two factions, Haidari and Niᶜmati. Annual contests between the two camps, with a large participation of young men and ordinary people ended in pitched battles with fists, staffs or clubs. These contests were apparently organised independently of the religious calendar, but reached their climax in the annual commemoration of Husain's death. These battles with staffs, stones sometimes propelled with slings, as well as other weapons, were observed or reported by hearsay under Shah Sultan Husain (see above).

(ii) *Martial and spectacular aspects of rituals*

As has been shown, Shah ᶜAbbas's energetic action to restore Safavid authority was accompanied by extensive travels, with often a large entourage, for military campaigns, hunting or seasonal trips between his

winter and summer capitals, this activity in the field being pursued till the end of his life.[30] There is some evidence that on campaign, he continued to commemorate Husain's death. While engaged in a difficult fight against the Uzbeks, he celebrated ᶜAshura (10 Muharram 1011/30 June 1602) with his army on the banks of the Khatab River.[31] During the last phase of the conquest of the fortress of Erevan over the Ottoman Sharif Pasha (9-10 Muharram 1013/7-8 June 1604), on the eve of the ᶜAshura, the din of mourning performances coming from the Persian camp so impressed the besieged that they implored Sharif Pasha to negotiate the surrender of the place. On the day of ᶜAshura, when his envoy arrived at the Safavid camp, he found the Shah wearing, as was his custom, his mourning dress and commemorating with his amirs the murder of the Prince of Martyrs.[32] Shah ᶜAbbas was particularly fond of illuminations (*chirāghān, chirāghānī*), which he revived or reintroduced in Persia. Lights were burning for several days and nights when he arrived in a city, returned to the capital or simply ordered chiraghan to be made for his own household or his guests, or by merchants, at their own expense, in the bazaar. These illuminations, sometimes accompanied by fireworks (*ātash-bāzī*) were set up even in the sacred Islamic months.[33] In the month of Muharram 1018 (April-May 1609), from the 12th, chiraghan were held for eleven days and nights at Isfahan, in the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan. About 1000 wretched Jalalis were inebriated with wine in this garden, but no one dared to express any objection aloud. Only the mujtahid Shaikh Baha'i found a way to show his disagreement by dating the event with the chronogram *ᶜAlī bibakhshad* (May ᶜAli forgive!).[34]

Although it entailed at least silent reprobation, such festivities were observed during the month of Muharram after the reign of Shah ᶜAbbas. According to Olearius, ambassadors of the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein were invited by the governor of Ardabil to watch nightly Muharram ceremonies, on the last day of the festival, with a profusion of illuminations. When mourning ceremonies were over, fireworks were set off in honour of the ambassadors.

As a result of Shah ᶜAbbas's foreign policy there was an increase in European visitors coming and sometimes settling for long periods in Persia. From the early 17th century, these travellers provided an unprecedented mass of observations on every aspect of Persian socio-cultural life. This rather unbalanced set of testimonies makes it difficult to appreciate the state of development of Shiᶜi rituals before Shah ᶜAbbas. Among the multiplicity of ethnographic and socio-cultural problems raised by these rituals, mainly those aspects which, as in the case of factional strife, could have been related to political or religious power or influence will be analysed briefly here.

However much their religious beliefs or motives may have been

manipulated, Muharram penitents obviously found in these ceremonies some way to express their inner feelings and to assert their social cohesion as well as their differences. As was observed from an earlier date (notably by della Valle), processions of religious groups or congregations looked like military parades, participants willing to show their fervour and eagerness to fight even to the death for Husain's cause. Volleys of arquebuses fired by a great number of men marching in front of coffins led in procession were observed by de Gouvea. Led horses, meant to represent ᶜAli or Husain's mounts, were richly covered with bards; bows, arrows, swords and shields were attached to their saddles; a turban was fixed on the saddle-bow. These things symbolised the martyred Imam's weapons. According to della Valle, the extraordinary lengths of the staffs of the standards (*ᶜalam*) carried in procession also meant to represent the weapons (or banners) of the martyred Imam, thus showing that he was a giant. Such gigantic standards as well as different kinds of ᶜalam were observed throughout the period (by Kotov, Olearius, Tavernier, Chardin, de Bruin, Gemelli).[35] These standards and various coffins and trophies carried by dancing penitents were accompanied by people singing and playing *naqqāra*s (large kettle drums), fifes and cymbals [della Valle]. This display of military symbols in these warlike ceremonies was further enhanced by the playing on religious festivals of the royal military band, the *naqqāra-khāna*, positioned on balconies at the top of the royal bazaar (Qaisariyya) in Isfahan, as was observed under Shah Sulaiman.[36]

Although it is difficult to know whether it entailed any official initiative or patronage, there was some evolution in the dramatic aspects of Muharram rituals under ᶜAbbas I. According to de Gouvea (1603-4), they seem to have been limited to women mounted on camels with crying and bleeding children, their heads and faces having been wounded with arrows. More elaborate pageants were seen by della Valle (1618) with, notably, simulated dead bodies of children in coffins carried in procession. More realistic representations of martyred bodies were observed by Kotov (1623-4). Besides naked children with their heads and faces all besmeared with blood, he saw on another horse a naked man covered with a newly skinned sheepskin worn with the hair on the inside, an arrow being fixed on the skin, on the dorsal spine. This kind of theatrical artefact continued to be used, with variants, in these celebrations. However, the dramatisations evolved considerably after ᶜAbbas I (see below).

(iii) *Muharram ceremonies and other celebrations*

It is obvious that, at least from Shah ᶜAbbas's shift of the capital to Isfahan (progressively, from 1005/1596-7), Muharram rituals had become the

focus of socio-religious life in Persia. But their importance had been already enhanced by the extension of the commemoration of Husain's murder (ᶜAshura) to the first ten days of the month of Muharram, which was never the case or never clearly attested in pre-Safavid times.[37] Since we have no convenient explanation of this issue, I would suggest an influence of traditional Persian celebrations held according to the solar calendar. As was noticed by Masᶜudi (d. 956), the festival of Nauruz, widely celebrated in the Turko-Persian world and in many Islamic lands (Iraq, Syria, Egypt, East Africa), has no equivalent in the Islamic lunar year.[38] Originally rooted in royal ideology, Nauruz remained the most important annual festival for all the Iranians. Under ᶜAbbas I, it used to be celebrated for three to eight days and nights.[39] A further extension to two to three weeks was later observed by Kæmpfer. Nauruz was also given a further Shiᶜi tinge by connecting it with such important events as Imam ᶜAli's investiture by the Prophet (Ghadir Khumm) or his accession to the caliphate.[40] Problems arose whenever Muharram coincided with the month of Farvardin and Nauruz festivities. As we have seen, ᶜAbbas I celebrated chiraghan even in the month of Muharram. However, the first ten days and more specifically the ᶜAshura, was given precedence over Nauruz celebrations which had to be postponed, as was the case in 1020/1611. Muharram ceremonies were then followed, in the Shah's presence, by a great Nauruz party and chiraghan, given in the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan, with the participation of large masses of people of all classes of society, including those from the provinces who happened to be at Iṡfahan.[41]

Many features of Nauruz and other Persian folkloric rituals have been observed in Muharram ceremonies. Pieces of cloth or dresses were given by women to the preachers [Figueroa]. Robes of honour (*khilᶜat*) and money were also bestowed by the Shah or governors on the preachers. But these being given as alms, the recipients did not have to kiss the Shah's feet according to custom [Chardin]. During the first ten days, the Shah changed his robe (*qabā*) every day and gave it to his barber [du Mans]. Although their antecedents and original motives remain difficult to trace, beliefs and practices typical of fertility rites and of a Carnival or Saturnalia festival are abundant in Muharram ceremonies.[42] Besides ritual dances and mimicry of the penitents reported by most travellers, joy mixed with grief was also observed [de Gouvea] as well as burlesque practices related with scapegoat rituals (see below).

Many pre-Islamic beliefs and practices are also connected with the day of ᶜAshura, initially the Yom Kippur of the Jews, regarded by early Muslim tradition as an auspicious occasion, associated with many beneficial events. But for the Shiᶜis, it is obviously not a day of blessing, but of chaos, disorder, ill-omen and grief.[43] Hadith literature asserts that the first ten days of Muharram possessed a special sanctity and fasting on

the 10th was early observed by Muslims, although it tended to be superseded by the institution of Ramazan.[44] This sanctification may also have influenced the extension of mourning to ten days. However, the fact that Muharram ceremonies were not apparently given any specific name remains puzzling. Some observers [della Valle; Olearius; Chardin] assert that the word ᶜAshur, a variant of *ᶜashūrā* (tenth), was then used to designate the first ten days, and hence the whole festival of Muharram.[45] However, a differentiation between the two words belongs to a very distant cultural area. In the Maghreb, ᶜAshur designates the whole month of Muharram and ᶜAshura the 10th day celebrated by joyful carnivalesque rituals.[46] The Turkish word *bairam* (feast), used by some authors [della Valle; Olearius; Kæmpfer] to designate the Feast of Sacrifice is also applied to Muharram ceremonies called Bayram ᶜAshur [Kotov]. But the Arabic *ᶜīd*, usually pronounced *ᶜaid* in Persian, and widely used for various festivities, sometimes as an alternative to Persian *jashn*, may also have been applied to the Feast of Husain [Herbert] or to the Feast of Hasan and Husain [Tavernier; Gemelli; Krusinski]. According to early Shiᶜi tradition, the two brothers (sometimes referred to as "twins": Hasanain) have been designated by the Prophet himself as "the two masters of the Youths of Paradise".[47] Many devotional popular works are devoted to them. Although Imam Hasan's martyrdom is celebrated on 28 Safar, his tragic fate is constantly remembered in Muharram ceremonies. The leitmotiv of the penitents, "Hasan! Husain!" or "ya Hasan! ya Husain!", vociferated in processions has given, through successive distortions, the famous expression "Hobson-Jobson" used by the British soldiers to designate Muharram wailing in India.[48]

This Anglo-Indian expression may also derive from another plausible name of the feast, "Shah Husain", often given with variants in spelling (generally "Sausen"). This term was already used by the Russian merchant Nikitin who collected it by hearsay when passing though Ray in 1475, with however no allusion to any specific ritual.[49] "Shah Husain! Vāh Husain!" was another leitmotiv of the penitents. The expression "Shah Husaini" was later used to designate, with a pejorative touch, Muharrram rituals and their bloody and violent aspects, particularly in Azarbaijan and the Caucasus, under the variant "Shakhse Vakhse".

The extension of the feast to ten days, as well as other features of Muharram rituals, may have influenced the annual Islamic Feast of Sacrifice, (*ᶜīd* or *bairam al-aẓḥā / al-qurbān / al-kabīr*), celebrated by all Muslims on 10 Zu'l-Hijja. Establishment of the custom of publicly slaughtering a camel on this occasion in all royal cities was attributed by Chardin to Shah ᶜAbbas I, who was advised by a famous doctor that it belonged to the king to proceed to the sacrifice as the first successor of Muhammad did.[50]

Despite a rather large number of testimonies, some particulars of this camel sacrifice remain unclear. Della Valle calls it a small feast (*piccolo bayram*), a name generally given to the *ʿīd al-fiṭr*, ending Ramazan fasting. For three days, a "she-camel" decorated with flowers was paraded through Isfahan in processions, accompanied by people playing naqqara and fifes, a preaching mulla, and protected by men armed with big sticks to prevent people from molesting the camel (by pulling up its hair, by superstition) to avoid its premature death. On bairam's day, the camel was solemnly brought to the place of sacrifice, two miles beyond the city walls. In the king's absence, his chamberlain Haidar Sultan proceeded with a lance to the sacrifice. The vizier of Isfahan and the *malik al-tujjār* (chief of merchants) were also present. The camel was cut into pieces which, as a rule, had to be distributed equitably between the different wards, the head being sent to the king's gate. But there were fights with sticks between factions competing to take the best pieces back to their quarters. Meat of camel thus sacrificed was eaten for its blessing (*baraka*), a part being preserved in salt all the year and given to the sick.

This ritual was described by many travellers. From Kotov's observations, the Shah being present at Isfahan, the feast called *"bairam kurban"* was celebrated during the first ten days of Zuʾl-Hijja with parades of the camel ending with its sacrifice on the 10th. The role of the sacrificer was devolved upon the darugha (acting as a substitute of the Shah? : see below). This feast continued to be called bairam, sometimes in combination with qurban, under various spellings [Olearius; Thévenot; Sanson; Kæmpfer]. Sanson, du Mans, Kæmpfer and de Chinon also mentioned it under its Persian name *ʿaid-i qurbān* or *qurbān*. A distinction was made between *ʿaid-i qurbān*, Arabic *ʿīd / ʿaid al-aẓḥā* and Turkish *büyük bairam* by Chardin.[51] More specific expressions such as *shutur-qurbānī / shutur-kushān* are not attested and *shāh-i shutur-qurbānī* (a mock temporary ruler) apparently only appeared in post-Safavid rituals.[52]

The sacred character of the camel was emphasised by its origin. According to Herbert, it was sent from Mecca to Isfahan, and was welcome by many thousand Muslims as a holy present. This Meccan origin is later noted by Sanson.[53] Most travellers noticed the royal prerogatives attached to the sacrifice. The camel was usually chosen among those kept in the royal stables [du Mans; Chardin; Sanson]. It had to be healthy and of the best breed [Kæmpfer]. It was taken out on the first day and traditionally entrusted to the people of the quarter "Kerron" (= Karān, the "deaf") and lodged at night by a family of that quarter. It was decorated with flowers and garlands and paraded every day through the streets, accompanied by a mob of that quarter and other parts of the town and by a din of drums and wind instruments and vivid acclamations. This camel had the privilege of entering the harems of the

khans and dignitaries. The camel's attendants were given alms (money and food). Devotees gave the camel some grass, pulled out tufts of its hair and children climbed on its back [Chardin; du Mans; Sanson]. On the day of sacrifice, in the early morning, it was richly decorated and common people of different quarters, each one with a big stick in hand, and with their drums and respective banners, together with civil and religious officials, brought it in procession to the *qurbān-gāh*, place of sacrifice.[54] After it had been prepared for immolation, appropriate prayers were recited by one or several mullas. Although it was theoretically incumbent upon the Shah to give the initial sacrificial blow with a lance, whenever he was present, this function was generally devolved upon the darugha.[55] As soon as this official had given the blow, "men of the scum of the populace" would throw themselves with axes on the immolated camel. They cut it into preassigned pieces, one for each ward. These were dragged with ropes by large numbers of men armed with axes, clubs and big sticks, brought with much uproar to their respective quarters and remitted to the heads of the families who had the privilege and obligation of offering a banquet to all this mob [Chardin]. In the processions and the great turmoil which followed the sacrifice, there were often large-scale fights between Haidari and Niʿmati factions, often with many casualties [Thévenot].

Although it has been claimed that the camel sacrifice was among the ceremonies "conducted solely by the guilds",[56] this adaptation, together with spectacular evolutions of the feast (including minstrels, dancers, acrobats, etc.), not clearly attested in Safavid times, is probably a later development. Much remains to be known about relationships between factions, quarters and guilds, as well as the chronology of their respective roles in communal affairs. As regards connections with Muharram ceremonies, it has been noted that the camel immolation (or its "re-enactment"?) could take place immediately after ʿAshura rituals. According to information collected by Figueroa, the camel sacrifice was then (1618-19) celebrated only at Isfahan, because it was the capital city, and not in Shiraz which he also visited. This was a purely pagan ceremony celebrated on the last day of the feast (ʿAshura) to let the Shiʿis express their feelings of revenge against the Sunnis by directing their rage against the camel. This singular account should not be completely overlooked. It may at least confirm that, under ʿAbbas I, this sacrifice was used as a means to propagate the official creed. Della Valle keenly observed (Zuʾl-Hijja 1025/December 1617) the presence in the procession of a mulla who sang "the words of confession of faith". This Shiʿi propaganda in such popular gatherings was maybe part of a policy to counteract opposition from various parts of society as expressed in coffeehouse discussions. ʿAbbas I frequented some of these coffeehouses

to enjoy storytelling and particularly *Shāh-nāma-khwānī*. He also appointed Shiᶜi clerics to preach and conduct prayers in these convivial places of entertainment.[57] Mention of sacrifice some time after "la fête de Hussein et de Hocen" by Tavernier is probably an interpolation of dates. Contemporary ceremonies confirm that it was then duly celebrated in the first ten days of Zu'l-Hijja. Although it appears to be a late occurrence, the presence of taᶜziya 'actors' in camel sacrifice processions, one month before their 'performance' in Muharram ceremonies, confirms the tendency of connecting these two "ten days" festivals.[58]

III. Shiᶜi rituals after Shah ᶜAbbas I

As we have seen, under ᶜAbbas I mourning ceremonies dedicated to the Imams ᶜAli and Husain had become a big communal feast, comprising an increasing number of dramatic elements – often very realistic – in pageants incorporated into processional rituals. Although uncertainties remain about his policy regarding these rituals, such initiatives as fostering and regulating factional strife were to be followed by his successors. Martial and spectacular aspects of Muharram ceremonies, as well as other Islamic and non-Islamic festivities, observed under his reign were also a starting point for further developments of rituals. Observations on these developments became so numerous and detailed that only some aspects connected with political or religious influence will be outlined here.

(i) *Problems of Persian terminology*

The main difficulty when discussing Shiᶜi rituals under the Safavids arises from the fact that we have to rely mostly on European observers who were seldom aware of Persian terminology or did not feel the need to give it in their accounts. Obviously, such expressions as *dasta-gardānī* or *dasta-yi ᶜazādārī*, processions of groups (*dasta*) of penitents, may well have been in use.[59] The same could be said, with some reserve, about penitents and their ritual dances. On the model *sīna-zan / sīna-zanī* (chest smiter/smiting) we have, with reference to stones, *sang-zan / zanī*; long or short swords, *tīgh/shamshīr* or *qama-zan / zanī*; chains, *zangīr-zan / zanī*, etc. On the other hand, there is, to my knowledge, no precise remnant Persian terminology for some penitents, such as those who buried themselves on the maidan, protecting their heads with earthern pots as observed by Thévenot. This custom apparently disappeared from Muharram rituals after the Safavids. Other expressions could have been used, such as *ḥijla* or *ḥijla-gāh* (lit. "bridegroom chamber"), a portable memorial to a young man died unmarried, with specific reference to the legend of the

betrothal of the young martyred Qasim b. al-Hasan with Imam Husain's daughter at Karbala. Such hijlas were richly decorated with mirrors, feathers, lamps, votive ribbons etc., carried on the head by a man, and a child could sit in it. As other ritual elements, this structure could have been ambivalent. At the commemoration of ᶜAli's death at Shamakhi, Olearius noticed "many men carrying on their heads little boxes covered with feathers and flowers, in which the Alcoran lay open". These may have been related to hijlas or an early form of them.[60]

Another conspicuous element in processions is a large wooden cenotaph called *nakhl* (date-palm tree) meant to represent Husain's bier. Legend says that his corpse was carried on a stretcher of date-palm to his burial ground. This structure, which could range greatly in size, was richly decorated when carried in procession, sometimes by many men.[61] Among temporary or permanent elements of the commemoration, *saqqā-khānas* (public votive fountains) were erected in memory of ᶜAbbas b. ᶜAli, Husain's half brother, his standard-bearer martyred at Karbala while fighting to get water for the thirsty besieged.[62] Permanent or temporary places where Muharram ceremonies were performed, such as *takyas* (*tekke/tekye*, originally a dervish convent which could be associated with various socio-religious groups), or more specifically *ḥusainiyyas*, largely unnoticed in European sources, are insufficiently documented in Persian sources. Scanty information is provided by Nasrabadi on Isfahan *takyas*.[63] On the Takya-yi Gulbandan, built at Isfahan under the Safavids and maintained by the guilds, information was recently collected by Keyvani.[64]

Another problem remains with the use of the term *rauża-khwān*, a preacher using as text-book Kashifi's *Raużat al-shuhadā* (as well as various *maqtal-nāmas*), from which Shiᶜi mourning assemblies (sing. *majlis-i rauża-khwānī*) were named from a still undetermined time.[65] A conjectural *Raużat al-shuhadā-khwān*, later abridged to *Rauża-khwān* has been proposed.[66] An early mention of a rauza-kwan appears in an inscription written towards the end of ᶜAbbas I's reign on the Dar al-Huffaz at Ardabil.[67] From an apparently late time, the rauza-khwans, as well as storytellers (*maᶜraka-gīrān*), seem to have belonged to the guilds exempted from taxation. They were administered by the *naqīb al-ashrāf* and used as spies and propaganda agents by the government.[68] Whereas some uncertainty remains about the earliest use of the *Raużat al-shuhadā* in Safavid Shiᶜi rituals, various *maqtal-nāmas* were utilised by preachers [Olearius, Evliya Chelebi, Chardin]. *Maqtal-nāmas* continued to be copied and composed, including in the Ottoman realm.[69] Olearius, who clearly mentions a "Machtelnamae" used by the "chatib" (mourning for ᶜAli at Shamakhi) would probably have noticed whether it was the *Raużat al-shuhadā* since he bought a recent copy of it, which might be the earliest

manuscript of the work brought to Europe and which incidentally contains some information about a rauza-khwan.[70] However, the term rauza-khwan is not given by travellers, even by Kæmpfer, who clearly mentions a *"mollā"* reading each of the ten days one of the ten chapters of the *"Raužat al-shohadā"*. Besides professional rauza-khwans, mullas continued preaching in rauza-khani assemblies till Qajar times and beyond, including women preachers for feminine mourning.[71] Secondary poets also appear to have been occasional Muharram mourning preachers.[72] From Shah Sultan Husain's time, some more information is available on rauza-khwans who received funds from religious endowments (see below).

(ii) *Evolution of dramatisation : a spectacle of grief*

As is well known, grieving over Husain's martyrdom was to give birth to the only indigenous form of dramatic art (tragedy) in the Islamic world, the *taᶜziya* or *shabīh-khwānī*, generally abridged to *taᶜziya*.[73] Divergences of interpretation remain regarding the moment when ritual mourning observance became ritual drama, the break-through being generally placed in the post-Safavid period.[74] But in my opinion, modern theatrical theories and experiences (such as resurgent spectacles of participation, whether deriving from rituals or not) are not really appropriate to analyse such dramatic manifestations as taᶜziya-khwani, in which there are, properly speaking, no 'actors' or 'spectators' but only a coherent community of Shiᶜi mourners.[75] The only 'spectators' are foreign observers or onlookers, i.e. our travellers who were rarely aware of the historical, hagiographical or legendary background of the commemorations. Whatever may have been the nature of their antecedents, Muharram rituals basically commemorate an idealised historical event as well as sanctified or accursed historical figures. The latter's attitudes provide proto-elements of ritual : the grief of the surviving Ahl-i bait at Husain's tomb; the remorse of the Kufans who had abandoned Husain and were bravely killed in attempting to revenge him (the Tawwabun); the terrible revenge of Mukhtar and Malik al-Ashtar etc. Shedding remorseful or revengeful tears and blood as well as various kinds of abstinence, self mortification, mimicry etc. are therefore intimately linked with the 'Karbala paradigm'.

During the long decline of Safavid power, in order to provoke and increase lamentation, weeping and self mortifications, more dramatic elements progressively appeared in Muharram ceremonies. When foreign guests were present, spectacular aspects of the commemoration could be enhanced by a display of luxury, illuminations, fireworks and a lengthy competition in elegy-singing between groups of local poets, singers and musicians performing their own compositions [Olearius].

Although precisely dated and accurate observations are rare, we may note a considerable evolution in dramatisation at the end of Safi I's reign (1629-42). In 1641, de Montheron describes what may appear, according to the modern sense of theatre, a kind of dramatic performance given on the Isfahan maidan. The solemnity of the festival was established, from the outset, by two separate introductory mourning assemblies under the direction of preachers, at opposite ends of the maidan. The court and grandees were accommodated in the ᶜAli Qapu and the common people at the bazaar's gate. These preliminaries, meant to condition the mourners, were followed by the representation of a *tamāshā* or "spectacle de douleur". Like mediaeval European passion plays (of the Oberammergau type), it was divided into episodes of lively sketches performed in sequence by 'players' irrupting onto the maidan or in circumambulating processions. The diversity of dramatised ritual was probably emphasised by the participation of groups of penitents from several Persian towns [see Appendix].

ᶜAbbas II (1642-66), who succeeded his father Safi I under the age of ten, has generally been considered the most capable Safavid ruler after his great-grandfather, whom he resembled in many ways. Through such achievements as his building activities or his reconquest of Qandahar, his reign was considered with nostalgia as a kind of 'Indian summer' preceding the degeneration and fall of the Safavid state. However, this optimistic view, mostly found in accounts of European observers who praised his tolerance at least towards Christians, has been challenged recently. Being at first under the influence of his tutors, he was a powerful ruler from adolescence to his early twenties, till the end of the vizierate of the *ᶜālim* Khalifa Sultan (1645-54), instigator of the anti-Jewish campaigns generally attributed to the sole initiative of his successor the grand vizier Muhammad Beg (1654-61) to whom ᶜAbbas II relinquished most of the administration of state affairs.[76]

Like most Safavid kings, ᶜAbbas II had tendencies towards cruelty, immoderate drinking and sexual pleasures. This negative image has to be tempered by his interest in religious, intellectual and artistic life (he was himself a practising artist like some other Safavid rulers and princes). He was apparently very fond of hunting, watching polo games and festivities such as chiragan and atash-bazi, which were displayed on many occasions : lavish receptions of official guests; Persian solar festivals; and in connection with newly-built or enlarged monuments (such as Chihil Sutun; Pul-i Khwaju; ᶜAli Qapu's *tālār*).[77]

Along with this taste for festivities, ᶜAbbas II was probably interested in promoting Shiᶜi rituals. However, the lack of precisely-dated and substantial testimonies does not allow us to appreciate to what extent they evolved under his reign. Camel sacrifice was celebrated with great

ceremonies [Thévenot, Chardin]. Persistence of factional strife and mimicry, and rivalry over preparing adorned coffins may have further developed martial and spectacular aspects of Muharram rituals [du Mans, de Chinon]. For his own pleasure, he summoned the town quarters groups to come to the palace with men and children dressed according to their fancy, to express better the action which they performed under his direction [du Mans].

Although it was probably an independent regional evolution, theatrical displays in Muharram rituals were observed at Tabriz by Evliya Chelebi.[78] The Ottoman traveller notes in ᶜAshura mourning organised by the governor on the polo ground (maidan) that, as soon as the preacher pronounced the words: "the oppressed Imam Husain was thus martyred by the accursed Shemr", mock representations of Husain's head and body and of his dead children were taken out of the martyrs' tent and brought to the field. Upon seeing this spectacle, there rose such an uproar of screams and wailings that all attendants were in a state of ecstasy (*mast o madhūsh*). The lamentations of the faithful were soon joined with bloody mortifications of hundreds of Husain's devotees (deep incisions with razors in chests and arms; the names of Hasan and Husain branded into the flesh was also observed). After the mock martyred bodies had been removed from the field, Husain's mourning (*maqtal al-ḥusainī*) was completed.

Safi II (1666-94), re-crowned as Sulaiman (1668), and Sultan Husain (1694-1722) have been almost unanimously considered as pure products of a life of strict confinement in the harem, a policy initiated by ᶜAbbas I. Without wishing to discuss the merits and defects of both rulers, they should not merely be dismissed as being respectively an incapable drunkard (Sulaiman) or a devout bigot ("Mulla" Husain), pushed by influential Imami clerics towards increasing intolerance which greatly contributed to the Safavids' fall.[79]

As has been noted, Sulaiman appreciated the arts, especially painting and the works of miniaturists. The pomp and splendour of the court continued to be at least as brilliant as before. Lavish festivities have been reported in an increasing, although unbalanced, number of testimonies. From the beginning of his reign, more spectacular features appeared in religious festivals (camel sacrifice; Muharram ceremonies; Ghadir Khumm). These reached the point where participation in Muharram festivals tended to shift from pure devotional assemblies to public entertainments in which displays of social influence were part of the show.

Travellers' observations mainly concentrate on the great Muharram ceremonies that took place at Isfahan in June-July 1667. Chardin, who saw the festival seven or eight times in Persia, insists on its exceptional

character. The Shah, still Safi II, gave specific orders for its pompous celebration; he had never seen it, being secluded by his father in the harem.[80] There were elaborate processions, pageantry and lavish receptions and invitations. Foreign visitors were officially invited to watch the ceremonies, such as Tavernier and the Dutch Melton, who both described this particular feast,[81] and probably Chardin, who however does not mention whether he had an official invitation.

From the lengthy observations given by Chardin and Tavernier (often cited or quoted *in extenso* in non critical works), one may retain a great number of costumed or naked characters marching in procession, mounted on horses, camels or elephants, or carried on litters by many men. In processions organised during the ten days, Chardin observed various ways to represent Imam Husain: a naked man, covered with blood, with pieces of arrows and lances attached to the skin "as if they had transperced his body"; Husain's "representation" in a great cenotaph carried by eight men. Some cenotaphs prepared by the wards contained men representing the Saint (Husain) in a state of death. Others contained little boys representing Hasan and Husain. In others, all provided inside and out with a profusion of weapons, there was a boy armed from head to foot, ready to fight. In nocturnal processions, there were marching men armed to the teeth wearing armour or going naked.

Muharram ceremonies are poorly documented during the 27 remaining years of Sulaiman's reign. Bedik and Kæmpfer's observations are too sketchy. Kæmpfer was impressed, as others, by the terrible shouts of devotees and the particular rythmical pace of the sina-zans beating the ground with their feet while smiting their breasts with their fists. Regional performances could develop independent features. Struys observed an evolution in dramatisations at Shamakhi. On the day of ᶜAshura, he observed several pageants. He clearly mentions a large litter on which there was a man feigning death to represent Husain. He had been given a narcotic beverage to play his part for the whole day. There was another vessel, which was filled with blood, in which two children were seated with their heads just above [the blood].[82]

Along with spectacular aspects of Muharram rituals, there was apparently a further development of their devotional aspects. Forty days after ᶜAshura, on 20 Safar, the feast of *arbaᶜain* or *sar o tan* (head and body) was meant to celebrate both the pilgrimage of the surviving Ahl-i bait at Husain's grave and the miraculous junction of his head and body.[83] However, Muharram celebrations were not to be performed till the 20th or the end of Safar, as it was to be in Qajar times. But their increasingly spectacular aspects practically eclipsed those commemorating ᶜAli's martyrdom that remained celebrated with limited processional rituals, as observed by Thévenot at Shiraz. This disappearance of pageantry was

compensated by an increase in devotional practice towards ᶜAli. His investiture at the Ghadir Khumm continued to be commemorated with rejoicing, together with a rite of fraternisation till our days.[85] Under Shah Sulaiman, lavish banquets were given on that occasion (see below).

From the outset of Sultan Husain's reign, less than one month after his coronation, Muharram ceremonies were observed at Isfahan by Gemelli Careri (August-September 1694). From his brief but precious account, we may infer that, after the exceptional festival of 1667, dramatisations had either stagnated or regressed. Some of their martial and spectacular aspects were however maintained on the day of ᶜAshura, the feast being observed by the Shah, the dignitaries and ambassadors invited to the ᶜAli Qapu. This impression of limited elaboration of the festival may be confirmed by Gaudereau's letter of the next year, although he says that mourning lasted 15 days. This rather imprecise account (erroneously dated) contains, however, some useful information about street rituals.

Uncertainty remains about spectacular aspects of Muharram ceremonies under Sultan Husain till the exceptional festival described by de Bruin at Isfahan in 1704. Very impressive and realistic scenes were represented in sequence, notably on big chariots or wheeled platforms drawn by men. Some of these floats were covered with blood-stained sand with real or mock bodies, heads, cut members of the martyrs etc. Acting penitents had been given narcotics to feign death throughout the whole day. Husain was represented in various ways in parades: (i) – by a kind of mobile giant animated by a hidden man; (ii) – by a man all covered with blood holding a sword in his hand, and (iii) – probably also as a dead man. Many children embodied various characters, such as Husain's sons ᶜAli Asghar and ᶜAli Akbar, Hasan and Husain, probably sacred women 'played' by men, etc.

De Bruin's account shows Safavid Muharram ceremonies in their most elaborate form. He saw it again on the next year (1705) and says that celebrations were the same, although one may always find some difference.[86] Such representations on wheeled platforms continued to be performed, as they were observed over 30 years later, in 1737, under Nadir Shah.[87]

After Shiᶜa passion plays had emerged from Muharram ceremonies, vivid sketches and scenes continued to be performed in pageants. Sequential performances such as those observed from de Montheron's account may have been preserved in the lengthy and elaborate mobile taᶜziya represented till recently at Arak.[88]

IV. Curses and scapegoat rituals

As already stated in the first part of the present research, polemics about the persistence of ritual cursing of the two or three first caliphs (and others of the Ahl-i bait's enemies) remained a political and diplomatic problem in Safavid relations with neighbouring Sunni powers.[89] Although at the Peace of Amasya (962/1555) between the Ottomans and Safavids (Suleiman Qanuni and Tahmasb I) it was agreed that official cursing should be discontinued, the practice probably persisted.[90] Ismaᶜil II (1576-8) decreed a ban on ritual cursing and the official public execrators, the *tabarrā'iyān (ṭabaqa-yi tabarrā'ī)* who derived their livelihood from this occupation.[91] This was accompanied by measures of retaliation against some ᶜulama and others, who were particularly zealous in their cursing practice. This entailed further dissent among the Qizilbash and strong opposition from Shiᶜi clerics. However, although cursing remained in usage there was to my knowledge no further mention of the *tabarrā'iyān* as official agents after Ismaᶜil II's decree. Their effectiveness may, however, be measured by the well-spread practice of cursing which, taken over by preachers and Shiᶜi devotees, remained for centuries a common feature of Persian Shiᶜism. Although Safavid Shahs continued occasionally to express their hatred for the enemies of the Ahl-i bait in their correspondance with Sunni powers,[92] they generally were more cautious and even friendly when they received Ottoman or Uzbek envoys, although they had difficulties in controlling popular intolerance, for which they were initially responsible, together with the religious establishment (see below).

Apparently from ᶜAbbas I's reign, cursing of the two or three first caliphs became concentrated on ᶜUmar, who was vilified in many different ways. This gave the background to the ritual murder of ᶜUmar, a feast originally intended to celebrate his Persian murderer, the 'miller' Abu Lu'lu', also called Firuz or "Baba Chugea el din" [Baba Shujaᶜ al-Din] who, according to du Mans, gave the name of the feast celebrated each year.[93] Thévenot mentions "la fête d'Omar Koschodziazadé" [*kushandagī / kushanda-zada?*] which could have been another name of the feast later known as *ᶜaid-i ᶜUmar-kushān*. Legendary accounts of this 'miller' are reported [Olearius, du Mans, Kæmpfer]. Very few details are given on the feast celebrated on 9 Rabiᶜ I [Kæmpfer; Thévenot : 10 Rabiᶜ I, certainly an error], the wrongly supposed anniversary of ᶜUmar's death.[94] This feast continued to be celebrated by rejoicing and the burning of ᶜUmar's effigy at night.[95]

According to du Mans and Chardin, among the first three caliphs, ᶜUmar was the most hated by Persians. Ritual cursing on him, *laᶜnat bar ᶜUmar*, was constantly uttered by them in public and private life. This

practice could endanger the life of Sunnis, such as Uzbek envoys who reacted violently to it.[96] When Persian pilgrims performed the *ḥajj* at Mecca, the Ottomans forced them to pronounce praises on the first caliphs, but instead of saying "salem aleik Omer tassdik" [*salām ᶜalaik ᶜUmar taṣdīq*, i.e. the truthful] they would say between their teeth "Omer zindik" [*zindiq*, i.e. the heretic] "with a thousand precautions".[97] ᶜUmar was further vilified in many anecdotes, saying that he was born incestuously, that he ill-treated Fatima and dispossessed her as well as all the Prophet's parents whom he endeavoured to eliminate, that he forbade temporary marriage of pleasure (*mutᶜa*) and so on.[98] Chardin asserts that he could write a whole book about what all the Persians do to manifest their execration of ᶜUmar. In addition to their curses on him they add such defamatory epithets as "fils de p[ute], de tyran, d'exécrable".[99]

Although the caliph ᶜUmar did constitute the ideal scapegoat in the intolerant and closed socio-religious system imposed by Safavid Shiᶜism, more traditional enemies of the Ahl-i bait, essentially connected with Muharram rituals, remained the target of popular piety. Whereas we are poorly informed about the Safavid ᶜUmar-kushan festival, the accursed caliph was also often mistaken for another ᶜUmar, Ibn-i Saᶜd b. Abi Waqqas, who was among the villains responsible for Husain's murder.[100] Manikins burnt in connection with commemorations of ᶜAli and Husain's martyrdoms are meant to represent effigies of various personages:

- Della Valle was told that on the night preceding the ᶜAshura several "statues" of ᶜUmar were publicly burnt on the Isfahan maidan.

- According to Kotov, before the biers carried in procession, a manikin made of fur stuffed with straw was led mounted on a donkey. It had a mock quiver with arrows made of wooden splints, and a bonnet with a tassel on its head. It was meant to represent the murderer of Husain and his bloodied children. People held it up on its sides. They insulted it and spat on it. At the end, this straw manikin was taken to a field, outside the city walls, where it was burnt with straw and naphta.

- According to Herbert, every year an effigy of Husain's murderer ("Chuse a Slave to Mnavi (or Mavi)", i.e. Shemr a slave of Muᶜawiya) was hurried to the streets in a hurly-burly of a thousand people. After a pathetic sermon by the Qazi, through "a train of gun powder", this "deformed Image whose face is black, his nose pierced thorow with a Dart, and clad in straw" was burnt. The following night was spent in merriment.

Further accounts are less detailed. Olearius notes the burning of ᶜAli's murderer, Ibn Muljam, at Shamakhi.[101] According to Bedik, Yazid and Ottomans were cursed in processions and Yazid's effigy burnt with a

list of his misdeeds. These curses on Yazid in procession are also attested by Chardin.[102] According to Gemelli Careri, on 3 Muharram, they took a straw manikin mounted on a donkey throughout all the quarters of Isfahan. It was meant to represent ᶜUmar or "Abumurgian" [Ibn Muljam]. At the end they killed in a fury the poor donkey and burnt both murderers under the same straw figure.[103] Some time before the ᶜAshura, de Bruin observed that straw manikins, meant to represent Husain's murderer, ᶜUmar, were burnt at night in several places in town.

POWER SYMBOLS AND ATTITUDES OF THE SHIᶜI COMMUNITY

It is quite obvious that such elaborate commemorations as Muharram ceremonies could not have been set up without an important participation of the different socio-religious strata and official encouragement or patronage. In the logic of the Husainid cult, connected above all with redemptive suffering, it is sufficient to promote or organise a mourning gathering to accomplish a meritory and rewarding action. The biggest patrons of these ceremonies are consequently the rulers and those who are close to power and socio-economic influence. They also had the means of keeping order and coercion to control outbursts of violence in public places, the most crowded, turbulent and noisy processions being held at night. But whatever may have been the sincerity of men in power, they could, through their patronage, increase their prestige and influence. As we have seen, at Isfahan and in the provinces, foreign envoys together with notables were invited to these ceremonies, increasingly sumptuous and solemnised by various kinds of displays of riches and spectacles.

As it is evident that these rituals of participation involved society as a whole, the respective attitudes of various socio-religious groups regarding them deserves a thorough study. Only some aspects of this issue, and particularly those that have been neglected, unnoticed or misinterpreted, are outlined here.

I. Royal authority and munificence

As we have seen, there is no evidence that either Ismaᶜil I or Tahmasb I ever patronised Shiᶜi rituals, on which we possess very little information in the 16th century. The same could have been true of ᶜAbbas I's reign, had we been deprived of the travellers' accounts resulting from his policy of opening his realm to foreign influence. From his personal attitude towards various rituals (Muharram ceremonies on military campaigns,

factional strife, camel sacrifice) we may infer that he may have promoted Muharram ceremonies. When (according to de Gouvea), Allah Verdi Khan, his governor in Shiraz, accompanied Muharram processions, we may wonder whether he was following the example of his ruler, who had been seen siding with a faction, maybe in some processional ritual [della Valle].

In my opinion, ᶜAbbas I's major contribution to solemnisation and dramatisation of Shiᶜi ritual was the construction of the ᶜAli Qapu, on the (former *bāgh*) Maidan-i Naqsh-i Jahan. The maidan, a central point of rituals discussed here, was a polyvalent space. Besides its utilisation for Shiᶜi rituals, it was used for various activities and displays: horse racing, polo playing, target practice, military parades, public executions, sporting competitions and animal fights. Provided with its upper *tālār* (see below), the ᶜAli Qapu became the architectural symbol of both royal and religious power. From that dominating position, the king, surrounded by his dignitaries and leading ᶜulama, could ceremoniously present himself to his subjects on various occasions, and notably when they were performing Shiᶜi ceremonies on the maidan.

ᶜAbbas I was often travelling or resident out of Isfahan. Between 1612 and 1629, Ashraf and Farahabad may be considered as effectively the new capitals.[104] At least for this particular reason, contrary to what has sometimes been said, he was not present at Isfahan when Muharram ceremonies were observed by travellers [della Valle; Figueroa; Kotov; Herbert]. Since we do not know how these ceremonies were performed in his Mazandarani capitals, we must be cautious about the extent of their elaboration at his own initiative.

The first mention of the Shah being seated with the sadr and the main state ministers in the upper talar of the ᶜAli Qapu, is provided by de Montheron (1641), at the end of Safi I's reign [see Appendix]. As was observed by du Mans, ᶜAbbas II had a particular interest in Muharram rituals, since he himself regulated performance of the 'actors' of the town quarters whom he summoned to the palace. He was then playing the part of the stage-manager, later called *taᶜziya-gardān*. At least the same interest was manifested by Safi II–Sulaiman. Every evening during the first ten days of Muharram, he summoned the town quarters to come in procession to perform their rituals at the "Salon de l'écurie" [the *tālār-i ṭavīla*, where he had recently been crowned as Safi II]. The palace and gardens were profusely illuminated. As soon as the Shah ordered it, the processions entered.[105] Every night of the ten days, he ordered suppers to be given to all processions, over 4000 persons, and sent food to the great mosque to be distributed to the poor.[106] Shah Sulaiman may also have been an active participant in Shiᶜi rituals, since he was a supporter of the Haidari faction.[107]

Spectacular aspects of religious festivals were observed even before the exceptional Muharram festival of 1667. The camel sacrifice had been pompously celebrated (10 Zu'l-Hijja 1077/3 June 1667). At the place of immolation, all the officials were mounted on horses: the clerics on one side, the Shah and the grandees on the other.[108] This solemn presence of the Shah mounted on a horse at the camel sacrifice as well as the participation of all Isfahan wards and many people coming to watch the spectacle is mentioned by Kæmpfer.[109] Such opportunities to watch the Shah and grandees were greatly appreciated by the populace. At the beginning of his reign, once or twice a week, Sulaiman organised excursions with about 800 ladies of the harem (plus many guards, eunuchs and servants); all males were banned from the route of the royal train, on pain of death (*quruq*).[110]

Messianism or Mahdism remained a recurrent phenomenon in the Turko-Persian area, at least from Mongol times. Messiahs could appear here and there at different periods.[111] As is well known, militant messianism was prominent in bringing Shah Ismaᶜil to power. While Safavid royal authority, in the absence of the Hidden Imam, became increasingly challenged by Shiᶜi doctors, the Safavids, like some of their predecessors (notably the Sarbadars of Khurasan), kept outstanding horses which, in my opinion, were connected with the expectation of the Mahdi. One example is the magnificent reception given by ᶜAbbas II at the ᶜAli Qapu to all ambassadors and envoys (which included a display of elephants, various wild beasts and gladiators). On the maidan Chardin could see twelve splendid horses from the royal stables. Their harnesses, bridles, saddles, stirrups were all covered with gold and precious stones. Their "drinking fountains" as well as huge maces placed nearby were of solid gold and silver. These twelve horses were placed in two rows of six on each side of the great door of the palace, i.e. the ᶜAli Qapu.[112] Sanson, who was constantly invited to receptions, attended a lavish banquet in celebration of Ghadir Khumm (September 1691) and gives a similar description of horses displayed on that occasion.[113]

Although the symbolic function of these horses is not indicated, their connection with messianism is highly probable. The sacred character of these horses contributed to the fact that royal stables and the ᶜAli Qapu "cette porte impériale", were considered a place of sanctuary for those, criminals or others, who took refuge there.[114]

Through the favour of the Nazir, Tavernier and people from the Dutch company (and maybe Chardin) could watch Muharram ceremonies from a good place, opposite the Dela (talar) from where Safi II was presiding over the festival. He had given precise instructions to the "grand Prévôt" (the darugha) who acted as master of ceremonies. Muharram processions were preceded by soldiers presenting the Shah

with Uzbek heads carried as trophies on lances. Elephants offered as a gift to the Shah by Indian sovereigns were paraded and inspected when passing before the Shah so that he could see they were well looked after. Such elements among Muharram rituals further demonstrate the secular character adopted by the feast.

Unless some new testimony becomes available, the first European who provides a description of Muharram ceremonies observed from the ᶜAli Qapu's talar may have been Gemelli Careri. As we have seen, his description of pageantry is very sketchy. The maidan was covered with tents to accommodate more than a thousand horses of the dignitaries who had come to the festival presided over for the first time by Sultan Husain. Gemelli Careri also notes the presence of the "sacred" horses and wild beasts (lions) in front of the ᶜAli Qapu, thus confirming Chardin's observations.[115]

II. Attitude of the Imami ᶜulama

Shiᶜi clerics' attitude towards religious devotion seems to have been essentially dictated by pragmatism. Deviant beliefs and practices were often lumped together, as can be seen in the case of censorship against epico-religious literature linked with their struggle against sufism. A way to counteract heterodoxy was to adopt and utilise some of its practices. This seems to have been the case with the Qizilbash ritual of *chūb-i ṭarīq* administered by the mujtahids who thus took over the role of the khalifa.[116] The Qizilbash sufi organisation continued nevertheless to exist, on a reduced scale, till the end of the Safavid period.[117]

As we have seen, according to Chardin, the camel sacrifice was introduced (or re-introduced?) in Persia by ᶜAbbas I, acting on the advice of a Shiᶜi doctor. Although prominent ᶜulama (and probably, at times, the sadr) were present when immolation took place, some mullas or other clerics soon objected to the improper way it was carried out [della Valle]. This camel meat, often salted and eaten the year after, was declared *ḥarām* by most Shiᶜi doctors.[118] According to the Koran and the Sunna, the camel had to be slain standing and not lying on the ground.[119]

As mentioned above, many Shiᶜi rituals took place at night with illuminations. At al-Karaki's initiative, special ceremonies, in which Shiᶜi books and prayers were read, the *Layāli mutabarraka* or *Ahyā* (called *Mahyā* in ᶜAbbasid times and later in Sunni countries) were organised at night during the month of Ramazan. These were held in places of worship till the end of the Safavid period. Muhammad Baqir Majlisi was particularly active in promoting these nocturnal prayers, which then attracted thousands of people.[120]

Such manifestations of public devotion may have been a counterpoise to Muharram ceremonies and their unorthodox rituals, on which we do not have any precise reaction from Shiᶜi clerics. Polemics about flagellations or bloody mortifications came much later. As we have seen, from late Safi I's reign there had been an attempt in Muharram rituals to pass from the ambulatory phase (pageantry) to the static phase (dramatic acts performed apparently without substantial 'dialogues' in front of participants). One may wonder why Shiᶜi ᶜulama did not react to that innovation, which may have given birth to a real religious theatre. The same may be said about further elaborate spectacular pageants with their mimicry, embodiments of sacred persons by 'actors', and realistic shows of blood. In a different socio-religious environment, in the Indian subcontinent, Muharram rituals, with their indigenous features probably influenced by Safavid religious practice, remained at the stage of pageantry.

Despite their rulings against popular literature and religion, Shiᶜi clerics could not prevent popular feelings from remaining attached to their traditional devotional literature which owned nothing to doctrinal Imamism. The liturgy of Muharram ceremonies remained essentially based on the recitation of Kashifi's *Raużat al-shuhadā* or various *maqtal-nāmas*, and the singing of dirges on Muhtasham Kashani's *Haft band* on the martyrs of Karbala. Both of these authors were court poets and literati. Kashifi's 'Shiᶜism' remained, at the most, within the limits authorised in Timurid Herat. Muhtasham (d. 996/1588 or 1000/1592) enjoyed both Safavid and Mughal protection. Even after Tahmasb had ordered him to compose praises on the Imams rather than on royal persons, his production of non-religious poetry remained important. This included a skilful chronogram on Ismaᶜil II's accession. Despite his panegyrics dedicated to Shiᶜi holy figures, Muhtasham cannot be considered as a fanatic Shiᶜi. His imitators or followers were probably more involved in Safavid Shiᶜism. Devotional Shiᶜi poetry remained largely composed by professional or 'amateur' poets. Textual elaboration of Shiᶜi commemorations was however completed by Majlisi's encyclopaedic bio-hagiographical work. Despite his vast contribution to Shiᶜi culture, he was criticised, even in his lifetime, for his interpretation of traditions (drawn from various sources), or his political attitude during the Occultation.[121]

The extent of Shiᶜi clerics' tolerance towards extravagant acts of popular devotion was probably the price they had to pay to enforce adhesion to Shiᶜism. As to the result of their role in inciting the furtherance of these rituals, Chardin keenly observed that the songs and screams of participants always ended with imprecations against the enemies of religion.[122] It is also obvious that Shiᶜi clerics derived from these rituals their spiritual and economic influence. Elaborating Imami

tradition, composing devotional text-books and preaching were profitable occupations for all of them, i.e. from "les petits moulnas, ou pédants de ABC" [du Mans], to prominent mujtahids such as Muhammad Baqir Majlisi. As we have seen, between the two major observations of Muharram ceremonies, in 1667 (Chardin) and 1704 (de Bruin), there was probably some regression in the degree of elaboration of rituals. These events happen to have occurred before Majlisi's full attainment of authority through his appointment by Sulaiman as Shaikh al-Islam (1098/1686) and after his death (1110/1698).

As mentioned above, there was apparently a reassessment of Safavid messianic expectation by the end of ᶜAbbas II's reign. This period coincided with the time when a certain Mulla Qasim was preaching with popular success against the Safavids' right to rule, saying that power was to be entrusted to "another pure branch of the Imams". When Chardin arrived at Isfahan (1666), this mulla had just been eliminated.[123] However, ᶜulama of the higher strata were bound to cooperate with Safavid rulers. They even needed promotion in return, if they did not want to lose their influence altogether. While their respective positions regarding the 'just ruler' remained a subject of discussion, Majlisi reasserted, on a very limited scale, the nature of the clerics' support by declaring in an essay that Shah Ismaᶜil's coming heralded the re-appearance of the Mahdi himself.[124]

III. The community of the faithful and limits of participation

As has been universally observed in ritual practice, the very principle of Shiᶜi commemorations, and more particularly Muharram ceremonies, is to bring together, in an unanimous emotional impetus, individuals from different social backgrounds. While social ranks and status remained, in what has sometimes been called a patrimonial form of domination, they were minimised or temporarily abolished in ritual participation. Although there was some disapproval or even contempt in some of the views expressed by travellers about these ceremonies, it is through their observations that, perhaps for the first time, we may globally perceive or visualise Persian society with its contrasts, inner contradictions, violence, chains of solidarity, etc. Whereas the upper strata of that society were fairly well known to us, at least from Mongol times, a clearer vision of marginal disadvantaged or impoverished social groups emerges from travelogues of the Safavid period. Among descriptions of Muharram penitents, there are recurrent references to people from the scum of the populace (rascals, vagabonds, toughs, beggars). They were often trouble-makers who could animate or spoil ritual commemorations or merely

derive profit from them. Courtesans and prostitutes found a redeeming prospect in their demonstrations of grief and their generosity towards the mullas with whom they were otherwise in contact, at least to establish their contracts of temporary marriage of pleasure (*mutᶜa*). But the most important factor for the perpetuation of Shiᶜi rituals was the system of votive offerings (*nazr*, pl. *nuzūr*). From early infancy, children could be dedicated by their mother, sometimes after a vow made to obtain their recovering from illness, to become a 'sacrifice' (*nazr*) to a Karbala martyr. Their role could be limited to play a part in pageants or in communal rites (such as distributing water). They could also perform various kinds of mortification.

Once the religious norms or pattern had been established, everyone amongst the faithful had to play his part in rituals. The patron of the feast (the Shah, the governor, another dignitary or wealthy man), sacralised by the presence of religious men such as preaching mullas or rauza-khwans, would set up the model by weeping, smiting his breast, tearing his garment. Through a reversal of the situation, rather common in rituals but generally unnoticed, the desperate fate of the thirsty ones besieged at Karbala was commemorated by a large consumption of various foods and drinks appropriate to the feast. Grandees and wealthy men would keep temporary or permanent 'water-carrier' fountains provided with iced water, which they would distribute themselves to the faithful, or give suppers to the poor (later known as *shām-i gharībān*). On the other hand, signs of allegiance to sacred or royal authority were demonstrated by devotees, notably through their answers (*amīn*) to the preachers' blessings. Processions would stop or accelerate when passing in front of the Shah's lodge or religious sanctuaries.

The degree of participation in Muharram rituals of socio- professional groups, quarters, professional guilds (*ṣinf*, pl. *aṣnāf*), members of the *futuwwa / futuvvat* (*javān-mardān* trained at the *zūrkhāna*, ritual gymnasium), seems to have increased at least from ᶜAbbas II's reign. Rituals observed by Chardin at Safi II's accession show much more than competitions about adorning cenotaphs or making standards or other properties and costumes for pageantry. Two additional extraordinary processions were made "pour l'amour du roi": one by the sufis (the Qizilbash of the royal guard, i.e. the Qurchis); another one, the most magnificent, by Shiᶜi Indian Muslims. Communal participation went a step further under Sultan Husain with the development of pageants on wheeled platforms and increased nocturnal mourning, observed by de Bruin. However, we remain rather uninformed about the rate of communal or private contributions to the expenses involved in Muharram ceremonies until the years preceeding the crumbling of the Safavid monarchy and the sweeping away of its 'cesaro-papist' structure by the Afghan tribal

invasion. Some figures provided by the religious endowment (*vaqf-nāma*) concerning the madrasa Maryam Begum of Isfahan show that, in the month of Muharram, and particularly on the day of ᶜAshura, wealthy pious men widely contributed to the expenses of rauza-khwanis, which included specific stipends of the rauza-khwans and those who performed mourning at the foot of the *minbar*.[125] This, together with some observations made by the travellers, seems to indicate that in various places of worship the organisation and expenses of Shiᶜi mourning assemblies had been taken over by the guilds or guild leaders.[126]

It is always difficult to appreciate the degree of sincerity of participants in any ritual. Whatever may have been its socio-religious or psychological background or motivation, the cathartic effect sought by Shiᶜi devotees could lead to acts of extreme violence. Playing or embodying (*tashbīh / tashabbuh*) the villains could be more dangerous to one's life than inflicting on oneself spectacular bloody injuries which, in most cases, remained limited or kept under control. On the other hand, joy mixed with grief was observed in Shiᶜi mourning [de Gouvea; Chardin; Tavernier]. Demonstrations of grief mixed with joyful outbursts were observed on Thursday evening visits made by women to cemeteries [du Mans]. Insincere spectacular grief among women was also attested in Muharram pageants.[127] As usual, professional female mourners used onions to provoke tears in private funerals [Herbert]. Various aids could be used, such as grilled seeds of millet, lentils and rice, in order to provoke or increase weeping in rauza-khwanis.[128] Passage from ritual to ordinary life could be made without a transition. Manifestations of loud weeping and screaming in women's mourning assemblies could stop or be resumed nearly instantly.

In a society practising sexual discrimination and segregation, these rituals provided a rare opportunity for individuals of opposite sexes to see each other. Nocturnal sessions constituted the best occasion for women to give appointments to their lovers [Tavernier]. Besides their devotional motivation, spectacular infliction of injuries by young men were also a means of demonstrating their bravery to women peeping through their veils.

Within the closed sytem of ideological and cultural hegemony elaborated under the Safavids, which permeated the whole social process, unless some new information comes to light, it remains difficult to know whether there has been any attempt to express social dissent or protest through Shiᶜi ritual practice. Dissent being always carefully concealed under totalitarian regimes, only some tepid or reluctant participation in Shiᶜi rituals could be observed. Politico-religious concepts of sovereignty, or the need for justice during the Great Occultation, remained expressed by Shiᶜi doctors in theological terms.

Times and mentalities were not ripe for Shiᶜi mourning to become revolt and revolution. Although temporal oppressors may have been considered the Yazid of the Age from pre-Safavid times, much more oppression and hardships had to be endured by Persian society before similar attacks could be launched against Qajar and Pahlavi rulers.[129] In the meantime, Haidari-Niᶜmati factionalism and Muharram rituals remained a powerful, although double-edged, device which could be used by the state or local rulers to control and channel popular devotional feelings and aspirations.

APPENDIX

Extract of a letter from Mr. de Montheron, kept at the Bibliothèque universitaire de Montpellier, section Médecine, Ms. H100, fols 59a- 64a [the original orthography, often defective or incoherent, has been preserved].*

D'Ispahan le 26. Avril 1641.

[60b]...«Il ne sera pas hors de propos que je vous entretiene maintenant d'un autre spectacle profane et ridicule qui se fait tous les ans en cete Ville que iay veu [61a] du quel aiy remarqué les part.ᵗᵉᶻ dont voicy l'histoire; Mahomet ayant marié sa fille avec Alli son neveut et son succeſſʳ, cet Alli eut un filx entre les autres qui luy succeda nommé Hassan, contre lequel un Prince Arrabe qui s'apeloit Makhavia se rebella et le contraignit de s'enfuir en Médina ieu de la naissance de Mahomet, et ou est son sepulchre; Makhavia estant décédé son filz appelé Hisidde, pour s'asseurer des Royaumes dont il estoit en possᵒⁿ trouva moyen de fer empoisonner Hassan par sa propre [added in the margin: femme, par la mort duquel son frère nommé Hussein luy] succéda, le quel les peuples de Babilonne appelèrent pour estre leur Roy. Ce Hussin allant prendre possessᵒⁿ du Royaume de Babilonnie, les Babiloniens par trahison le firent cruellement mourir à 3. iournées de la Ville avec sa femme, ses enfans, et toute sa famille, en mémoire de la quelle cruauté, les Persiens qui tiennent ce Hussin pour un de leurs plus grandz Pontifixes et plus grand Sainct, font en toutes les Villes de Perse a pareil iour que cette trahison ariva [61b] et particulièremᵗ en cete Ville d'Ispahan capitalle du Royaume, un spectacle public qu'ils appellent Thahmachaa y Maaodisa, qui veut dire, spectacle de douleur, avant lequel, l'espace de dix iours, ils ne s'apliquent a aucun ouvrages des

* I am very grateful to Francis Richard who provided me with the precious document presented here and relevant information on de Montheron.

mains, en sorte que nous n'avons pas peu mesmes trouver personne pour nous razer soubs nostre Turband, et ne s'amusent qu'a faire iõ et nuit par les rues mille sortes de demonstraõns etranges de douleur, qu'ilx concluent en fin le dix^me^ iour, le quel s'est rencontré ceste année (selon le calcul de Louis Lionis) le dimanche sis de ce moys d'Avril, dans la grande place de ceste Ville, la plus belle qui soit en l'Azie, et en l'Europe qui a plus de 400 toises ou canes de long sur presque 200 de large acompagnée tout à l'entour de bastimens de mesme architecture, mais petitz, ornée a un bout de la grande Mosquée, et a une des faces du principal portal du palais du Roy, sur le haut du quel tout enrichi de dorures et pintures couvert [62a] contre l'incommodité du soleil d'un grand voile de brocat d'or, estoit le Roy vestu d'une veste noire avec le Tulbant noir en teste (ce qui ne se porte iamais qu'en ceste occasion) accompagné seulem^t^ de son portier supresme; à costé soubs une arcade a main droite estoient le Sadre (qui est comme leur Pape) avec les principaux ministres de l'Estat; et dans celle de main gauche, les Eunuques du Roy blancs et noirs, au nombre d'environ une centaine; et en bas dans la place estoit sez prin^l^ Mulas (qui est le premier de ses docteurs) sur un echafaut élevée de 5. ou 6. pieds, assiz dans une chaise racontant a haute voix les particularitez de la mort de ce Hussin (qu'ilz ont en une extreme vénération) y meslant quelques fois les louanges et prières pour le Roy présent aus quelles le peuple respond, amin; Ceste espèce de prédication qui dure plus d'une heure, se faisant ainsy devant le Roy, il s'en faict une semblable a un des boutz de la place pour le menu peuple par un autre Moulas, [62b] devant le quel 5. ou sixcens femmes acroupies, couvertes et cachées d'un grand linceul blanc de cotton, qui ne montrent rien que les yeux, pour les conduire (comme ils sont ordinairement icy) a l'entour des quelles toute la population esloignée d'une grande espace se range a leur mode; crians et pleurans, principalemt les femmes comme si on les vouloit écorcher. Ces deux prédications estant finies, les premiers de ce Thahmasha entrent en la place pour commencer ce spectacle qui sont les Arrabes en grand nombre, représentans les Arrabes de Medina crians, heut sej nem Khou, heut sej neut jet uounam Khou, qui veut dire, Ou est mon Hussin, ou est mon ieune Hussin, En suite ilx lachent une vingtaine de Chevaux sellez, bridez, et armez de fleches couvertz de peaux de Leopardz qui courent confusément de ça et de la représentant les Chevaux de Hussin qui s'enfuyrent lors qu'on le [63a] massacroit, ensuite autant de chameaux quelques uns peintz de noir chargez de Coffres, et de personnes nudz qui se battoient et crioient comme desespérez, reputans son bagage devalisé, après paroissoient plusieurs machines ou tombeaux entourez de trophées, d'arcz, de Carquouois pleins de flèches, de rondaches, de cimetteres, de plumes, et d'autres ornemens semblables, entourez d'un grand nombre d'hommes tous nudz (exepté leur honte)

qui dansoient al'entour, crians et se battans; la plus part tous ulcérez au front et en plusieurs endroits du corps, d'ou sortoit une abondance de sang, les autres encor plus affreux, nudz couvertz de cendre, tous entourez d'un nombre comme infini de personnes armez de gros bastons criant, et courant en furie comme s'ils vouloient entretuer. Aucuns de ses tombeaux ou machines portoient de petitz cerceuilz et des enfans artificielem^t^ accomodez de peaux nouvellem^t^ ecorchées persez de fleches et couverts de sang, un autre accompagnée de femmes eche[63b]velées montees sur des mules noires; toutes ces fantaisies reprntant la mort d'Hussin, et de toute sa famille avec luy, qui ont faict crier et pleurer tant d'hommes et des femmes, et qui ont duré trois ou 4. Heures à passer devant le Roy; se pouvant appeller avec raison un vray spectacle de douleur; le quel s'est fini la nuict de ce dix^me^ iour par un combat de ses gens les uns contre les autres, où il en est demeuré 5. de mortz sur la place, et septante de bien blessés. Le Roy ayant commandé aux habitans de plusieurs Villes de Perse de ioindre encor leurs ceremonies avec celles cy qui se font différem^t^ par tout, Je vous ennuyerois trop de vous en faire la relation...»

TRANSLATION*

From Isfahan, 26 April 1641 (= 14 Muharram 1051).

1. [60b]... It would not be inappropriate if I now entertained you with another profane and ridiculous spectacle which is performed every year in that town, which I saw and [61a] whose particulars I noticed, the story of which runs as follows. After Muhammad had married his daughter with ^c^Ali, his nephew and successor, this ^c^Ali had, among others who succeded him, a son named Hasan, against whom an Arab prince named Mu^c^awiya rebelled and compelled him to flee to Medina, birthplace of Muhammad, and where is his sepulchre. After Mu^c^awiya's death, his son named Yazid, to secure the realms which he possessed, found the means to have Hasan poisoned by his own wife, [and] through the latter's death, he was succeeded by his brother named Husain whom peoples from Babylon called to become the king. While this Husain was on his way to take possession of the kingdom of Babylon, by treason, the Babylonians had him cruelly murdered three days from the town, with his wife, his children and all his family.

2. In memory of that cruelty, the Persians, who consider that Husain as one of their greatest Pontifixes [pontiff] and their greatest saint, make in all the cities of Persia, on the same day as this treason occurred [61b] and

* The faulty spelling of proper names has been corrected in the translation.

more particularly in this town of Isfahan, capital of the kingdom, a public spectacle which they call Thahmachaa y Maaodisa [*tamāshā-yi muḥāditha / mā ḥadatha*], which means spectacle of grief, before which, within the span of ten days they do not dedicate themselves to any manual work, so that we could not even find anyone to have ourselves shaved under our turbans. Night and day, they amuse themselves doing along the streets a thousand sorts of strange demonstrations of grief.

3. They finally conclude it on the tenth day, which happened to be this year (according to the calculation of Louis Lionis) on Sunday the sixth of this month of April, on the great square of that town, the most beautiful which exists in Asia and in Europe, which is over 400 "toises" or "cannes" in length on nearly 200 in width. [It is] provided all around with buildings similar in architecture but small, adorned at one end with the great mosque and at one of its sides, with the main portal of the king's palace. At its top, all enriched with gildings and paintings, [and] covered [62a] against the inconvenience of the sun with a great veil of gold brocade, [was] the King dressed with a black vest, wearing a black turban (which one does wear only on this occasion) accompanied only by his Great Chamberlain. On the side, under an arcade on the right hand, was the Sadr (who is like their Pope) together with the main ministers of the state. In the left hand [arcade were] the King's eunuchs, white and black, about one hundred in number. Down, in the place, was his principal mulla (who is the first of his doctors), on a scaffold raised 5 or 6 feet high, seated in a chair, narrating in a loud voice the circumstances of the death of this Husain (whom they hold in an extreme veneration), mixing it sometimes with the praises and prayers for the present King, to which the people answers amin. This sort of predication, which lasts over an hour, is made in that way before the King. A similar one is made, at another end of the square for the common people, by another Mulla [62b], in front of whom [were] five or six hundred crouching women, covered and hidden with a great white cotton shroud, which shows nothing but the eyes, to allow them to guide themselves (as they are usually [made] here). Around them, all the population, distant at a great space, accommodate themselves in their fashion, [all of them] screaming and weeping as if one were wanting to skin them.

4. These two predications being over, the first ones of this Tamasha enters the square to begin the spectacle. [First] there are the Arabs in great number, representing the Arabs of Medina screaming "heut sej nem Khou, heut sej neut jet uounam Khou" [*Ḥusainam kū, Ḥusain javānam kū*] which means "where is my Husain, where is my young Husain ?". Then they let go a score of horses, saddled, bridled and armed with arrows, covered with leopard skins, confusedly running here and there, representing Husain's horses which fled when he was [63a] massacred.

Then [they let go] as many camels, some painted in black, loaded with coffers, and naked persons who struggled and screamed as if [they were] in despair, saying his baggage [had been] plundered. After, there appeared several machines or biers surrounded with trophies, bows, quivers full of arrows, shields, scimitars, feathers and other similar ornaments. [These were] surrounded by a great number of men, all naked (excepting their privy parts), who danced around screaming and struggling, most of them [being] wounded at their foreheads and at several places of their bodies, where from blood was gushing abundantly. The others, still more frightful, [were] naked, covered with ashes, all surrounded by an apparently infinite number of persons armed with big sticks, screaming and running in a fury as if they wanted to kill each other. Some of these biers or machines carried small coffins and children artificially attired with hides [of animals] newly skinned, pierced with arrows and smeared with blood. Another [was] accompanied by dishevelled [63b] women mounted on black mules.

5. All these fancies representing the death of Husain and all his family with him, which made weep and scream so many men and women, and which lasted 3 or 4 hours passing before the King, may be called with reason a true spectacle of grief. It was finished in the night of this tenth day by a fight of these people in which five of them remained dead on the square and 70 [were] seriously wounded. The King had ordered to the inhabitants of several Persian towns to join their ceremonies with these [for] they are made differently everywhere. I would bother you too much if I would relate them to you...

COMMENTARY

De Montheron was a lay companion of the Carmelite Mgr. Bernard de Sainte-Thérèse, Bishop of Babylone [Baghdad] who was sent on a mission to Persia (1640-2) after having been appointed by Rome to the "vicariat apostolique d'Ispahan".[130] De Montheron accompanied him all through his voyage, his stay at Isfahan and return via Baghdad and Aleppo.[131] In a letter, he provides very useful information about the house bought by Mgr. de Sainte-Thérèse at Isfahan.[132] The present letter (with no mention of the addressee) deals mainly with the ceremony of baptism of a young Persian of 22, who was given the name Paul Armand. While his Muslim name remains unknown, it is mentioned in another source that this Persian had three times seen the vision of Christ and was regarded as a saint among the "Pères francs".[133] Despite his gifts and intelligence (he was familiar with seven or eight languages) and the high esteem he enjoyed at court, he had given preference to the hopes of

eternal life over worldly satisfaction. De Montheron was accommodated by him in one of the most convenient houses on the square (i.e. the maidan). He could watch with him these Muharram ceremonies (fol. 63b). To facilitate the comments, the translation has been divided into paragraphs.

§1. *Origins of Husain's commemoration*
Although it comes from a Roman Catholic, the negative opinion about this "spectacle profane et ridicule" could also be found in other European accounts. Besides obvious errors (Muhammad's birthplace was Mecca, not Medina), somewhat more precise information is collected from Shi^{c}i sources: Hasan's poisoning instigated by Yazid (in fact, by Mu^{c}awiya); the invitation of people from Babylon (i.e. Baghdad, standing for Kufa) to Husain to come to be their king; further treason of the Kufans.

§2. *Mention of dramatised ritual*
Besides the very brief mention of ten days and nights of abstinence, mortification and mourning, the most interesting reference is the name given to the public spectacle held on the tenth day. In its original sense, *tamāshā* has a special connotation of walking (Arabic *mashā/i*) abroad to watch a show, an entertainment or spectacle. The second part of the expression used *"muḥāditha"* or *"mā ḥadatha"* is less easily identifiable. It is apparently connected with the Arabic *"ḥadatha"*, to happen, and more especially to the word *"ḥāditha(t)"*, tragic event. It could have been *mā ḥadatha*, i.e. "what unfortunately happened", a possible use of Arabic in a Persian context. De Montheron, who probably lived for some time at Baghdad, was maybe more familiar with Arabic than Persian. It should be noted that the word used in the terminology of ta^{c}ziya-khwani is *vāqi^{c}* for the event and *pīsh-vāqi^{c}* for its prologue, which eventually evolved into separate plays. The notion of grief understood by this traveller is probably a misunderstanding or an extrapolation for an expression meaning spectacle, show or representation of the tragic event.

§3. *Sermons for grandees and common people*
The date given for the ^{c}Ashura is erroneous (6 instead of 22 April 1641). At the official sermon, held at the top of the Palace gate, the Sadr and main state ministers sat at the king's right. The sermon before the king was made by the head of the mullas (the Shaikh al-Islam ?) seated in an elevated chair, on the maidan. It was mixed with prayers for the king supported by the people's "amin". Another sermon, probably at the entrance of the great bazaar (Qaisariyya), delivered by another mulla, was attended by veiled women, the male population being kept at a distance.

Mention of Safi I's solemn presence at the top of the main portal of the royal palace is quite interesting. It might be the first available description of the open portico, or talar supported by columns surmounting that monument. Before its construction the roof of the building was probably used as a terrace. From literary and historical evidence, the proposed date of construction of this talar is 1053/1643, i.e. in ^{c}Abbas II's reign, about two years after de Montheron's observation.[134]

§4. *The tamasha*
Although sketchy and rather vague, this account contains new and interesting details when compared with Olearius' observations four years earlier at Shamakhi and Ardabil. Sequences of the stage- setting of the ritual spectacle are well indicated with the successive entries of (i) the "Arabs" (probably acting penitents with turbans) desperately looking for Husain; (ii) simulated Husain's horses; (iii) simulated Husain's camels and plundered baggage, with naked despairing penitents around; (iv) machines or biers surrounded (or covered?) with trophies, some of them being apparently similar to the boxes carried by men on their heads observed by Olearius. "Bloody" penitents (real blood here) and blackened penitents, dancing, screaming and struggling are surrounded by a mass of warring persons armed with staffs or clubs. Some "machines" (carried on men's shoulders?) contained small coffins and children simulating martyrs. Animal hides worn with the hair inside and the skin outside, pierced with arrows, were already observed by Kotov (see above). Dishevelled women mounted on black mules are apparently a new occurrence.

§5. *Other particulars and final battle*
The importance of this "spectacle" (three or four hours parading before the king) may have been enhanced by the fact that Safi I had ordered the inhabitants of several unnamed Persian towns to join their ceremonies to those held in the capital. What seems to be an exceptional occurrence under the Safavids was to become a more common feature in Qajar Iran.[135] This additional participation probably added to the diversity observed in the rituals, although the traveller discarded a specific description of provincial ceremonies. The final deadly battle between factions takes place at night, after the common people had left the maidan.

MUHARRAM CEREMONIES UNDER THE

Reference	Place and date of observations	Name, duration, corresponding date	Organisation, patronage, localisation
Membrè	Tabriz, 1540	"achiur", 10 days	. maidan
De Gouvea	Shiraz, 1602-4	"Chauçem or Achur"	. maidan (market place) . governor accompanies procession
Kakash	Azarbaijan, 1603-4	no name given (hearsay)	
Della Valle	Isfahan, 1618-9	"Achour", 10 days 10th = "catl" 10 Muh. 1027=7.I.1618	. maidan * . ['Abbas I in Mazandaran]
Figueroa	Isfahan, winter 1618-9	no name given 10 or 12 days 10 Muh. 1028=28.XII.1618	. rituals on maidan not described . ['Abbas I at Farahabad] . Husain's martyrdom read for the Spanish Ambassador
Kotov	Isfahan, 1624-5	"bajram oshur" 10 days	. [maidan] . ['Abbas I at Sultaniyya?]
Herbert	Isfahan, 1628	"oud Houssan", or Iedt-Owsant", 10 days	
Olearius	Ardabil, 1637	(Aschur)="ten", [also given to "feast of Ali"], 10 days 10 Muh.1047=5.VI.1637 11th day = burial of Husain's coffin	. sanctuary's courtyard before Governor and ambassadors
De la Sainte-Trinité [Isfahan 1630-40?]	Isfahan, [undated observations]	"Sausen"	. maidan, before Safi I [at the 'Ali Qapu?]
De Montheron	Isfahan, 1641	['Ashura], 10 days mourning 10 Muh.1051=6.IV.1641	. maidan, before Safi I at the 'Ali Qapu
Evliya Chelebi	Tabriz, 1647 and 1655	['Ashura], 3 days and nights precise datation not mentioned	. maidan, before the Khan governor
Du Mans [Isfahan 1647 to death, 1696]	Isfahan, [undated observations]	10 days "mathémé" (mourning) 10th day = "katle"	. [maidan, before the Shah, sometimes at the 'Ali Qapu]

* Maidan of Isfahan = Maidan-i Naqsh-i Jahan (in this Table and throughout the text).

SAFAVIDS IN THE MAIN TRAVEL ACCOUNTS

Sermons	Ritual fights Mortifications Mendicity	Other folkloric aspects dramatisation	Other particulars
. nightly sermons . many women attendants	. penitents buried to the head	. black coloured young men	. mourning in black
. sermon at great mosque	. fights with long painted sticks . self injuries (head and face with arrows)	. realistic representations of martyrs . buried penitents . volley-firing of arquebus	. joy mixed with gri
	. self injuries (head and body cut with razors) . burnings to hands (with cotton dipped in grease)		
. sermons by mullas / storytellers showing pictures	. fights with long and thick staffs [sometimes instigated by the Shah: hearsay] . buried begging penitents	. elaborated processions . black and red coloured begging young men knocking pieces of wood and bones	. mourning in black . burning of 'Umar' effigies (hearsay)
. sermons at great mosque by "mollas" and "alfaquis" . preachers receive alms from ladies and courtesans (rivalry about precedence)	. fights with casualties (hearsay) . buried begging penitents . prostitutes begging for the poor		. Muh. ceremonies followed by camel sacrifice
[sermons not described]	. self injuries (cutting with blades : head, hands, under armpits) . chains beating	. realistic representations of martyrs . knocking stones	. camel sacrifice . 10 days; Shah's presence . straw manikin bur with naphta
	. self injuries in mournings (other than specific Shi'i rituals)	. mimicry [mentions Adonis/Osiris/ Tammuz cults]	. Chose [Shemr]'s e burning
. nightly sermons ."chatib" reads . "machtal namæ" [at Shamakhi]	. self injuries (Shamakhi and Ardabil) . young begging black coloured penitents knocking stones	. pageantry . ritual dancing	. ambassador's recep ('ashura) followed fireworks
			. watched same feas among Arabs
. separate sermons for officials or grandees and common people	. fights at night with big sticks . self injuries (forehead, body)	. "Thamachaa" on the maidan . mimicry	. ceremonies from provincial towns on maidan
. mention of a *maqtal al-Ḥusaini*	. injuries, deep incisions with razors (arms, chest) . grandees distribute water	. mock representations of martyred bodies	
. preaching little "moulnas" receive alms	. fights with sticks	. adorned coffin or cenotaph prepared by each quarter . king's dress bestowed on retinue	. they howl like wo . "Ser o ten" feast, 4 days after

Reference	Place and date of observations	Name, duration, corresponding date	Organisation, patronage, localisation
De Chinon [Isfahan/Julfa 650 to death,1668]	Isfahan, [undated observations]	"Achour", 10 days	. [maidan before the Shah]
Poullet	Kashan, *circa* 1660	"Sanson" ="Ali" (error for Shah Husain)	. women's lamentations in cemetries
Thévenot	Shiraz, 1665	"Aachour", 10 days 10 Muh.1076=23.VII.1665	. 10th day in front of governor's house
Tavernier	Isfahan, 1667	"Fête de Hocen [Hasan] et de Hussein" 10 days 10 Muh.1078=2.VII.1667	. maidan before Safi II at the 'Ali Qapu . invited by the Nazir with Dutchmen
Chardin	Isfahan, [1666-7, 1669, 1673-7], observations 1667, same date as Tavernier's	"Hachours" = decade 10th day = "Haid catle", "roustig" (*rūz-i tigh*)	. maidan before Safi II at the 'Ali Qapu . all participants lavishly entertained
Bedik [Isfahan /Julfa] 1670-5	Isfahan, undated observations	"Asciur" [= mourning] last day = "katil"	. maidan ?
Struys	Shamakhi, 1671	"Aschur" 10 Muh.1082=19.V.1671	.processions towards the Khan's palace . temporary structures on the maidan
Kæmpfer [Kemper]	Isfahan, 1684-5 undated observations	10 days 10th day = Ashur	. [maidan] . nightly mourning in permanent and temporary structures
Gemelli Careri	Isfahan, 1694	Feast of Hasan and Husain Ashur = mourning or "catl" (last day) 10 Muh.1106=1.IX.1694	. maidan . Shah Sultan Husain +grandees+ambassadors at the 'Ali Qapu
Gaudereau	Isfahan, 1695	"Achour" (= mourning) 15 days 10 Muh.1107=21.VIII.1695	. [maidan] . only street rituals mentioned
De Bruin (Le Brun)	Isfahan, 1704 from 6 May	[no specific name given] 10 days 10 Muh.1116=15.V.1704	. maidan . precedence regulated by darugha
Krusinski [du Cerceau] in Iran 1707-25]	Isfahan, 1714	Feast of Hasan and Husain 10 Muh.1126=26.I.1714	. maidan

Sermons	Ritual fights Mortifications Mendicity	Other folkloric aspects dramatisation	Other particulars
[no detail on sermons]	. fights with sticks . bloody mortification	. adorned coffin prepared by each quarter . black coloured children	. they howl like wolv
[no detail on sermons]	. mutual striking or fighting with sticks and stones		
. day and night sermons	. Selfinjuries (head and body) . buried penitents . knocking stones	. black and red coloured young men (soot and oil; bole armeniac)	. *'Umar kushān* (10 Rabi' I) . *Sar (o) tan* (20 Saf
. *khal'at*s bestowed by Shah on preachers	. fights with staffs . important police measures . stones knocking	. elaborate pageantry . dramatisation when passing before the Shah by each quarter . procession of Indians with elephants	. mourning in blue . Uzbek heads and T refugees in processic . camel sacrifice after Muharram ceremoni
. night processions and sermons . text-book:"Elkatel" (*al-qatl*), 'Traité de l'Occision'	. fights with stones and sticks . mortifications	. elaborated pageants . black and red coloured begging men . knocking stones . mimicry	. mourning in black, violet, blue . "serten", 14 Safar
. curses against Yazid and Ottomans (in processions)	. fighting stones . selfinjuries with razors or blades (head, face, arms)	. penitents looking for Hasan and Husain . cenotaphs of Hasan and Husain brought to Royal mosque	. burning of Yazid's effigy with list of his misdeeds
. Khan rewards preacher who prays for his health . nightly sermons	. fights with swords (3rd day) . black and white coloured penitents . knocking stones	. pageants with pantomines . mimicry . artefacts	. mourning in blue . simulated grief
. mullas preaching from *Raużat al-shuhadā*	. factional fights culminating at 'Ashura . selfinjuries with razors (in most cities)	. observed rythms of ritual chest beating with fists	. *sar o tan* (20 Safar)
women give money, sweets, rose water to preachers	. fighting . selfinjuries	. dances around the biers . all processions passing before the Shah	. effigy of 'Umar an Ibn Muljam burnt . mourning in red an dark blue
[no detail on sermons]	. fights with golden sticks made for purpose . rivalry in procession	. little "chapels" at crossroads where iced water is freely given	. mourning in violet
. nightly sermons . illuminations	. fights with long golden sticks . exceptionally no casualties	. dance with sticks . pageants on chariots (floats) . realistic representation of martyrs, Karbala's ground etc. . processional giant	. mourning in violet black . straw manikins of 'Umar (=Husain's murderer) burnt
[no detail on sermons]	. only stones and sticks allowed . big disorder (over 300 killed by repression)	. factions called Pelenk, Felenk	. trouble makers fin by governors

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(with reference to the pages relating to Shi'i mourning)*

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NOTES

In addition to the abbreviations listed above, the following are used in the notes: CHIr = *Cambridge History of Iran;* EI² = *Encyclopædia of Islam*, 2nd edition; EIr = *Encyclopædia Iranica; Etudes Safavides* = J. Calmard (ed), *Etudes Safavides* (Paris-Tehran 1993).

1. J. Calmard, Les rituels shiites et le pouvoir. L'imposition du shiisme safavide: eulogies et malédictions canoniques, *Etudes Safavides*, pp. 109-50 [hereafter Calmard, "Rituels shiites"].
2. Ibid., pp. 137 ff.
3. The conventional view of the migration of Shiʿi Arab clerics to Iran following the establishment of the Safavid state was duly criticised by A. Newman, The myth of the clerical migration to Safavid Iran: Arab Shiʿi opposition to ʿAli al-Karaki and Safavid Shiʿism, *Die Welt des Islams* 33/i (1993), 66-112. For a general account of the rising influence of Imami ʿulama under the Safavids, see relevant literature in my articles "Mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd", "Mudjtahid", "Ṣadr", in EI².
4. Although the Safavid sadr was supposed to be the head of the religious classes, he was not particularly associated with the propagation of Shiʿism. Among the first notables who held that office, "none was a professing Twelver scholar or lay believer, let alone an Arab" (Newman, pp. 73 ff n. 25). See also my article "Ṣadr" in EI².
5. The problem must be analysed by K. Babayan in her Ph.D. thesis, *The waning of the Qizilbash: the spiritual and temporal in seventeenth century Iran* (Princeton University, 1993), and her article in the present volume (neither contribution was available to me).
6. This Table is followed by a bibliography giving full references to travellers' accounts, see pp. 178-83.
7. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān fi ḥawādith al-zamān* (Cairo, 1962-4), I, p. 244. See H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans...* (tr. of Ibn Tulun's *Annals* and Ibn Jumʿa) (Damascus 1952), pp. 207-8.
8. J. Aubin, Le royaume d'Ormouz au début du XVI^e siècle, *Mare luso-indicum* 2 (1973), p. 95 n. 101.
9. Della Valle, p. 207 [burial of Muhammad Tahir Beg, one of Shah ʿAbbas's favourites]. H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, 2 vols (Paris 1938) I, p. 100 (quoting

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10. See: Calmard, "Rituels shiites", pp. 127-9; A.H. Morton, The *chūb-i ṭarīq* and *qizilbāsh* ritual in Safavid Persia, *Etudes Safavides*, pp. 225-30.
11. See I. Mélikoff, Le problème kizilbaş, *Turcica* 6 (1975), 49-67 (p. 61 n. 2).
12. See N. Falsafī, *Zindagānī-yi Shāh ʿAbbās-i avval*, 5 vols (Tehran 1334-52/1955-73), III, pp. 40 ff; Algar, "Nuḳtawiyya", in EI². Algar stresses Shah ʿAbbas's superstition and "imaginative sadism" in his attitude towards the Nuqtavis.
13. See Lockhart, in CHIr, VI, p. 391. Europe's idealised vision of ʿAbbas I, who allowed European Christian missionaries to settle in his capital, has been analysed by E. Herzig, The Deportation of the Armenians in 1604-1605 and Europe's Myth of Shāh ʿAbbās I, *Pembroke Papers* 1 (Cambridge 1990), 59-71.
14. On this pilgrimage, see Falsafī, III, pp. 13-16; C. Melville, From Qars to Qandahar: The itineraries of Shah ʿAbbas I (995-1038/1587-1629), *Etudes Safavides*, pp. 199, 208; C. Melville's article in this volume.
15. As happens in the generally well informed account of Olearius, who calls both festivals "Aschur". See Olearius, pp. 435, 456; tr. pp. 161, 174.
16. See J. Aubin, De Kûhbanân à Bidar. La famille Niʿmatullahī, *Studia Iranica* 20/ii (1991), 223-61; H. Algar, "Niʿmat Allāhiyya", EI².
17. On this identification of Haidari's eponym, see H. Mirjafari, The Ḥaydarī-Niʿmatī Conflicts in Iran, *Iranian Studies* 12/iii-iv (1979), 135-62 (pp. 139-40). On the Qalandariyya, their links with Buddhism and their first propagator in Persia, Jamal al-Din Savi (d. *ca* 630/1232-3), see Tahsin Yazici, "Ḳalandariyya", EI².
18. Mirjafari, pp. 141-2, 149. This interpretation was also followed by most of the scholars working on the Safavid period. For M. Keyvani, *Artisans and Guild Life in the later Safavid period* (Berlin 1982), p. 210, the eponym of the Safavid Haidari faction is Haidar Zava'i.
19. Mirjafari, pp. 142-3.
20. See Ch. Grey (tr.), *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, Hakluyt Ser. 1, 49 (1873), p. 224. Alessandri's "observation" seems to concern Qazvin rather than Tabriz. However according to the *Chronicle of the Carmelites* (London 1939), p. 51, the two factions were at peace when Alessandri visited the city, see A.K.S. Lambton, Islamic Society in Persia [1954], in A.K.S. Lambton, *Theory and Practice in Medieval Persian government*, Variorum Reprints (London 1980), VII, p. 16.
21. Krusinski, pp. 90 ff., cited by Mirjafari, pp. 147-8.
22. See Mirjafari, pp. 144 ff., citing Tavernier, Chardin, Kæmpfer.
23. Jewish mullas who refused to convert to Islam were devoured by dogs in his presence: see J. Calmard, "Mollā", in EI². (Testimony of Baba'i b. Lutf corroborated by Pietro della Valle, *Delle conditioni di Abbas re di Persia* (Venice 1628), pp. 54, 62).
24. Falsafī, II, p. 328, citing Mulla Jalal (Munajjim Yazdī), *Tārīkh-i ʿAbbāsī*, see ed. S. Vaḥīdniyā (Tehran 1366/1987), p. 131.
25. Della Valle, [letter 21, Isfahan, 18 December 1617], p. 84.
26. See Mirjafari, pp. 148 ff.
27. According to a "Mémoire" addressed to the "Père Fleurian" from the province of Shirvan under Louis XIV (see *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères* (Paris 1780), IV, pp. 43-4.
28. Despite these shows of violence in northwest provinces, Massé's opinion that self inflicted bloody injuries were limited to the Caucasus and Azarbaijan and reached the southern towns only in the 19th century is no longer acceptable (see Massé, *Croyances*, II, pp. 135-6).

29. Chardin, IX, pp. 292-3.
30. Melville, "Itineraries", p. 224.
31. Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, 2 vols (Tehran 1335/1957), II, p. 627, tr. R.M. Savory, *History of Shah ʿAbbas the Great*, 2 vols (Boulder 1978), II, p. 817.
32. Falsafī, III, p. 10; Iskandar Beg, II, p. 655; Savory, II, p. 846. According to Iskandar Beg, Sharif Pasha was an Isfahani by birth. He then openly professed his innate Shiʿism and ʿAbbas I granted him his wish to end his days at Mashhad.
33. Falsafī, II, pp. 285-92; Keyvani, p. 190; M. Omidsalar, "Čerāḡānī", in EIr.
34. Falsafī, II, pp. 291, 318-19 (cf. Munajjim Yazdī, p. 360). This is a very rare instance of an Imami cleric's objection to royal authority being reported.
35. On ʿAlam banners and their religious significance, see J. Calmard, "ʿAlam va ʿalāmat", in EIr. On banners, royal ideology and iconography of the *Shāh-nāma*, see A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Banners", ibid.
36. See Kæmpfer, p. 130. However, according to Chardin, trumpets and kettledrums were not played at usual times during the first ten days of Muharram. On the historical development of the naqqara-khana and its importance as a royal symbol, see A.K.S. Lambton, "Naḳḳāra-khāna", in EI².
37. For some suggestions regarding this extension to the first ten days of Muharram and counter-celebration of Muharram ceremonies by the *khawārij*, see Calmard, *Culte*, I, pp. 492-3.
38. See R. Levy and C.E. Bosworth, "Nawruz", in EI².
39. Falsafī, II, p. 318.
40. See Ẕ. Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān* (Tehran 1332-41/1953-62), 2nd ed., 3 vols in 4 (1351-2/1972-3), vol. V/1 (1362/1983), p. 86.
41. Iskandar Beg, II, pp. 829-30, tr. Savory, II, p. 1037.
42. On supposed influences on the Muharram of cultus from Mesopotamian (Adonis-Tammuz) and Central Asian (Siyavush) rituals, see M. Ayoub, "ʿAšūrā", in EIr.
43. Ibid. and A.J. Wensinck, "ʿAshūrā' I", in EI².
44. M. Ayoub, "ʿAšūrā".
45. *Ashur* mistaken for "mourning" is a flagrant error made or repeated by Bedik, Gemelli, Gaudereau.
46. See Ph. Marçais, "ʿAshurā' II", in EI².
47. M. Ayoub, *Redemptive Suffering in Islām* (The Hague 1978), p. 69 (quoting a hadith from the 6th Imam, Jaʿfar).
48. H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, A glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, ed. W. Crooke (London 1969), p. 419.
49. Afanasij Nikitin, *Xozhenie za tri moriya* (Moscow-Leningrad 1948), p. 11 (cf. Calmard, *Culte*, p. 430).
50. Chardin, I, p. 14. On Shah ʿAbbas I's relations with Imami clerics, see Falsafī, III, pp. 26 ff. His closest ties were apparently with the influential mujtahid Shaikh Baha'i, who was born in 953/1546 at Baalbek, travelled extensively in Arab countries (Ottoman territories) and made the pilgrimage to Mecca (in the years 1583-5); see A. Newman, Towards a reconsideration of the "Isfahān school of philosophy": Shaykh Bahā'ī and the role of the Safawid ʿulamā, *Studia Iranica* 15/ii (1986), pp. 172 ff. Camel sacrifice was then still practised, at least at the Haramain.
51. Chardin, VI, p. 370; IX, p. 6.
52. See M. Omidsalar, "Šotor-qorbānī", in EIr, under "Camel, V".
53. Was this camel really coming from Arabia? Sanson says [*Etat présent*, p. 208]: Entre les chameaux qui ont fait le voyage de la Meque, on en choisit un blanc, parce qu'ils croyent que le chameau qui fut égorgé par Abraham, et celui que montoit d'ordinaire Mahomet, estoient de cette couleur...".

54. Described by Chardin, VIII, p. 98. See also Du Mans, ed. F. Richard, *Raphaël du Mans missionnaire en Perse au XVIIIe siècle*, 2 vols, I. Biographie, Correspondance; II, Estats et Mémoire (Paris 1995), II, pp. 55-60.
55. "The Darraguod first transfixes his Javelin. The Visier beheads him, and gives it the King" [Herbert]. See also du Mans, de Chinon, Tavernier, Sanson, Kæmpfer. This role of immolator attributed to the king (and carried out by himself according to Tavernier), as well as the fact that a red piece of cloth was attached on the camel's shoulder as a marker for the lance stroke, are discarded as groundless hearsay by Chardin (IX, p. 12; they are however reported by du Mans).
56. By Keyvani, p. 191, based on observations of rituals by post-Safavid travellers, and data given by Mīrzā Ḥusain Khān Taḥvīldār, *Jughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān* (1308/1891), retrospectively applied to the Safavid period.
57. See ʿAli Āl-e Dawūd, "Coffeehouse", in EIr.
58. Taḥvīldār, p. 89, tr. in Keyvani, p. 260.
59. An overview of dastas is given by P. Chelkowski, "Dasta", in EIr. Dasta is used in military terminology for a group of soldiers. In Iraq, Muharram processions are called *mawkib*, a clear allusion to their martial background; see P. Chelkowski, Shia Muslim Processional Performances, *The Drama Review* (MIT), 29/iii (1985), 18-30 (p. 27).
60. Olearius, pp. 435-6; tr. Davies, p. 162, with a very rare drawing of these ceremonies, showing these dancing penitents with boxes on their heads.
61. On this nakhl, and huge extant specimens of it at Yazd and Nairiz, see P. Chelkowski, Popular Shīʿī mourning rituals, *Alserāt* 12 (1986), 209-26 (pp. 212-13). In India, rituals connected with this cenotaph, called *taʿziya*, entailed competition between private persons, grandees, communities and quarters.
62. Ibid., pp. 213-14.
63. See Naṣrābādī, *Taẕkira*, ed. Vaḥīd Dastgirdī (Tehran 1317/1938), on: the takyas of the Chahar Bagh (p. 9); a takya built by Hajj Safi ʿAli Beg *murvārid furūsh* in the Lunban mosque and the takya built by ʿAbbas II in the Lunban quarter, in memory of Darvish Muhammad Salah (p. 209); a takya in memory of Darvish Sadiq (p. 211); the takya Haidar at the Chahar Bagh (pp. 284, 344); the Takya-yi Faiz (p. 486) [built under ʿAbbas II, in 1068/1657-8]: see Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vaḥīd Qazvīnī, *ʿAbbās-nāma*, ed. I. Dihqān (Arak 1329/1951), p. 256.
64. See Keyvani, pp. 193-4 n. 30.
65. On *maqtal-nāmas*, Husain Vaʿiz Kashifi (d. 910/1504), a Naqshbandi sufi living in Herat, and his *Raużat al-shuhadā*, see Calmard, *Culte*, pp. 286 ff. and Index; "Rituels shiites", pp. 131 ff., and my forthcoming study.
66. See Dehkhoda, *Lughat-nāma*, "Rauża", citing Nazim al-ʿAttiba [*Farhang-i Naftsī*], no reference provided.
67. This inscription is dated, thanks to A. Morton's elucidation, 1037/1627-8. The rauza-khwan was the father of the calligrapher, whose full name was Mir Allah b. Aqa Mir Qavam al-Din Rauza-khwan. See A.H. Morton, The Ardabil Shrine in the Reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, *Iran* 12 (1974), 31-64 (p. 55).
68. Lambton, "Islamic Society", p. 25 (no precise reference indicated). See also Keyvani, p. 68 n. 45 (ref. to *Taẕkirat al-mulūk*), pp. 151, 193.
69. On Lamiʿi Chelebi (d. 937/1531 or 940/1533-4) and his Turkish *Maqtal Āl al-Rasūl*, known also as *Maqtal Ḥażrat Ḥusain* and copies illustrated in 17th-century Baghdad, see R. Milstein, *Miniature painting in Ottoman Baghdad* (Costa Mesa 1990), pp. 107-8 and Index.
70. See W. Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin 1888), I, pp. 542-4, n° 573. It was copied in 1043/1633, four years before

Olearius's travel by Muhibb ʿAli b. Maulana Hajat Shamakhi. Kashifi's text is followed by a *qaṣīda* by a certain Maulana Lauhi Isfahani who, according to information (added by the copyist?) was among the *maʿraka-gīrān, rauża-khwānān* and *maddāḥān* of ʿAli Murtaza. He lived at Isfahan under Tahmasb I, and died 80 years old in 989/1581. This biographical note confirms that the term rauza-khwan was used under Shah Safi.

71. See J. Calmard, "Mollā", in EI².
72. The discreet sufi poet Kazima, Nasrabadi's contemporary, originally came from Tabriz and grew up in Kashan, where he was teaching (*muʿallimī mīkunad*), deeply moved mourning audiences by his preaching from the *Raużat al-shuhadā* on the day of ʿAshura. See Naṣrābādī, p. 371.
73. Modern Arabic drama, influenced by European contemporary theatre, is rooted in local taʿziya traditions as well as in shadow and puppet theatre, and popular comedies. See J.M. Landau, "Maṣraḥ", in EI².
74. See P. Chelkowski (ed.), *Taʿziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran* (New York 1979), p. 258.
75. See Calmard, "Théâtre rituel (Iran)", in M. Corvin (ed.), *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du Théâtre* (Paris 1991), pp. 437-8; idem, "Théâtre rituel", ibid., pp. 715-17.
76. For a re-examination of ʿAbbas II's reign in the light of Muhammad Beg's career, see R. Matthee, The career of Mohammad Beg, grand Vizier of Shah ʿAbbās II (r. 1642-1666), *Iranian Studies* 24/i-iv (1991), 17-36. See also H. Roemer, in CHIr, VI, pp. 288-304.
77. See *ʿAbbās-nāma*, pp. 80-1, 158, 198-9, 224-5, 259 ff., 282 ff., 302-3.
78. The date of Evliya Chelebi's observations is not easy to establish. He may have gone to Tabriz twice (in 1647 and 1655). He is also renowned for collecting information by hearsay.
79. In the absence of any substantial critical study on Sulaiman and Sultan Husain's reigns, a valuable account is given by H. Roemer in CHIr, VI, pp. 304-24.
80. He may however have had an opportunity to watch the Muharram ceremonies of town quarters performed and regulated by ʿAbbas II in the palace.
81. I had some doubts about the genuineness of Melton's account, see J. Calmard, Moharram ceremonies and diplomacy, in E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand (eds), *Qajar Iran* (Edinburgh 1983), 213-28 (p. 214 n. 9). This is in fact a mere plagiarism of Tavernier's relation.
82. This last passage is quoted from W. Floor, Fact or fiction. The most perlious Journeys of Jan Jansz. Struys, *Etudes Safavides*, pp. 57-68 (revised translation of Struys' relation), p. 67.
83. Thévenot [III, p. 385] gives some details about this celebration, also mentioned by du Mans [*De Persia*, p. 365], Chardin, Kæmpfer. On the hagiography of this *ziyārat*, see M. Ayoub, "Arbaʿīn", in EIr.
84. Till Qajar times, and even up to the 1960s (personal observation), it was a very sad three days mourning (19-21 Ramazan) commemorating the time from when ʿAli had been stabbed until his death. See Massé, *Croyances*, I, pp. 139-40.
85. Ibid., pp. 137 ff. (quoting della Valle, Olearius, Bedik, S. Hedayat and information collected orally at Tehran in 1933).
86. De Bruin, I, p. 303.
87. See Salman and van Goch, *Die Heutige Historie und Geographie, oder den gegenwärtige Staat von Königreich Persien* (Felsenburg and Altona 1739), pp. 248-53. On these observations, see P. Mamnoun, *Taʿziya. Schiʿitisch-Persisches Passionspiel* (Vienna 1967), pp. 23-6. P. Mamnoun's interpretations have been criticized by Chelkowski, *Taʿziyeh*, p. 258.

88. See Chelkowski, "Processional Performances", pp. 23-4.
89. See Calmard, "Rituels shiites", pp. 124 ff.
90. Ibid., p. 126; M. Köhbach, "Amasya", in EIr.
91. See Iskandar Beg, I, p. 214; tr. Savory, I, p. 319.
92. In a letter to ʿAbd al-Muʿmin Khan Uzbek, ʿAbbas I says that he is the slave of ʿAli whereas his opponent is the slave of ʿUmar, Muʿawiya and Abi Sufiyan "may all of them be cursed and burnt in hell!"; see Falsafī, IV, pp. 210-12.
93. See du Mans, *Estat de 1660*, p. 38 (he calls him "le bon père vaillant de la loy"); Chardin, IX, p. 94 (Baba sujael din Omar-couch).
94. On historical problems related to Abu Luʾluʾ, either a Mazdaean from Nihavand or a Christian called Fērōz/Firuz Nasrani, see Ch. Pellat, "Abu Loʾloʾa", in EIr.
95. See B.A. Donaldson, *The wild rue* (London 1938), p. 125.
96. Chardin was told that the whole train of an Uzbek envoy had been killed by a cursing mob under ʿAbbas I. Whenever some Uzbek embassy came, a horn had to be blown to warn the people to avoid cursing too loudly (Chardin, IX, pp. 38-9).
97. Du Mans, *Estat de 1660*, p. 62; *De Persia*, pp. 356-7.
98. Du Mans, *Estat de 1660*, pp. 37-8; *De Persia*, pp. 308-9.
99. Chardin, IX, pp. 34 ff., with further anecdotes on ʿUmar.
100. See J. Calmard, "Ebn-e Saʿd", in EIr.
101. Ibn Muljam's death continued to be celebrated with rejoicings on 27 Ramazan and it is connected with magic practice (Massé, *Croyances*, I, p. 40).
102. Chardin, IX, p. 63. Throughout the Turko-Persian area, the accursed and vilified Yazid represents the ideal scapegoat as the embodiment of evil. According to historical accounts, the caliph Yazid regretted Husain's murder and treated the surviving Ahl-i bait well, as reported by Thévenot (III, p. 382; did Thévenot read Tabari's chronicle?).
103. This fusion of both murderers of ʿAli and Husain may also have been applied to the two ʿUmars, the villain of Karbala and the caliph.
104. See Melville, "Itineraries", pp. 213 ff.
105. Chardin, IX, p. 57.
106. Ibid., p. 64.
107. Kæmpfer, p. 114.
108. Chardin, IX, p. 11.
109. Kæmpfer, p. 209.
110. Ibid., pp. 199 ff.
111. On Darvish Riza (d. 1040/1631), a petty Qizilbash functionary who claimed to be the awaited Mahdi, see K. Babayan, "Darvīš Reżā", in EIr. (Although he had been executed and his head exhibited on the Isfahan maidan, eight years later a man claimed to be the living Darvish Riza).
112. Chardin, III, pp. 172 ff.
113. Sanson, *Nouvelles*, pp. 47-8; *Voyage*, pp. 62-3.
114. Chardin, VII, pp. 368-70, with a precise description of the ʿAli Qapu and its sacred function. On traditional asylum, see J. Calmard, "Bast", in EIr.
115. Gemelli Careri, II, pp. 158, 174-5.
116. Chardin, VI, pp. 296 ff., clearly asserts that the mujtahids arrogated to themselves the right to receive confessions from repentant Muslims and administer the *"tchoubteriket, c'est-à-dire, la verge de correction"*.
117. See Morton, *"Chūb-i ṭarīq"*, pp. 243-4.
118. Du Mans; Chardin, IX, p. 14.
119. See Omidsalar, "Šotor-qorbānī", citing Maibudi and Jurjani.

120. See Ṣafā, *Adabiyyāt*, V/1, p. 89, quoting Khwānsārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt*.
121. As mentioned above, problems related to popular devotional Shiᶜi literature are further analysed in my forthcoming study.
122. Chardin, IX, p. 64.
123. Ibid., V, pp. 215 ff.
124. A. Newman, "Safawids iv. Religion, philosophy and science", EI², quoting K. Babayan, *The waning of the Qizilbash* (see also her paper in this volume). Although Majlisi's assertion is very far from the original Qizilbash position, which fully acknowledged Shah Ismaᶜil's mahdihood, we may note that secular rulers are rarely mentioned in Shiᶜi mujtahids' writings.
125. See A. Sipantā, *Tārīkhcha-yi auqāf-i Iṣfahān* (Isfahan 1346/1967), pp. 302-15. Revenues of various gardens and arable lands (*mazraᶜa*) were dedicated to this *vaqf*. The main expenses for rauza-khwanis seem to have been to provide food to the faithful at the time of ᶜAshura rituals. Much more was apparently spent on various mournings in the month of Ramazan (nights of 19, 21, 23, 27, 28). This document covers the years 1714 to 1719 and would deserve a particular study. [Although I saw the book in Tehran, it was not available to me. Photocopies of the relevant passage were sent to me by Professor Masashi Haneda, to whom I present my grateful thanks.]
126. On the Takya-yi Gulbandan at Isfahan, see Keyvani, pp. 193-4.
127. Struys, p. 283, see Floor, "Fact or Fiction", pp. 67-8.
128. See J. Calmard, "Le mécénat des représentations de *taᶜziye*. I. Les précurseurs de Nâseroddin Châh, *Le Monde iranien et l'Islam* 2 (1974), 73-126; II. Les débuts du règne de Nâseroddin Châh, ibid. 4, (1976-7), 133-62 (I, p. 97 n. 68).
129. See Calmard, *Culte*, p. 192; "ᶜAzādārī", EIr.
130. See L. Mirot, Le séjour du Père Bernard de Sainte-Thérèse en Perse (1640-1642), *Etudes carmélitaines, mystiques et missionnaires*, 18e année (1933), 213-31 (pp. 215 ff.)
131. Ibid., pp. 216, 230.
132. F. Richard, *Raphaël du Mans missionnaire en Perse au XVIIIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris 1995), I, p. 193 n. 146.
133. Mirot, p. 225 n. 4.
134. See C.E. Bosworth, "ᶜĀlī Qāpū", in EIr, quoting Honarfar.
135. See Calmard, "Mécénat", I, pp. 114-15; II, p. 140.

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Shah ᶜAbbas and the Pilgrimage to Mashhad

Charles Melville*

> Le Roi tesmoigne avoir beaucoup de devotion à cette mosquée la & autres fois il y est venu à pied depuis Ispahan, distante de plus de deux cens lieues de ceste ville (Antonio de Gouvea).[1]

In the early autumn of 1010/1601, Shah ᶜAbbas I left Isfahan to walk to Mashhad on a pilgrimage (*ziyārat*) to the shrine of Imam Riza, in fulfilment of a vow. The nature of this vow is not certain. The best known account of ᶜAbbas's march is given by Iskandar Beg Munshi, who says it took only 28 days, though he gives no dates. He mentions that the astrologer royal, Munajjim Yazdi, recorded the distance travelled each day, so that the total length of the journey could be computed, but he does not report the result. Yazdi, however, gives both the dates of the march and the distance travelled, totalling just over 199 farsakhs, and lists 36 places along the route. My main purpose in this paper, both literally and metaphorically, is to put Yazdi's account of this march on the map.[2]

In the course of investigating Iskandar Beg's claims, it began to seem likely that the printed edition of the *ᶜĀlam-ārā-yi ᶜAbbāsī* might not preserve the definitive version of his text. This proved indeed to be the case, when a different manuscript was found to give the figure of 41 days for the journey, and to supply a date for the Shah's arrival in Mashhad. Furthermore, yet another manuscript, purporting to be Iskandar Beg's work, provides such a different account of the pilgrimage as to reveal a totally separate composition. A secondary purpose of this paper is

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therefore to present the alternative versions of Iskandar Beg's account, which will be sufficient to emphasise the essential point, that a proper study of the complex manuscript tradition of the *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* is long overdue, if we are to take advantage of the fullest and most authoritative version of this work of fundamental importance in Safavid historiography.

While the focus of what follows is on the details of ʿAbbas's march to Mashhad in 1601, it is first necessary to put this into context, in an effort to understand his immediate motives and something of his longer-term purpose. Although this is the most eye-catching and famous pilgrimage Shah ʿAbbas made to Mashhad, it is by no means an isolated case. His devotion to the shrine of Imam Riza is a persistent and deliberate element in his public policy, arising from a complex interplay of personal, dynastic, economic and political considerations. Space does not permit a full discussion of these issues here, and I will concentrate on only one aspect of the question, namely: to what extent was ʿAbbas following earlier precedents, particularly those established by previous members of the dynasty? Finally, how far, in turn, was his own example emulated by his successors? From this it will be possible to discern how innovative were ʿAbbas's policies towards Mashhad, and how they signalised a period of transition in the ideological development of the Safavid regime.

Iskandar Beg says of ʿAbbas's walk to Mashhad that no other prince had achieved such a feat since the advent of Islam, though he recalls the case of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, who walked from Constantinople to Jerusalem to celebrate the recovery of various territories from the Persians. Iskandar Beg disparages Heraclius's achievement, however, because of the slow and pleasurable nature of the trip, and adds that it took him two months to cover a distance normally crossed in 20 days. This is rather ironic, in view of Iskandar Beg's inaccuracy over ʿAbbas's march.[3] In fact, Heraclius went from Nineveh to Kurdistan and thence back to Constantinople. When he did visit Jerusalem, in March 630, it was to return fragments of the True Cross taken by the Persians in 614. There is no evidence in Greek sources that he walked from Constantinople, though he might have entered Jerusalem on foot.[4]

The view that ʿAbbas's achievement was unprecedented is thus justifiable, though as Lockhart observed, it would have been equally appropriate to refer to the practice of the Sasanian kings of walking from Ctesiphon to Takht-i Sulaiman, in order to complete the formalities of

their coronation at that ancient sacred site.[5] In a different context again, there is the example of the 25 reported pilgrimages on foot made by Imam Hasan from Medina to Mecca.[6] While it is possible that these cases provided a conscious model for Shah ʿAbbas, they are not entirely analogous; they are more use in suggesting parallels for the combination of motives at work, namely personal piety, thanks for victories won, and the need for political legitimation.[7]

A more direct and contemporary precedent for ʿAbbas's behaviour is provided by the Mughal emperor, Akbar (reg. 1556-1605), who made numerous pilgrimages to the shrine of Muʿin al-Din Chisti at Ajmer between 969/1562 and 987/1579.[8] On at least one occasion he walked the whole distance, to honour a vow made before the birth of his son, the future Jahangir (see Figure 1),[9] but it was his general habit to travel the last stage on foot. Although these journeys were not as long as ʿAbbas's walk to Mashhad, they achieved a similar renown and had a similar purpose, and it is unlikely that ʿAbbas was unaware of them, or Iskandar Beg too, for that matter.[10]

As has frequently been observed, the interplay of religion and politics is particularly close in the Safavid period. This is due not least to the claims made by the Safavid Shahs to spiritual authority, by virtue of their inherited leadership of the sufi *ṭarīqa* of Shaikh Safi al-Din, reinforced by a fabricated descent from the seventh Imam, Musa al-Kazim. Roger Savory, among others, has discussed the use of religion in a supportive way by the state, and has drawn attention to the importance of the cult of the family shrine at Ardabil for Safavid ideology.[11] While visits to Ardabil ensured that links with the Safavid tariqa remained visible, patronage of Mashhad catered primarily for maintaining a close and public association with the Shiʿi Imams, and demonstrating their backing for Safavid rule.

Of these two centres, representing twin aspects of Safavid dynastic legitimacy, Ardabil is perhaps the more prominent before the reign of Shah ʿAbbas, though this may reflect no more than Ardabil's greater closeness to the capital cities of Tabriz and later Qazvin. The evidence of visits to Ardabil by ʿAbbas's predecessors is nevertheless patchy.[12]

The same is true of Mashhad, though most of them visited the city and performed their devotions in the shrine. Ismaʿil did so in 916/1510 before his march against the Uzbeks, against whom he invoked the Imam's aid.[13] He was also there in 919/1513, the summer before the Chaldiran campaign, and ordered building work to be carried out.[14] Shah Tahmasb, too, visited the shrine of Imam Riza on his first expedition against the Uzbeks, which was crowned by his victory at Jam shortly afterwards (934-5/1528).[15] He was there again on at least two other occasions, in 940/1533 and 944/1537, performing his devotions.[16]

Figure 1. Akbar approaching Ajmer on foot in 1570, in thanksgiving for the birth of his son Mirza Salim (Jahangir). By Basawan and Nand Gwaliari, from a late 16th-century *Akbar-nāma* in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Is. 2-1896 77/177), reproduced with permission.

Tahmasb's patronage of the shrine extended to covering the dome with panels of gold. Ismaʿil II did not have time to visit Mashhad during his brief reign, though he ordered Tahmasb's corpse to be transferred there from Qazvin, possibly following his father's wishes.[17] Muhammad Khudabanda visited the shrine briefly on his return from Khurasan, after securing the submission of ʿAli-quli Khan Shamlu in 991/1583.[18]

There are, therefore, precedents for ʿAbbas's patronage of Mashhad, although there is no explicit evidence that any previous Safavid monarch had gone there on foot (or to Ardabil). Mashhad was greatly affected by the political events of the period, most notably the protracted struggle with the Uzbeks, who frequently occupied the city in the early part of Tahmasb's reign. It is possible to view the latter's patronage of the shrine as largely due to his personal piety; at any rate, there is little evidence of a concerted policy to promote pilgrimage to Mashhad, once he had regained control of Khurasan, and Tahmasb does not seem to have visited the city in the last 40 years of his reign.

With Shah ʿAbbas, this situation alters quite dramatically. His apparently more frequent presence in Mashhad may only be due to the greatly superior wealth of documentation available for his reign. It might also simply illustrate his greater mobility compared with his predecessors. In a sense, his visits to both Ardabil and Mashhad are one of a kind with those of previous Shahs. When fighting the Ottomans in Azarbaijan, he routinely paid his respects to the shrine of Safi al-Din, seeking support and moral encouragement against the enemy and offering thanks for victories won (see Table 1).[19] The same applies to Khurasan, for the majority of ʿAbbas's visits to Mashhad occurred in the course of military expeditions to Herat, Marv-i Shahijan, Balkh and Qandahar (see Table 2).

However, there are also occasions when the Shah's visits had a more deliberate significance, and were not simply opportunistic, or due to his presence in the area on other business. ʿAbbas made various journeys to Mashhad with the sole purpose of visiting the shrine of Imam Riza. Two of these are particularly notable. In Zu'l-Hijja 1011/May 1603, he crossed the desert via Yazd and Turshiz, to seek the Imam's approval for the projected campaign in Azarbaijan, at the other end of the empire.[20] In Jumada II, 1016/September 1607, he went to offer thanks for the successful outcome of this long and arduous struggle against the Ottomans. He travelled along the pilgrim route through Sabzavar, providing changes of horses for those of his courtiers who wished to accompany him.[21] Both these visits occurred after the pilgrimage on foot in 1601, which marks a new stage in ʿAbbas's patronage of Mashhad.

It was during the course of the Azarbaijan campaign that the Persian sources also first mention that ʿAbbas visited Ardabil on foot: he walked

TABLE 1
SHAH ʿABBAS I's RECORDED VISITS TO ARDABIL

Rabiʿ II, 1000 (January 1592)	Seeks aid of ancestors. Qummī, p. 1089; Naṭanzī, p. 398; Yazdī, p. 114.
Jumada I, 1001 (February 1593)	Pilgrimage. Naṭanzī, p. 464; Yazdī, p. 118; Iskandar Beg, p. 460.
Shavval 1004 (May 1596)	Visit after hunting trip. Iskandar Beg, p. 518.
Muharram 1014 (May 1605)	Pilgrimage, also to Shaikh Shihab al-Din Ahari. Yazdī, p. 280; Iskandar Beg, p. 682.
Shaʿban 1014 (December 1605)	Enters on foot from Shamasbi; then to Kalkhuran. Yazdī, p. 301; Iskandar Beg, p. 708.
Rabiʿ II, 1016 (July 1607)	Pilgrimage to Safi al-Din, and to Ahari. Yazdī, p. 326; Iskandar Beg, p. 753.
Jumada II, 1018 (September 1609)	Pilgrimage to Safi al-Din, then Shaikh Zahid and Shihab al-Din Ahari. Yazdī, p. 368; Iskandar Beg, pp. 790-1.
Ramazan 1019 (November 1610)	Visits shrine for five days. Yazdī, p. 398; Iskandar Beg, p. 826.
Jumada II, 1020 (September 1611)	Donates porcelain collection. Also visits Kalkhuran. Yazdī, pp. 423-6; Iskandar Beg, p. 848.
Zuʾl-Qaʿda 1022 (December 1613)	Visits shrine. Iskandar Beg, p. 869; Kamāl b. Jalāl, f. 72ro.
1026 (1617)	Visits Ahari, then Safavid shaikhs. Iskandar Beg, p. 921; Kamāl b. Jalāl, f. 74vo.
1027 (August 1618)	Invokes aid of ancestors against Ottomans. Della Valle, pp. 375-6; Figueroa, p. 269; Iskandar Beg, p. 933; Kamāl b. Jalāl, f. 74vo.
end 1034 (1625)	Invokes aid of ancestors before expedition to Baghdad. Iskandar Beg, p. 1032; Kamāl b. Jalāl, f. 79ro; Junābadī, f. 383ro.

Sources: Full references are given in the notes at the end of this paper.

there from Shāmasbī in Shaʿban 1014/December 1605, an example that was later followed by his grandson, Shah Safi I (see below).[22]

Taking his reign as a whole, ʿAbbas visited both shrines approximately equally, in the course of his frequent campaigns in both Azarbaijan and Khurasan. Nevertheless, the sheer scale of his involvement with Mashhad, and the prominence it is given in the court chronicles, makes it clear how much importance he attached to the shrine.

The general context of the Shah's interest in Mashhad is discussed by Robert McChesney, in connection with the *vaqf* ʿAbbas enacted in

TABLE 2
SHAH ʿABBAS I's RECORDED VISITS TO MASHHAD

Shaʿban/Ramazan 995 (July/August 1587)	Moves west from Mashhad. Qummī, p. 860; Yazdī, f. 27ro.[a]
Zuʾl-Hijja 996 (October 1588)	On first expedition to Khurasan. Qummī, p. 884; Naṭanzī, p. 313; Yazdī, f. 33vo.
Zuʾl-Hijja 1006 (July 1598)	On Herat expedition. Entered on foot. Niẓām, ff. 68vo-69ro;[b] Naṭanzī, p. 587; Yazdī, p. 171; Iskandar Beg, pp. 567-8.
Safar 1007 (October 1598)	On return from Herat. Yazdī, p. 185; Iskandar Beg, p. 578.
Jumada I, 1008 (December 1599)	On way to Marv. Had fever on the way. Entered on foot. Devotions for 65 days. Yazdī, pp. 194-5; Iskandar Beg, p. 597.
Muharram 1009 (July 1600)	On return from Marv; entered on foot. Yazdī, p. 200.
Jumada I, 1010 (November 1601)	From Isfahan on foot. Start of Balkh campaign. Yazdī, pp. 206-8; Iskandar Beg, pp. 610-12; Junābadī, f. 311vo.
Rabiʿ I, 1011 (August 1602)	On return from Balkh. Devotions in shrine. Yazdī, p. 232.
Zuʾl-Hijja, 1011 (May 1603)	Pilgrimage from Isfahan via Turshiz. Yazdī, p. 238; Junābadī, ff. 315vo-317vo.
Jumada II, 1016 (September 1607)	Pilgrimage from Qazvin via Sabzavar. Yazdī, pp. 326-9; Iskandar Beg, pp. 754-5.
Shaʿban 1021 (September 1612)	Pilgrimage from Mazandaran. Building work in Mashhad and Qadamgah. Iskandar Beg, pp. 854-5; Kamāl b. Jalāl, f. 71ro.
1029 (1620)	Intends to go on pilgrimage, following ill-health, but turns back. Iskandar Beg, p. 954; Kamāl b. Jalāl, f. 76ro.
? Zuʾl-Qaʿda 1031 (October 1622)	On return from Qandahar. Devotions for several days and nights. Iskandar Beg, pp. 987-8; Kamāl b. Jalāl, f.76vo; Junābadī, f. 376vo. (Bellan, p. 257, says ʿAbbas visited Mashhad on his way to Qandahar).

Sources: Full references are found in the notes, except:
a. B.L. ms. Or. 6263.
b. Siyāqī Niẓām, *Futūḥāt-i Humāyūn*, Bibl. Nat. Paris, ms. Suppl. Persan 226.

1011/1602, on his return from Balkh.[23] The need to restore the ideological bases of Safavid legitimacy, following the disastrous reigns of Ismaʿil II and Muhammad Khudabanda, the particular desire to reestablish Safavid prestige in Mashhad following its conquest by the Uzbeks, and the alleged violation of Shah Tahmasb's grave, are the main

external factors influencing ᶜAbbas. The Shah had become a "master of the symbolic", and the need for a "public display of contrition" explains his extraordinary pilgrimage on foot in 1601.[24]

This may well be true, but it does not entirely explain the particular timing of that event. It is worth recalling briefly that this was not the first time ᶜAbbas had entered Mashhad on foot. He had first visited the shrine, as Shah, in Zu'l-Hijja 996/October 1588, on an expedition to Khurasan, shortly after which the city fell to the Uzbeks. Ten years later, in Zu'l-Hijja 1006/July 1598, the Uzbeks retreated on his approach, and ᶜAbbas entered Mashhad from the direction of Tus, dismounting and walking the moment the dome of the shrine came into sight. The *khuṭba* was read in the name of the Twelve Imams.[25]

He again entered the city on foot in the winter of 1008/1599 and summer of 1009/1600, either side of his successful expedition against Marv-i Shahijan. Thus even before his main pilgrimage on foot in 1010/1601, and since the recapture of the city from the Uzbeks, ᶜAbbas had already walked into Mashhad on three occasions, at least for the last part of the way.

The immediate context for the journey in 1601 was another military expedition, this time directed against Balkh. As on the previous occasions, ᶜAbbas could seek the support of the eighth Imam and invoke his aid on the forthcoming campaign.[26] What made this occasion different was that he chose to walk the whole distance.

As mentioned earlier, our sources do not explain the nature of the vow (*nazr*) that drove Shah ᶜAbbas to march all the way to Mashhad in 1601.[27] In examining ᶜAbbas's motives, we must be careful not to ignore or discount the probability that he was activated by a genuine religious fervour. This is not the place to discuss the personal spirituality of ᶜAbbas, for which a large body of information is dutifully preserved by the court chroniclers and European visitors to Persia. His devotion to Islam and to the Immaculate Imams seems genuine enough, and various miraculous dreams and experiences are recorded, though he was certainly by no means a bigot.[28] It is worth noting also that Iskandar Beg claims ᶜAbbas's main reason (*maqṣad-i aṣlī*) for wanting to reconquer Mashhad was to enable him to perform pilgrimages to the shrine.[29] Whether we accept that religion was the inspiration for political action, or take Iskandar Beg's statement as pure propaganda, it is certainly the case that ᶜAbbas spent an important period of his life in Mashhad before becoming Shah and the city doubtless had a particular place in his affections.[30]

It is thus possible that ᶜAbbas was not so much fulfilling a vow connected with favours already received, as making a votive offering with an eye to the future. This may reveal the particular importance he attached to the campaign against Balkh, together with a desire to

underline the status of Mashhad as the main focus of Shiᶜi devotions within Iranian territory. We will return briefly to this question after considering the details of his march to Mashhad in 1601.

THE PILGRIMAGE ON FOOT IN 1010/1601

The two main contemporary accounts of Shah ᶜAbbas's pilgrimage on foot could not be more different, though they complement each other. Iskandar Beg gives us what might be called an appreciation of the march, while Munajjim Yazdi provides a bald but factual statement of the route and the distances covered. Of the two, Iskandar Beg's version has been the more influential on later sources and – no doubt due to its earlier availability in a printed edition – on secondary works. Yazdi, however, accompanied the Shah and was responsible for recording the length of the journey; his account is a useful corrective to Iskandar Beg's rather imprecise treatment of the episode.[31]

According to Iskandar Beg, writing in or before 1025/1616, the Shah set off in the year of the Ox (began March 1601/Ramadan 1009) in fulfilment of a vow to walk from Isfahan to Mashhad. He left the Naqsh-i Jahan palace and spent the first night at Masjid-i Tuqchi,[32] just outside the city wall. He then proceeded to Daulatabad, three farsakhs away, and invited members of the court to accompany him – no-one else needed to feel obliged to walk the whole way, though in the event, two or three of them did so. Iskandar Beg gives no further details of the walk, other than to say that the Shah marched with only short rests and arrived 28 days later; he gives no dates, although he mentions that ᶜAbbas spent Rajab, Shaᶜban and Ramazan (1010)/26 December 1601 – 24 March 1602 in Mashhad, devoting himself to religious observances, thus giving a *terminus ante quem* for the journey.[33] The implication is that the walk took place during Jumada II/December.

This account is adequate, so far as it goes, but 28 days seems an extraordinarily rapid time for such a journey. ᶜAbbas took this long to *ride* the shorter distance (*ca* 1000 km) from Mashhad to Qazvin in 1009/1600 and 23 days to do the journey from Mashhad to Isfahan (though by a less direct route) in 1016/1607.[34] Even the Shah's express messengers took 11 days to ride from Isfahan to Mashhad,[35] and it is inconceivable that the Shah could do the same distance on foot in less than three times as long. In fact, as we shall see below, it is not certain that Iskandar Beg *does* provide this implausible figure, but for the moment we will keep to the printed edition of his text.

Iskandar Beg reports that two courtiers, namely Muhammad Zaman Sultan Bayandur Turkman "Kavuli" and Mihtar Salman the *rikābdār-bāshī*

(master of the wardrobe),[36] together with Mirza Hidayat-Allah the grandson of Najm-i Sani and three companions from Isfahan, took a rope (*ṭanāb*) of 12,000 *zira*ᶜ or a *sharᶜī* farsakh.[37] They measured the route under the supervision of the court astronomer Maulana Jalal Yazdi, to establish how far was travelled each day and the total distance between Isfahan and Mashhad.[38]

For their results, we must turn to Yazdi's own chronicle, written in (or going down to) 1020/1611. Yazdi also mentions that the Shah was fulfilling a vow. He says ᶜAbbas left on Thursday 15 Rabiᶜ I, 1010 (13 September 1601, NS), and gives a list of the distances between various places en route, see Table 3. The itinerary went through Natanz and Kashan, crossed the *kavīr* via Siyahkuh and joined the Khurasan road west of Deh Namak, then proceeded directly through Simnan, Damghan, Sabzavar and Nishapur to Mashhad (see Figures 2 and 3). The Shah arrived on Sunday 22 Jumada I/18 November: 66 days after his departure.[39]

Yazdi's figures for the distances involved are not entirely straightforward, for the subtotals at various stages do not agree with his own figures. As can be seen from Table 3, Yazdi divides the journey into four sections, to Kashan, Simnan, Sabzavar and Mashhad. The false total of the distance to Simnan is probably due to scribal error, for the subtotal at Sabzavar is again correct; but the last section is clearly defective. Nevertheless, the total distance to Mashhad is only 43 tanab out: 199 farsakhs, 81 tanab and 25 zira^{c} (actually 199 farsakhs, **38** and a half tanab). This is about 1190 kilometres (745 miles).

How accurate is this figure? It is difficult to reach a definite conclusion on the basis of modern maps, which suggest Yazdi's total is on the high side.[40] Short of retracing the route on the ground, which at present is unfortunately impractical, the best procedure is to compare Yazdi's figures with those of others who have taken the same route. However, the problem partly lies in identifying the exact course of his journey, particularly in the early stages. Indeed, despite the fact that the route between Kashan and Isfahan was frequently crossed by Shah ᶜAbbas throughout his reign, and also by numerous European travellers, there seems to be no satisfactory description of the journey and the distances involved.[41] The closest in time and in the route travelled is Pietro della Valle, who passed south of Natanz, but various alternatives are possible, and it is difficult to match Yazdi's figures and the places he mentions with those provided by della Valle and other travellers (see Table 4). Only Sardahan and Natanz, where ᶜAbbas camped under the great plane tree described by Figueroa,[42] can be regarded as fixed points in this itinerary. In view of its distance from both Isfahan and Sardahan, the Ribat of Qazi ᶜImad (not found in any other source or contemporary

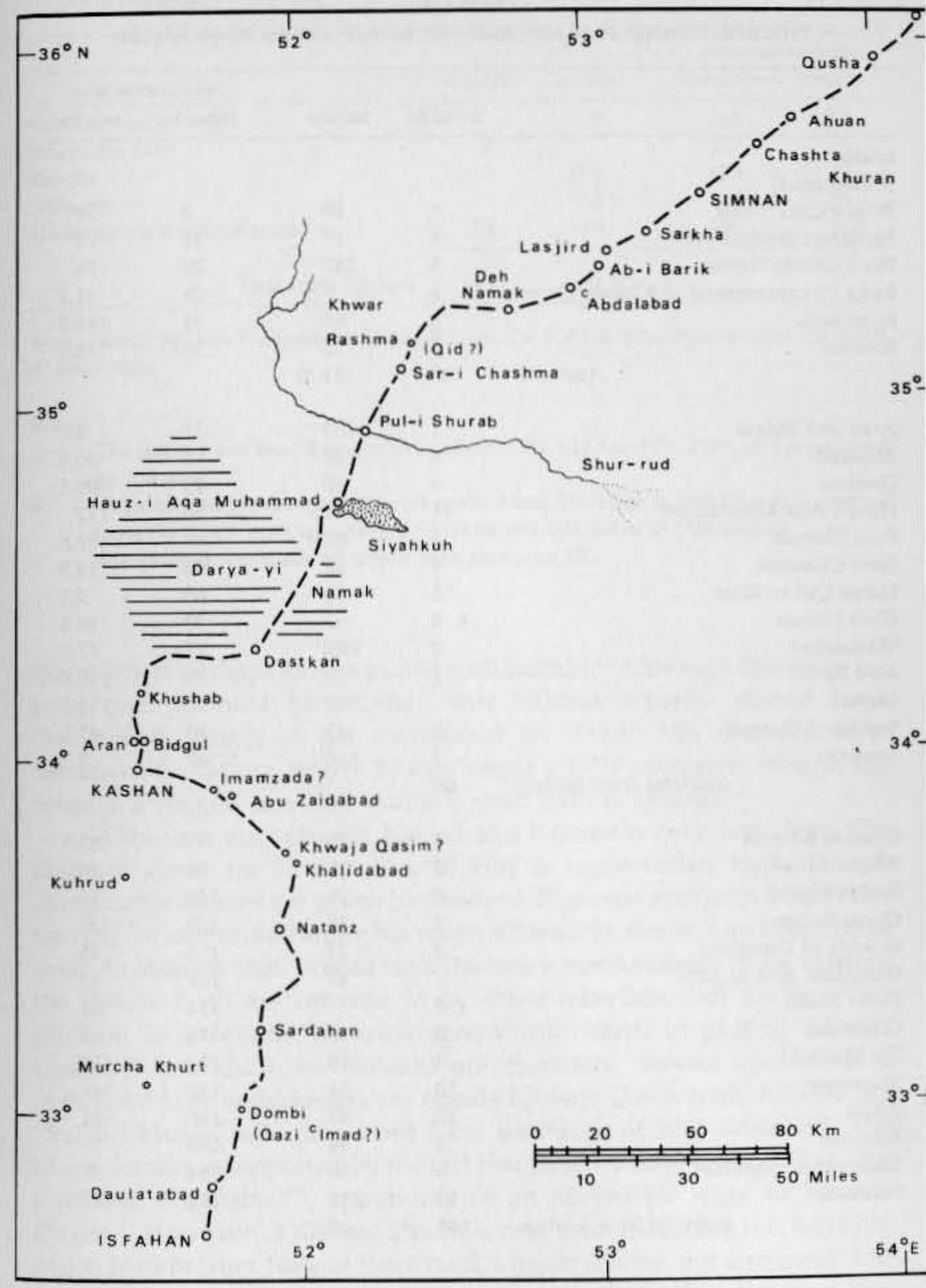

Figure 2. Shah ᶜAbbas's route from Isfahan to Qusha (see Tables 3 and 4). The smaller circles mark stages that have not been identified, as well as some others mentioned in the text.

TABLE 3
THE ROUTE AND STAGES TAKEN BY SHAH ʿABBAS IN 1010/1601

	farsakhs	tanabs	cumulative total farsakhs	cumulative total tanabs
Isfahan				
[Daulatabad]				
Ribat-i Qazi ʿImad	8	50	8	50
Sardahan caravansarai	6	27	14	77
Pay-i Chinar Natanz	5	147	20	74
Birka by caravansarai of Khwaja Qasim	6	7.5	26	81.5
Imamzada	5	65	31	146.5
Kashan	3	55[a]	35	51.5
(subtotal	**35**	**51.5)**		
Aran and Bidgul	1	103	37	4.5
Khushab	3	46	40	50.5
Dastkan	5	50	45	100.5
Hauz-i Aqa Muhammad	11	21.5	56	122
Pul-i Shurab	4	85.5	61	57.5
Sar-i Chashma	4	62	65	119.5
Qarya Qid in Khar	2	33	68	2.5
[Deh Namak	5	92	73	94.5
ʿAbdalabad	3	103][b]	77	47.5
Ab-i Barik	2	75	79	122.5
Lasjird		140	80	112.5
Sarkha-yi Simnan	2	85	83	47.5
Simnan	3	110	87	7.5
(subtotal from Isfahan	**80**	**7)**		
Chashta Khuran	4	75[c]	91	82.5
Ribat-i Ahuan	2	77.5	94	10
Ribat-i Qusha	6	75	100	85
Qaziq Sultan	3	35	103	120
to edge of Damghan	3	25	106	145
Damghan, gate to gate		47	107	42
Deh-i Mulla	7		114	42
Ghuriyan	2	20	116	62
Bis [Badash]	3	50	119	112
Mayamay	10	34	129	146
Alhak	10	85	140	81
Mazinan	9	94	150	25
Sadkharv-i Sabzavar	4	50	154	75
Sabzavar	10	115	165	40
(subtotal from Isfahan	**165**	**40)**		

TABLE 3 continued

	farsakhs	tanabs	cumulative total farsakhs	cumulative total tanabs
Sabzavar, gate to gate		29	165	69
Ribat-i Do Dar	7		172	69
Kalidar	2	110	175	29
Nishapur	9	10.5	184	39.5
Mashhad via Kutal Sakhdar	14	149	199	38.5
Total from Isfahan	**199**	**81.5**		

Source: Yazdī, pp. 206-7, supplemented by B.L. ms. Or. 6263, ff. 97ro-98ro and ms. Or. 3549, ff. 89vo-90ro.

Notes:

a. The printed text has 50 tanab; 55 is found in Or. 6263 and Or. 3549, and is required by the sum.

b. These two stages are omitted in the printed text. The stage to Deh Namak is omitted from Or. 3549; both mss have 3 farsakhs and 103 tanab to ʿAbdalabad.

c. The printed text reads 85 tanab; both mss read 75.

itinerary), is perhaps to be equated with Dombi.[43] Although this stage is a long one, it must be recalled that ʿAbbas actually started from Daulatabad, which is not mentioned by Yazdi. His distance from Sardahan to Natanz, nearly 36 km, seems a little excessive, though the route is a rugged one and ʿAbbas's exact path is unclear.[44]

ʿAbbas's route between Natanz and Kashan is even less clear. The distance given (*ca* 15 farsakhs/90 km) is again rather high, though comparable figures are given by Stodard, Figueroa and John Bell.[45] The two places mentioned along his route, Khwaja Qasim and an Imamzada, seem to indicate that ʿAbbas took the more northeasterly route skirting the desert. Both are referred to by other travellers, but their correct position is uncertain. Olearius agrees with Yazdi in putting Khwaja Qasim 6 farsakhs from Natanz; unfortunately, no-one else offers a distance.[46] One would expect to equate Khwaja Qasim with della Valle's "Salèh-i-Musà-Cadhum", about 3 km southeast of Abu Zaidabad. The identification is supported by the fact that most travellers stopped at Abu Zaidabad ("Buzabad"), apparently as an alternative stage to Khwaja Qasim.[47] However, if Khwaja Qasim is near Abu Zaidabad, it is not only much further from Natanz than Yazdi's figure allows, but also much too near Kashan, and does not leave room to accommodate the next two stages of the journey. If the Imamzada visited by ʿAbbas is the same as the one used by Figueroa (who says it was 4 farsakhs from Kashan), this also

TABLE 4a
THE ROUTE BETWEEN ISFAHAN AND KHWAR VIA SIYAHKUH

Yazdi (1601) farsakhs[a]		Della Valle (1618) farsakhs[b]		Stodard (1628) leagues[c]	
Isfahan		Isfahan		Isfahan	
		Buktabad	1	"Botoon"	2
[Daulatabad]		Rik	2	Rik	3
Qazi ʿImad	8				
Sardahan	6	Sardahan (Tajabad)	8	Sardahan	8[d]
Natanz	6			Natanz	7
		"Chaur"	5		
		Dehabad	4		
Khwaja Qasim	6	(Musa Qasim)			
		Buzabad	4	Abu Zaidabad	10
Imamzada	5				
Kashan	3	Kashan	5	Kashan	5
sub-total	34		29		35
Aran & Bidgul	2	Bidgul	1		
Khushab	3			[Ab-i Garm	10]
Dastkan	5	Dastkan	6		
		camp	6	[Safid-ab	7]
Aqa Muhammad	11	Siyahkuh	6	Siyahkuh	8
Pul-i Shurab	5				
Sar-i Chashma	4				
Qid	2	Rashma	8	Rashma	8
				"Gezz"	6
sub-total	32		27		
total	66				

Sources: Della Valle, pp. 136-59; Stodard, pp. 45-7, 66-7.

Notes:

a. Yazdi's figures have been rounded up or down, for convenience; the totals are a little low, cf. Table 3.

b. Della Valle says a farsakh was equivalent to 4 Italian miles (p. 137).

c. Stodard was travelling with Herbert, whose version of the route differs in several respects. Herbert's leagues are equivalent to 3 English miles (i.e. rather less than a farsakh).

d. The measurements from Isfahan to Sardahan are taken from Stodard's journey north, which then bypassed Natanz and Kashan; the distances from Sardahan to Kashan are taken from his return journey in the opposite direction.

TABLE 4b
SOME ALTERNATIVES FOR THE ROUTE ISFAHAN TO KASHAN[a]

Figueroa (1618)		Olearius (1637)		de la Maze (1698)		John Bell (1717)	
Isfahan		Isfahan		Isfahan		Isfahan	
Tuqchi	-					Tuqchi	-
Daulatabad	3					Daulatabad	2
		Reshman	3	Rik	3	Rik	2
Sarai	-	Dombi	5	Dombi	-		
Sarai	-	Sardahan	5	(Sardahan)		"Tutrin"	8
Tajabad	-	("Kaskabath")					
		Natanz	-	Natanz	14	Natanz	-[c]
				Khalidabad	-	Khalidabad	5
ʿAbbasabad	-			Buzabad	6	Buzabad	6
		Khwaja Qasim	6[b]				
Imamzada	-						
Kashan	4	Kashan	-	Kashan	-	Kashan	5

Sources: Figueroa, pp. 203-7; Olearius, II, pp. 2-4; de la Maze, pp. 103-6; Bell, pp. 91-5.

Notes:

a. All distances are given in "leagues" except Bell's, who used "agatz", reckoned to be 4 English miles (p. 58).

b. This figure is given on Olearius's way from Kashan to Isfahan earlier in the year (I, p. 478).

c. Natanz was 6 hours from "Tutrin".

suggests Khwaja Qasim cannot be near Abu Zaidabad, which is only about 30 km (5 farsakhs) from Kashan.[48] Scaling Yazdi's figures down evenly to fit the likely route on the best available maps,[49] one is left with stages that do not coincide with any appropriate locality (see Figure 2). In fact, Yazdi's Khwaja Qasim must be near Dehabad, and his Imamzada may be the shrine of Salih b. Musa al-Kazim, incorrectly positioned.

From Kashan, ʿAbbas's path across the desert is clear and Yazdi's measurements tally more closely with actual route, making the previous disparities all the more strange. Khushab is not found on modern maps, but might tally approximately with the spring at Chahar Taqi.[50] From there, Dastkan (Chah Dasgun) and Hauz-i Aqa Muhammad are still marked. North of Siyahkuh, the location of Pul-i Shurab must be where the track crosses the Shur-rud, though this is only about 18 km from Hauz-i Aqa Muhammad; the extra length recorded by Yazdi may be due to the undulations of the Siyahkuh foothills. Sar-i Chashma is evidently Chashma Būlāla, on the edge of the kavir, 25 km from the bridge.[51] I have

not been able to identify Qid, possibly to be equated with Herbert's Gezz, though from the distances given, it must have been located near Rashma.[52] From there, ᶜAbbas turned east to join the Khurasan highroad.

From Deh Namak to Mashhad, the route is a well-worn one and various other estimates for the distances are available, though not until the mid 18th century (see Figure 3).[53] Among others, two particularly valuable accounts may be noted; Houtum-Schindler did the journey in 1293/1876 and gives the distances between stages in English miles. A detailed map of his route from Simnan to Mashhad is available. Secondly, Afzal al-Mulk followed this route in 1320/1902, and his travelogue helps to identify the lesser-known localities mentioned by Yazdi, as well as giving distances in farsakhs.[54] Their itineraries are given on Table 5 for comparison with Yazdi's. It will be seen that both give similar distances for the route from Deh Namak to Mashhad, and others that I have checked agree with them.[55] Yazdi does not mention Shahrud, but ᶜAbbas must have passed through or just skirted the town, for the distance measured is similar to those of other travellers, who generally halted there. The only place I have been unable to identify on this part of ᶜAbbas's route is the Ribat-i Do Dar, which is probably to be equated with Zaᶜfaraniyya.[56] In the final stages of the journey, which are not detailed by Yazdi, it is not clear whether ᶜAbbas took the southerly route from Nishapur via Qadamgah, Sharifabad and Turuq, or cut across the corner of the Binalud Kuh via Jagharq. The only locality mentioned by Yazdi, Sakhtar, was immediately after Qadamgah on the southerly road,[57] but the distance he gives from Nishapur to Mashhad, almost 15 farsakhs, is (unusually) less than other estimates for this route, and agrees with Ferrier's estimate of the shorter but tougher northerly route.[58] In this case, Sakhtar should be equated with Sakhdar, 5 km *north* of Qadamgah, according to the Gazetteer.[59] On balance, it is likely that ᶜAbbas went the shorter route and thus approached Mashhad from the west.

Throughout the itinerary, Yazdi's distances are consistently a little greater than those of later (and probably less precise) travellers. But, with the possible exception of the section between Natanz and Kashan, his figures are of the right order of magnitude and reflect the real distance travelled. The measurements were no doubt carefully carried out on the ground, and if they seem to be systematically a little high, this is because they faithfully follow every twist and turn and undulation of the Shah's march, rather than measuring a straight line between two points.

As for his dates, these have all the appearance of being precise, and indeed his whole chronicle reveals a very punctilious and accurate attention to chronology. Nevertheless, they too are not without problems. In the first place, 66 days seems rather a long time for the walk, although it yields the perfectly reasonable result that (taking Yazdi's own

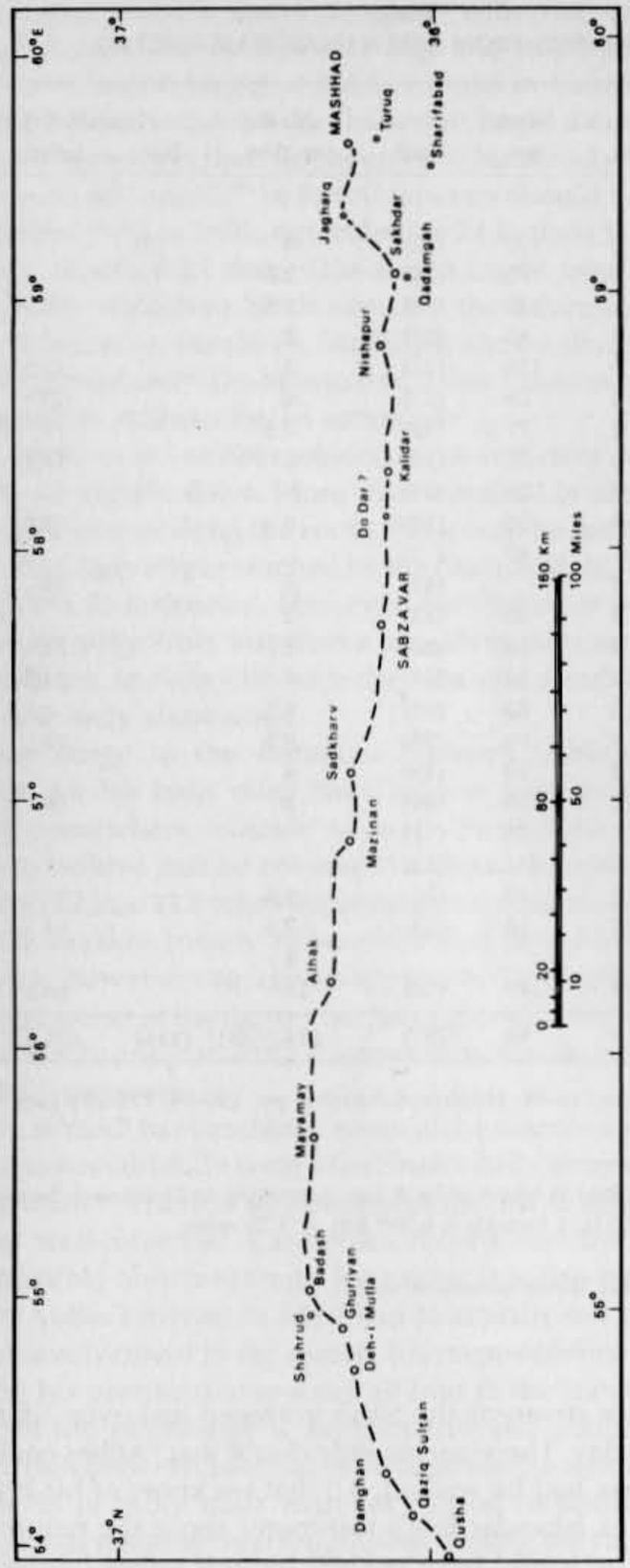

Figure 3. Shah ᶜAbbas's route from Qusha to Mashhad (see Tables 3 and 5).
The smaller circles mark stages that have not been identified, as well as some others mentioned in the text.

TABLE 5
ITINERARIES FROM DEH NAMAK TO MASHHAD

	Yazdi			Afzal	Houtum-Schindler		
	far.	tan.	(km)[a]	farsakhs	(far.)	miles	(km)
Deh Namak							
ᶜAbdalabad	3	103	(22)	4	(3)		
Ab-i Barik	2	75	(15)	2.5	(-)		
Lasjird		140	(6)	0.5	(1)	24.5	(39)
Sarkha	2	85	(15)	2		7	(11)
Simnan	3	110	(22)	3		12.5	(20)
Chashta Khuran	4	75	(27)	4		15.5	(25)
Ahuan	2	77.5	(15)	2.5		7	(11)
Qusha	6	75	(39)	6		11.5	(18)
Qaziq Sultan	3	35	(19)				
to Damghan	3	25	(19)	6		22.5	(36)
Damghan		47	(2)				
Deh-i Mulla	7		(42)	6		24	(38)
Ghuriyan	2	20	(13)	2			
Badasht	3	50	(20)	3[b]		22[b]	(35)
Mayamay	10	34	(61)	9		34.5	(55)
Alhak	10	85	(63)	9.5			
Mazinan	9	94	(58)	8.5		68	(109)
Sadkharv	4	50	(26)	4			
to Sabzavar	10	115	(64)	8		56	(90)
Sabzavar		29	(1)				
Ribat-i Do Dar	7		(42)				
Kalidar	2	110	(16)	8.5			
Nishapur	9	10.5	(54)	7.5		63	(101)
Sakhdar				4+			
Mashhad	14	149	(90)	13−[c]		66.5[c]	(106)
Total:	**125**	**94**	(751)	**113.5**(681)	**(116)**	434.5	(694)

Sources: Afżal al-Mulk, pp. 16-54; Houtum-Schindler, pp. 150-64, 179-201 (see n. 54).

Notes:
a. 1 farsakh (5.985 km) is taken to be 6 km. According to Houtum-Schindler's own calculations (p. 211), 1 farsakh is 6.095 km or 3.75 miles.
b. via Shahrud.
c. via Sharifabad and Turuq (southern route).

total for the distance covered) the Shah averaged just over 3 farsakhs/18 km (11 miles) a day. There seems little doubt that ᶜAbbas could have gone faster than this, had he wished. All that we know of his briskness and drive, as well as Iskandar Beg's testimony about the nature of the walk, suggest that he would have pushed himself rather harder.

Secondly, Yazdi's dates disagree with the only chronological information provided by Iskandar Beg, and imply that the Shah must have spent a month longer at his devotions in Mashhad than Iskandar Beg allows. Some support for Iskandar Beg's dating is provided by Yazdi's own statement that ᶜAbbas entered Mashhad while the sun was in Capricorn (*bi-ṭāliᶜ-i jadī*).[60] In fact, Capricorn should have begun around 20 December (NS) in 1601, equivalent to 24 Jumada II, 1010, i.e. a month later than Yazdi's hijri date. This might imply that ᶜAbbas took even longer on the walk than Yazdi says, but the information he goes on to record, concerning events in Mashhad, shows that his chronology is internally consistent.[61] The alternative is that Yazdi has mistaken the solar sign, a careless mistake for an astrologer.

On their own, neither objection is sufficient to undermine the reliability of Yazdi's dates. More problematical is the fact that he only mentions 36 places along the route.[62] It would be natural to assume that these are the daily stages reached by the Shah, and that Yazdi noted down the distances as instructed. However, the distances between the stages vary considerably, from less than a farsakh in one case, to nearly fifteen. This is difficult to reconcile with the idea of a steady and regular daily march, with only short rests.

Some range in the distances between ᶜAbbas's daily stages is inevitable, for his halts must have been at least partly determined by reaching somewhere suitable to stop. Nevertheless, it is extremely difficult to believe that he covered the distance between Badash(t) and Mazinan (182 km/113 miles according to Yazdi) in only three days, and the last 15 farsakhs (nearly 90 km/56 miles) from Nishapur to Mashhad in one day, however eagerly he approached his goal.[63] It is likely that some aggregating of the figures has taken place, particularly over the final stages of the journey, making it impossible now to reconstruct ᶜAbbas's actual daily progress.

Even if Yazdi has combined some of the marches and his figure of 36 stages does not faithfully record the Shah's daily itinerary, it cannot be far from the truth.[64] There is some support for this in other sources, for the normally well-informed Carmelites record that the journey took 40 days,[65] possibly only meaning a long time. It is also possible that Yazdi's date for ᶜAbbas's arrival in Mashhad is actually too late. However, his personal involvement in the march, his responsibility for measuring the route and his precision over dates all lead to the conclusion that Yazdi's account of the pilgrimage is authoritative and accurate. The apparent contradiction between his total of 66 days for the whole journey and the figure of 36 or more daily marches can be reconciled easily enough: clearly ᶜAbbas made several lengthy halts along the route, accounting for more than one-third of the time taken overall.

There are some indications that the march was indeed not uninterrupted. Unlike Iskandar Beg, Yazdi mentions a few incidents that happened during the walk. On 20 Rabiᶜ I/18 September, five days after his departure, the Shah's aunt Zainab Begum became seriously ill. The news probably caught up with ᶜAbbas a couple of days later, once he had reached Kashan, and he returned from there to Isfahan in the course of a single night.[66] There seems little doubt that the Shah could have ridden this distance in about 12 hours, given the evidence of several similar exploits.[67] His return can hardly have been so rapid, but evidently several days should be deducted from the total time spent on the walk, to accommodate the Shah's round trip to the capital.[68]

The progress of the pilgrimage was further interrupted at Kashan (presumably after ᶜAbbas's return) by the arrival of a Russian ambassador and by a delegation from the Christians of Lar, complaining about their ruler, Ibrahim Khan.

Finally leaving Kashan, ᶜAbbas was accompanied by two Nuqtavi dervishes, Kamal Iqlidi and Darvish Turab, who inevitably betrayed their heresy (*ilḥād*) en route, with the result that they and their followers were shot in the caravansarai at Qusha.[69] Otherwise, events elsewhere (in Fars, Lar and Bahrain), about which he was doubtless kept informed, do not seem to have impinged on the Shah's journey, which is recorded without further incident after Kashan, though while he was at Sabzavar, the missing son of ᶜAbd al-Mu'min Khan's wife was presented to him.[70]

Yazdi confirms Shah ᶜAbbas's pious behaviour in Mashhad, where he spent the winter, and gives information on some of his building projects in the shrine.[71] He left in the spring for Herat and Balkh.

From the point of view of the propaganda to be made out of his pilgrimage, the hypothesis that ᶜAbbas spent relatively long periods not pursuing his walk appears to detract from its impact. Otherwise, it is entirely reasonable, and consistent with ᶜAbbas's behaviour on his other journeys, which seldom fulfilled only one purpose; nor is there any suggestion that he was trying to set a record. Nevertheless, it flatly contradicts the account of the march given by Iskandar Beg. Indeed, it would have laid ᶜAbbas open to precisely the same charge of dawdling that Iskandar Beg gratuitously brought against Heraclius. However, his account is already compromised by its implausible chronology and eulogistic tone.

But is Iskandar Beg to be dismissed so easily? Unfortunately, another version of his text contains a couple of significant variations from the printed edition of the *ᶜĀlam-ārā-yi ᶜAbbāsī*. One of these supports our previous arguments, and one does not.

The *Khuld-i barīn*, not a contemporary source, says that ᶜAbbas covered the journey, which normally took two months, in 41 days.[72] This has an air of precision about it, and is essentially in agreement with the view advanced above: Yazdi implies a similar figure for the number of days actually spent on the march. On the other hand, the same source says that the Shah arrived in Mashhad on 14 Jumada II/10 December 1601,[73] which basically confirms Iskandar Beg's account, and echoes Yazdi's statement that the Shah arrived in Capricorn (see above). The same date is mentioned by Falsafi, who does not name his source but whose account of the pilgrimage is very confused.[74]

Since the text of the *Khuld-i barīn* otherwise follows Iskandar Beg very closely, these variations raised the possibility that some manuscripts of the *Tārīkh-i ᶜālam-ārā-yi ᶜAbbāsī* contain the same information, and this indeed has proved to be the case. One apparently early, but undated, copy gives 41 days instead of 28, and says ᶜAbbas entered Mashhad on 14 Jumada II.[75] Other departures from the printed text are few and trivial, though the pilgrimage is put in Ud-yil, corresponding to A.H. 1010 (*sic*), and the chronogrammatic poem quoted to mark the event is different, a point we will return to later.[76]

The reasons for such variations, which might denote different recensions of the text, are not at the moment clear. They seem to be preferable, at least in so far as they provide a more realistic figure for the duration of the march. Iskandar Beg's and Yazdi's accounts thus complement each other to a large extent. There remains the difficulty of reconciling them on the question of dating, though on balance there seems no good reason for preferring Iskandar Beg's chronology to Yazdi's.

A THIRD ACCOUNT

There our discussion would remain, were it not for the recent discovery of a totally different account of the march, in a manuscript identified as Iskandar Beg's *ᶜĀlam-ārā-yi ᶜAbbāsī*, but actually bearing very little resemblance to that work.[77]

By chance, the annal for A.H. 1010 contains not only a description of ᶜAbbas's pilgrimage, but also some information about Iskandar Beg, indicating that it was from this date that he was commissioned to work on a history of the events of ᶜAbbas's reign. It also emerges that Iskandar Beg

was the paternal uncle of the author of the manuscript in question. The only nephew I have so far identified is a certain Mirza Muhammad Salih Munshi, who was briefly vizier of Lahijan in the Biya-pish district of Gilan from 1047/1637, and later served under Saru Taqi; as yet I have found no reference to the fact that he wrote a history book, although a few lines of his poetry are recorded.[78] For the moment, this must be taken as only a preliminary identification of the author and his work, which was evidently started while Iskandar Beg was still alive, but must have been completed shortly after his death.[79]

The start of this account of the pilgrimage on foot is not dissimilar from Iskandar Beg's, although no mention is made of a vow. The role of Muhammad Zaman Sultan, Mihtar Salman and Mirza Hidayat in accompanying the Shah with the tanab is mentioned,[80] but Munajjim Yazdi is not. ᶜAli-quli Khan Shamlu and the *nāẓir*, Maqsud Beg, were appointed to come along behind with the necessary equipment for the royal workshops (*kār-khānajāt*). At Tuqchi, it was decided to send Hatim Beg Urdubadi, the *iᶜtimād al-daula*, to Qazvin with the *daftarkhāna* and the scribes (*kuttāb*) to deal with affairs in the Shah's absence. ᶜAbbas was accompanied to Daulatabad, which the author says was *two* farsakhs away, by Aqa-yi Kamal Daulatabadi and his brother, Aqa Mirza, the *mustaufī al-mamālik*. Kamal waited on the Shah that night, and presented him with suitable gifts.[81]

ᶜAbbas left Daulatabad the following morning before sunrise, and travelled two or three farsakhs every day, before resting.[82] He was met at Natanz by Mir Abu'l-Maᶜali, *mushrif* of the royal stable, and entered Kashan in the company of Aqa-yi Khizr (vizier of Kashan), Muhammad Beg (the *dārūgha*) and Mirza ᶜAli Khan (the *kalāntar*).

Shah ᶜAbbas spent five days in Kashan, as was implicit in Yazdi's account, although there is no reference to the sudden return to Isfahan. However, he is further corroborated by evidence that Zainab Begum, ᶜAbbas's aunt, did accompany the pilgrimage once she had recovered.[83] According to our text, ᶜAbbas left Kashan on the route to Khwar and Simnan via Siyahkuh. After Dastkan, where water could be found, it was two farsakhs before the beginning of the salt desert, which then extended a further eight farsakhs. The horrors of this salt waste are graphically described, and were such that ᶜAbbas gave orders for Mirza Muhammad, the vizier of Isfahan, to prepare an estimate of the cost of building a stone causeway, broad enough for two travellers to pass in comfort, for the whole eight farsakhs. Detailed specifications for the causeway were given; culverts were to be built every half farsakh, to avoid erosion of the road by standing water and brine ponding along the edges. It was also determined to build two *ribāṭs* for caravans, and a small sarai in between, for travellers to spend the night.

Zainab Begum, who was performing the ziyarat, begged to be allowed to complete the ribat at the Iraqi (southwestern) end of the causeway, while the highway and the other constructions would be the responsibility of the vizier of Isfahan. This was agreed, and Aqa-yi Khizr and Muhammad Beg (respectively vizier and darugha of Kashan) were empowered to use her income from the *jizya* of the Zoroastrians of Yazd for this purpose. This had been granted to Mahd-i ᶜUlya in the time of Shah Tahmasb, and was regarded as lawful income for this purpose. A water tank and pond were to be created, so that there should be sufficient water for the Shah, the ordu and the army on his return, by which time all these works were to be finished. The work went according to plan and was completed by the Lala, Muhibb ᶜAli Beg, at a cost of 22,000 tumans from the estates of the royal *khāṣṣa* and 3000 tumans from the estates of Zainab Begum.[84]

These extremely interesting details appear to relate to the construction of the Hauz of Aqa Muhammad (presumably named after the vizier of Isfahan). Our text states that the causeway and amenities for travellers were completed by the time ᶜAbbas returned from the Balkh campaign, i.e. in Jumada I, 1011/late October 1602. This seems to be confirmed by Yazdi, who mentions that ᶜAbbas took the Siyahkuh route, and stayed at the "Shahi" caravansarai there.[85]

The construction of the causeway is also referred to by Iskandar Beg, but not dated, although he mentions the roadworks in Mazandaran in 1021/1612,[86] and Kamal b. Jalal puts the construction of the Siyahkuh road the same year.[87] However, Pietro della Valle, who passed this way in January 1618, gives no indication that the route over the Darya-yi Namak between Kashan and Siyahkuh was paved. On the contrary, he says that "pillars of black stones" guided the traveller over this treacherous ground, and refers to an island of dry earth placed in the marsh to provide a camping ground during ᶜAbbas's pilgrimage on foot to Mashhad.[88] This, incidentally, indicates that ᶜAbbas did not travel the whole distance between Dastkan and Siyahkuh in one march, as implied by Yazdi, who has omitted this camping ground from his itinerary, presumably because it had no name. Yazdi here has evidently reported two days' march as one, which supports our previous suggestion to this effect in the case of other suspiciously long stages. It was only *after* Siyahkuh that della Valle encountered the stone causeway, which was still under construction ("non e ancora finita") over the marshes, for a distance of five farsakhs or more.[89] By the time Sir Dodmore Cotton's embassy passed this way, in May 1628, the approaches to Siyahkuh from the south (though from Safid-ab rather than Dastkan) were paved, as was the route north from Siyahkuh towards "Gezz".[90]

In other words, our text may be unreliable in one of different ways. First, although apparently describing the construction of a causeway

between Dastkan and Siyahkuh, it must in fact refer to the route north of Siyahkuh. Secondly, in stating that the causeway was completed in one year, the text seems to be anticipating events. The works, although reported in this year, must have taken several to complete. Alternatively, thirdly, writing some time afterwards, Mirza Salih may simply be incorrect in dating the construction of the causeway this year. However, it is certainly plausible that ᶜAbbas's own experience of this route encouraged him to improve it. He had already passed this way once before, in 1006/1598, at the beginning of the Herat campaign, though not of course on foot.[91] The detail provided by our text is, however, generally convincing, and if a causeway was indeed started this year across the salt desert north of Dastkan, it may quickly have fallen into disrepair. Herbert remarks that the Shah had erected a castle every three miles to provide shelter from the wind and shifting sands, but these were destroyed every March and September because of their unstable foundations.[92] A similar fate may have befallen the earliest attempts at a causeway.

These doubts extend to identifying the caravansarai of Zainab Begum. If it was at the Iraqi end of the causeway south of Siyahkuh, it must have been either Dastkan itself, or nearby Marinjab. If, as seems more likely, it was at the end of the causeway north of Siyahkuh, it must have been at Siyahkuh itself. Pietro della Valle probably refers to this caravansarai as about to be abandoned, in January 1618, because of its poor water supply. A new one was then under construction, a little further on.[93]

Returning to the pilgrimage on foot, our text gives few further details, although it confirms the route taken, reporting that Mir Sayyid ᶜAli joined the Shah in Simnan. The *ḥākim*s of Sabzavar (Yusuf Khan Rumlu) and Nishapur (Muhammad Sultan Bayat) greeted ᶜAbbas en route – as did the governor of Astarabad, though this does not signify that the Shah passed that way. ᶜAbbas finally arrived at Mashhad two months after leaving Isfahan, and was welcomed by Budaq Khan Chegani and the leading sayyids.[94]

In short, this account, which contains many additional details, particularly about other people involved in ᶜAbbas's march to Mashhad, increases our scepticism about Iskandar Beg's version of events, and lends support to that of Munajjim Yazdi. The "two months" of travel is close to Yazdi's 66 days. The statement that ᶜAbbas walked two or three farsakhs a day also agrees with Yazdi (199 farsakhs at 3 farsakhs per day = 66 days), but this must be taken as an average figure for the whole journey, as it is

certain that ᶜAbbas was not walking every day. The Shah's actual daily progress will probably never be known, however, for Yazdi evidently records his route rather his itinerary, though most of the stages mentioned are of the right length to equate with a daily march.

It is worth noting, for comparison, that Akbar the Great walked similar daily distances during his pilgrimage to Ajmer in Shaᶜban 977/ January 1570. He covered the distance from Agra (*ca* 230 miles/365 km) in 16 days, averaging 14 miles/23 km per day.[95] Apart from this occasion, Akbar normally covered only the last stage on foot, a distance between 5 and 7 kus or around 2 farsakhs.[96]

Mirza Salih's text unfortunately mentions no dates for ᶜAbbas's arrival in Mashhad, but there is nothing in his account to alter our previous faith in Yazdi's chronology.

MASHHAD VERSUS MECCA?

Munajjim Yazdi quotes various verses written to mark the occasion of ᶜAbbas's pilgrimage on foot, including a chronogram by Mirza Hasan ᶜAli Nasrabadi, which yields the date A.H. 1010.[97] Iskandar Beg has a different poem, of his own composition, which gives the date 1009. Interestingly, in the British Library ms. Add. 16,684, Iskandar Beg's poem is replaced by Nasrabadi's.[98] In the Christ's ms., only the line giving the date is quoted, with some variations in the first hemistich.[99] The date is derived from the words *piyāda kardam haftād ḥaj[j-i] akbar* ('I performed 70 greater pilgrimages on foot'), and the value of the ziyarat to Imam Riza is also mentioned by Iskandar Beg in a separate line of verse, referring to a prophetic *ḥadīth* to the same effect.[100]

This tradition was certainly current at the outset of the Safavid period,[101] if not earlier, and its reaffirmation by ᶜAbbas would seem to support the frequently expressed view that he carried out a deliberate policy of patronising pilgrimage centres at Mashhad and Qum as an alternative either to the Meccan *ḥajj*, or to the Shiᶜi shrines in Iraq.[102] This question merits a fuller discussion than can be attempted here, but one or two brief observations are in order.

Apart from any considerations of personal sentiment, domestic policy or dynastic ideology, such as were touched on earlier, it is clear that external factors might also have influenced ᶜAbbas's patronage of Mashhad; particularly, Safavid-Ottoman rivalry and its effect on the accessibility of the Hejaz and the Iraqi *ᶜatabāt*.

The difficulties facing Iranian pilgrims who wished to perform the hajj were certainly considerable, and the situation remained extremely unfavourable at the outset of ᶜAbbas's reign, thanks to the prolonged war

that had preceded it, and which had only been concluded by the humiliating treaty of 1590. ᶜAbbas resumed the war in 1603, and the territories ceded in 1590 were finally returned to Iran by the treaty ratified in 1619.[103] Even if this state of semi-permanent warfare did not prevent individuals making the pilgrimage from Iran, there can have been no state-sponsored pilgrim caravans and little scope for Safavid patronage of the Holy Cities. The situation was broadly similar with regard to the ᶜatabat in Iraq.[104]

Although, according to Iskandar Beg, a visit by the Shah to the tombs of the Imams would be construed as a violation of the peace (of 1619), ᶜAbbas was quick to seize his chance when the opportunity came to intervene in Iraq. Once he had captured Baghdad in 1033/1624, he performed a ziyarat to Najaf, travelling on foot for the last day of the journey. After spending ten days there, he proceeded to Karbala, Kazimain and Samarra before finally leaving for Iran.[105] Two years later he again visited Kazimain after repulsing an Ottoman counter-attack against Baghdad. At one stage in the negotiations during the Ottoman siege, ᶜAbbas pointed out the Ottoman claim to guardianship of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, and how it was appropriate that the tombs of the Safavids' ancestors in Iraq should remain in Persian hands.[106]

Further enrichment and extension of the ᶜatabat occurred following ᶜAbbas's recapture of Baghdad, and the area was visited by Shah Safi in 1040/1631.[107] Two years later, Najaf was restored under the supervision of the vizier, Mirza Saru Taqi, and water brought to the city.[108] However, scope for such patronage remained restricted, for the ᶜatabat stayed in Safavid hands only until 1048/1638. Safavid occupation of Baghdad intensified Ottoman anti-Iranian sentiments, and Murad IV (1623-40) issued an order expelling all Persians from Mecca and forbidding future pilgrimages, although the Sharif Zaid seems to have turned a blind eye to these instructions.[109]

Later reports of the violent objections of the ᶜulama in the Hejaz when ᶜAbbas encouraged the Persian Shiᶜis to make Mashhad their main place of pilgrimage,[110] if true, suggest that the Ottoman position was not entirely consistent. While disapproving of the Persian cake in principle, they still wanted to eat it. Though the difficulties encountered by would-be pilgrims into Ottoman territory were doubtless important in suggesting the need for alternatives, there were also plausible economic arguments in favour of an indigenous centre.

Tavernier mentions that ᶜAbbas patronised Mashhad as a way of curbing the export of gold from Iran that occurred with the annual Meccan pilgrimage.[111] Given ᶜAbbas's commercial and financial astuteness, it is highly unlikely that he was unaware of the gains to be made from the pilgrim traffic. The economic advantages of developing Mashhad and

thereby helping to revive Khurasan, following its decline during the Uzbek wars, to the prosperity it had enjoyed under the Timurids, were not lost on ᶜAbbas. Indeed his appreciation of this fact is clear not only from his vaqf endowments there in later years, but also from his attention to the construction of caravansarais along the pilgrim route to Khurasan.[112] Such public works benefited the merchants as well as pilgrims attracted to the city by his policies. The same interest was shown by his successors.[113]

The development of Mashhad catered not only for Iran's spiritual and economic needs, but could also serve her neighbours to the East. The difficulties faced by Sunni pilgrims to Mecca from Central Asia, beyond those of distance and expense, may have been exaggerated, for it is not at all clear that Iran was a barrier to the performance of the hajj.[114] Whatever the case, Mashhad had not ceased to be an important regional shrine for Sunnis and Shiᶜis alike, as is shown by the pilgrimage of Muhammad Khan Shibani in 915/1509, and those of the Timurid Shahrukh earlier.[115] Besides hoping to provide a possible alternative to the Ottomans' monopoly of religious prestige to the west, ᶜAbbas might also have regarded the ᶜAlid shrine at Balkh, actively being promoted by the Tuqay-Timurid Vali Muhammad, as a rival concern, and been anxious to highlight the importance of Mashhad. Indeed, it may not be entirely coincidental that ᶜAbbas's pilgrimage on foot was a preamble to his attempt to capture Balkh, nor that his endowments for the shrine of Imam Riza followed his failure to do so.[116]

In view of all this, it is perhaps strange that ᶜAbbas did not elect to be buried in Mashhad. Instead, he was buried in the shrine of Habib b. Musa (an alleged ancestor) in Kashan, a place with which he does not seem to have been particularly associated during his lifetime, though various building works are attributed to him there as elsewhere, notably a splendid caravansarai.[117]

Whether or not ᶜAbbas deliberately promoted Mashhad as an alternative to Mecca, the assertion that the same is true of Qum is very difficult to sustain. Although ᶜAbbas passed through the town on numerous occasions, particularly in the first half of his reign, there is no mention in the chronicles that any of these visits constituted a ziyarat. In as much as the court historians are vehicles for official ideology, the absence of references to the patronage of Qum by ᶜAbbas constitutes powerful negative evidence. Although both Shah Ismaᶜil I and Tahmasb patronised the shrine of Fatima, its development is more closely associated with ᶜAbbas's successors, all four of whom were buried there.[118] It is also under the last four Safavids that the evidence of policies imputed to ᶜAbbas I becomes more visible, and we may appropriately conclude with a brief consideration of to what extent ᶜAbbas's example in promoting the Mashhad pilgrimage was followed by his successors.

THE LATER SAFAVIDS

There is far more information about the movements of Shah ᶜAbbas than exists for his successors. The difference is not purely a function of the documentation available, although the historiography of the later period is substantially less detailed. On the one hand, ᶜAbbas was far more mobile than the rest of the dynasty, and on the other, we have to suppose that the chroniclers were consistent in reporting what was thought to be significant. Some evidence of the Shahs' continuing interest, if not presence, in Mashhad is however provided by the architectural record of their building works.

Although their movements are less frequent, there are signs that ᶜAbbas's successors were at least aware of his example. Shah Safi (1629-42) walked two farsakhs from Shamasbi to the shrine at Ardabil in 1043/September 1633, and then visited the tomb of Shaikh Jibra'il at Kalkhuran.[119] Safi made two further ziyarats to Ardabil, in A.H. 1045 (entering on foot) and 1046, before leaving for Isfahan.[120]

I have found no accounts of any pilgrimage by Shah Safi to Mashhad, nor of building work there in his reign, but his son ᶜAbbas II (1642-66) was more active in both regards. At the beginning of his expedition to Qandahar, in Shaᶜban 1058/August 1648, he walked into Mashhad from Turuq, where the dome of the shrine first became visible, having previously visited Qadamgah (where the footprint of Imam Riza is preserved).[121] The following year, on his return from the Qandahar campaign, he again entered Mashhad on foot from Turuq, about six miles to the south. ᶜAbbas II further imitated his great-grandfather by sponsoring building work both at Qadamgah and in Mashhad.[122]

Further construction work was undertaken by Shah Sulaiman (1666-94), who does not seem to have visited Khurasan in person. The work carried out in his reign mainly consisted of repairs to the damage caused by a severe earthquake that affected Mashhad and Nishapur on 15 Rabiᶜ II, 1084/30 July 1673. Further reconstruction of the shrine at Qadamgah was also done at this period.[123]

News of the earthquake took 12 days to reach Isfahan by express courier – which again puts into perspective Iskandar Beg's figure of 28 days for ᶜAbbas's walk. A few days later, a delegation arrived from Basra, seeking the cancellation of a prohibition the Shah had issued against anyone going to Mecca by way of Basra.[124] Chardin later mentions that he had observed four such embassies in the 12 years that he had resided in Persia (i.e. 1665-77, with some intervals), and was aware of another 12 during the previous century.[125] While this provides clear evidence of official discouragement of the Meccan hajj, particularly during the reign of Shah Sulaiman, the reason is the harrassment of the pilgrims by the

bedouin of northern Arabia, rather than any ideological preference for Mashhad (or Qum). Chardin's evidence also reveals that numbers travelling on pilgrimage via Basra, when the route was open, could reach 10,000 annually. This not only explains why the Pasha of Basra and the *amīr al-ḥajj* were anxious to keep the route open, but indicates that the Meccan pilgrimage was far from lapsed at this period, thanks no doubt to the absence of significant hostilities between the Ottomans and the Safavids after 1639.

The situation is broadly similar under Shah Sultan Husain (1694-1722). According to Krusinski, "the pilgrimage to Mecca was still in great disesteem",[126] although this is not the impression given by Khatunabadi, who describes a great hajj in 1115/1704, in which around 10,000 pilgrims took part, including many notables. Some went by sea, many others via the ᶜatabat, including one who, unprecedentedly, received a visit from the Pasha of Baghdad.[127] Another pilgrimage on a similar scale took place in 1709, accompanied by officials appointed by the Shah. The rising price of gold at the approach of the hajj season in most of the later years of the reign is eloquent of the continuing popularity of the Meccan pilgrimage.[128]

On the other hand, Shah Sultan Husain did make a pilgrimage to Mashhad, prefixed by a lengthy ziyarat to the family shrine at Qum. The Shah left Isfahan on 23 September 1706 and camped three leagues away. It was a slow-moving, lavish and wasteful affair, accompanied by the whole harem and 60,000 men; the camp is said to have been two leagues across. As the Shah was sick, he wintered in Tehran, before proceeding to Mashhad. He eventually left for Isfahan on 1 Rajab 1120/16 September 1708.[129] It is hard to imagine a more striking contrast with the hectic and economical movements of his great predecessor.[130]

The patronage of Mashhad was thus maintained by ᶜAbbas's successors, though in terms of personal visits, to a significantly lesser degree. Perhaps the sense of it being an alternative to Mecca was more fully developed by the end of the 17th century,[131] and certainly the problems faced by Iranian pilgrims to the Hejaz were by no means over.[132] The hostility of the Meccan ᶜulama explains the ease with which Mir Vais the Afghan was able to get a *fatvā* condoning his designs against Persia, while Nadir Shah's persistent efforts to remove the source of the conflict over the hajj indicate the scale of the problem from the Iranian perspective.[133]

On the other hand, it is clear that Meccan pilgrimage continued to be popular, and it would be difficult to maintain that ziyarat to Mashhad really did, or was intended to, remove the allure of the Meccan pilgrimage. The promotion of one did not preclude the other, merely provided a more easily achievable spiritual goal when the realities of the political situation made the Hejaz practically out of reach. The same is

certainly true of ᶜAbbas's time; his own continuing devotion to the Holy Cities is implied by a miraculous dream concerning Medina, reported by Munajjim Yazdi.[134]

What is more striking is the rise of Qum during the later Safavid period, at the expense of both Ardabil and Mashhad, in terms of royal patronage. Its proximity to the capital at Isfahan may partly explain this phenomenon, but it also embodies the nature of the shift in Safavid religious politics as the period evolved, and the Shiᶜi establishment prospered at the expense of Shahs' own spiritual authority as heads of the Safavid sufi tariqa. The turning point in this process may be located in the reign of Shah ᶜAbbas, when the balance began to tip away from the Lord of Ardabil towards the Dog of the Threshold of ᶜAli.

NOTES

1. A. de Gouvea, *Relation des Grandes guerres et victoires obtenues par le Roy de Perse Cha Abbas* (Rouen 1646), pp. 97-8. Gouvea found ᶜAbbas in Mashhad on his arrival there on 4 September 1602.
2. Cf. my contribution to the first Safavid conference volume, From Qars to Qandahar: the itineraries of Shah ᶜAbbas I (995-1038/1587-1629), in J. Calmard (ed.), *Etudes Safavides* (Paris-Tehran 1993 [1995]), 195-224 (p. 208).
3. Iskandar Beg, *ᶜĀlam-ārā-yi ᶜAbbāsī*, ed. Ī. Afshār (Tehran 1334-5/1956-7), p.612, citing Mīrkhwānd, *Raużat al-ṣafā* (see ed. Tehran 1338/1960, II, p. 398), where there is no mention of the time taken. This was in 6/627. R.M. Savory, tr. *History of Shah ᶜAbbas the Great* (Boulder, Co. 1978), p. 800, refers it to the year 7/628 and says it was to give thanks for the victory at Nineveh (but see next note).
4. His journey started in Edessa. See Cyril Mango, Deux études sur Byzance et la Perse Sassanide, II: Héraclius, Šahrvaraz et la Vraie Croix, *Travaux et mémoires* 9 (1985), 105-18 (pp. 112-13); A.N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the seventh century, I: 602-634* (Amsterdam 1968), esp. pp. 210-14, 237-40, 252-4 and 384-7 for an analysis of the contemporary sources. I am grateful to Dr Howard Johnson for his assistance with Heraclius's movements. I have not yet traced Mirkhwand's source for this version of events.
5. L. Lockhart, *Persian cities* (London 1960), p. 36. See also A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, Le Livre de Rois, miroir du destin, II. Takht-e Soleymān et la symbolique du *Shāh-nāme*, *Studia Iranica* 20/i (1991), esp. pp. 37-8.
6. E.g. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī (Tehran 1353/1974), II, p. 28.
7. For the value of pilgrimage on foot in the mediaeval European context, see e.g. J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage, an image of mediaeval religion* (London 1975), p. 127. Sumption identifies the main motives for going on pilgrimage, including the penitential – one example of which is Henry II's visit to Thomas à Becket's tomb in Canterbury in July 1174. Henry walked from the village of Harbledown, about 2 miles from the city, where the cathedral first came into view, cf. Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, II (Rolls Series 51, London 1869), p. 61. For the competition between shrines in 12th-century Europe, see B. Abou-El-Haj, *The medieval cult of saints* (Cambridge 1994).
8. See J.F. Richards, The formation of imperial authority under Akbar and Jahangir, in idem (ed.), *Kingship and authority in South Asia* (Madison, Wisconsin 1978), 252-85 (esp. pp. 257-8).

9. Badāᵓunī, *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh*, tr. W.H. Lowe (Calcutta 1924), II, p. 127; cf. below, n. 95. A similar motive cannot apply to ᶜAbbas, though his son Ismaᶜil was born about this time. The date is disputed, cf. Naṣr-Allāh Falsafī, *Zindagānī-yi Shāh ᶜAbbās-i avval*, II (Tehran 1344/1965), p. 192; personally, I would prefer the date given by Munajjim Yazdī, *Tārīkh-i ᶜAbbāsī yā rūznāma-yi Mullā Jalāl*, ed. S. Vaḥīdniyā (Tehran 1366/1987), p. 244, which is *after* the pilgrimage on foot.
10. Iskandar Beg cites the *Akbar-nāma*, and also refers to the author, Shaikh Abuᵓl-Fazl, on more than one occasion (q.v. Persian index).
11. R.M. Savory, The Safavid state and polity, *Iranian Studies* 7/i-ii (1974), 179-212 (esp. p. 197).
12. Ismaᶜil visited the shrine in the spring of 905/1500, to seek the assistance of his ancestors before launching his bid to seize power, Khwāndamīr, IV, pp. 447-8; ᶜAbdī Beg Shīrāzī, *Takmilat al-akhbār*, ed. ᶜA. Navāᵓī (Tehran 1369/1990), p. 37; Amīr Maḥmūd b. Khwāndamīr, *Tārīkh-i Shāh Ismāᶜīl va Shāh Ṭahmāsb Ṣafavī*, ed. M.ᶜA. Jarrāḥī (Tehran 1370/1991), pp. 44-5; Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, XII, ed. ᶜA. Navāᵓī (Tehran 1357/1979), p. 42; Qāżī Aḥmad Qummī, *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, ed. Iḥsān Ishrāqī (Tehran 1359-63/1970-4), pp. 48-9. He was also there in 921/1515 and 930/1524, ᶜAbdī Beg, pp. 55, 59. Shah Tahmasb went early in his effective reign, in 942/1535 and again the following summer, ibid., pp. 81, 85; Qummī, p. 262; cf. Tahmasb's own memoirs, *Taẕkira-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, ed. D.C. Phillott (Calcutta 1912), repr. ed. Amr-Allāh Ṣafarī (Tehran 1363/1984), pp. 37-8: in response to a vision of ᶜAli. Both rulers sponsored building work in the shrine. Ismaᶜil II paused there on his way from Qahqaha to Qazvin in 984/1576, Rūmlū, pp. 619-20, Qummī, pp. 616-18. Although I am not aware of a visit by Muhammad Khudabanda, his more energetic son, Sultan Hamza Mirza, went at least twice, in the course of expeditions to Azarbaijan, and was later buried there, Qummī, pp. 681, 761-2; Iskandar Beg, pp. 236, 296-7, 352, tr. Savory, pp. 353, 428, 489.
13. Khwāndamīr, IV, p. 507; ᶜAbdī Beg, p. 49; Amīr Maḥmūd, p.68; Rūmlū, p. 153; Qummī, p. 109.
14. Amīr Maḥmūd, p. 84. Work dated 920/1514 is noted by R. Hillenbrand, Safavid architecture, *Cambridge History of Iran*, VI (Cambridge 1986), p. 767.
15. Amīr Maḥmūd, p. 145; Rūmlū, p. 279; Qummī, p. 178: he also reports a story of the Imam's divine intervention in the battle, p. 183; cf. *Taẕkira-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, p. 11.
16. ᶜAbdī Beg, pp. 75, 88. Cf. *Taẕkira-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, pp. 21, 29-30; Qummī, p. 225.
17. Qummī, p. 630; Yazdī, p. 37; Iskandar Beg, pp. 123, 206, 217, tr. Savory, pp. 205, 307, 324.
18. Qummī, p. 750; Iskandar Beg, p. 290, tr. Savory, p. 422.
19. The section in Falsafī, III (Tehran 1345/1966), pp. 110-15, relying chiefly on the vague chronology of Iskandar Beg, provides somewhat different dates from those found in Table 1.
20. Yazdī, pp. 238-9; his account is rather strange. My previous statement that ᶜAbbas himself walked the last part from Turshiz to Mashhad is incorrect, see "From Qars to Qandahar", p. 208. The journey was actually extremely rapid, taking only 17 days; Yazdi says each stage was 15 farsakhs (90 km), a slight exaggeration, though the distance is at least 1100 km. The chronology remains uncertain. Yazdi says ᶜAbbas arrived on 7 Zuᵓl-Hijja and left on the 13th, having performed his devotions for 12 days (*sic*); cf. Kamāl b. Jalāl, *Zubdat al-tavārīkh*, Royal Asiatic Society, ms. Morley 43, fol. 65ro. Junābadī, *Raużat al-ṣafaviyya*, British Library, ms. Or. 3388, fols 315vo-317vo, says the Shah spent 20 days there, and some further time after a hunting trip. He gives no indication of the route taken, and no dates. The Shah returned to Isfahan via Quchan.

21. Yazdī, pp. 326-8.
22. Ibid., p. 301. This is the only such report in the chronicles, though W. Blunt, *Pietro's pilgrimage. A journey to India and back at the beginning of the seventeenth century* (London 1953), p.171, notes that "it was said that [ʿAbbas] was in the habit of removing his shoes when within half a league of the town". I can find no specific reference to this in the Italian original; cf. Pietro della Valle, *I viaggi. Lettere dalla Persia*, I, ed. F. Gaeta and L. Lockhart (Rome 1972).
23. Robert D. McChesney, Waqf and public policy: the waqfs of Shāh ʿAbbās, 1011-1023/1602-1614, *Asian and African Studies* 15 (1982), 165-90. A second vaqf followed his ziyarat in 1021/1612.
24. Ibid., pp. 182-6. The fact that Shah Tahmasb's alleged remains were finally buried in Ardabil, rather than back in Mashhad, does however rather detract from this part of the argument.
25. Iskandar Beg, pp. 567-8, tr. Savory, p. 752.
26. Ibid., p. 619 (p. 809).
27. L.L. Bellan, *Chah ʿAbbas I. Sa vie, son histoire* (Paris 1932), p. 107, suggests it was connected with the reconquest of Khurasan. According to Falsafī, III, p.12 n.1, Junabadi says ʿAbbas was faithful to his vow made before the reconquest of Azarbaijan, but the confusion seems to be his rather than Junabadi's.
28. Falsafi discusses the pilgrimage to Mashhad in the context of ʿAbbas's religious attitudes, about which he has assembled much information, see III, pp. 3-115. A compendium of ʿAbbas's spiritual and religious virtues was made by Munajjim Yazdi's grandson, Jalāl (b. Kamāl), *Tārīkh-i ʿAbbāsī*, Kitābkhāna-yi markazī va markaz-i asnād, Tehran, ms. 4204. I am grateful to ʿAli Asghar Mossadegh Rashti for making me a copy of this interesting manuscript.
29. Iskandar Beg, p. 567, tr. Savory, p. 752.
30. ʿAbbas's dismay at being captured by Murshid-quli Khan and taken from Herat was modified by the realisation he could visit the shrine of Imam Riza, ibid., p. 305 (p. 437).
31. Iskandar Beg's version is used by all western writers, but garbled use of Yazdi is found in Falsafi's study of Shah ʿAbbas (see below, n.74). The value of Yazdi's account first came to my notice in Ch. Adle, Contribution à la géographie historique du Damghan, *Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam* 1 (1971), 69-104.
32. The printed text reads *mashhad;* mss have *masjid.*
33. Iskandar Beg, pp. 610-12, tr. Savory, pp. 800-1. His chronogram yields the wrong year, A.H. 1009, cf. Falsafī, III, p. 14 n.2. Shāmlū, *Qiṣaṣ al-khāqānī*, I, ed. Ḥ. Sādat Nāṣirī (Tehran 1371/1992), pp. 183-4, also puts the walk in 1009. Astarābādī, *Az Shaikh Ṣafī tā Shāh Ṣafī*, ed. I. Ishrāqī (Tehran 1364/1985), p. 172, follows Iskandar Beg.
34. See Melville, "From Qars to Qandahar", p. 208, based on figures in Yazdī, pp. 200-1, 329-30. Despite the suspicions voiced by Roger Savory, "The Safavid state and polity", p. 197, he continues to follow Iskandar Beg's figure, see idem, ʿAbbās I, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, I, p. 74.
35. Similarly, it took 13 days to ride express from Marv, a distance of 229 farsakhs, Yazdī, pp. 436-7. Both indicate an average of about 18 farsakhs/108 km per day.
36. In the printed edition of Yazdī, p. 206, this individual appears as Mirza Sulaiman, but B.L. ms. 6263, fol. 96vo, reads Salman. Yazdi mentions that two others helped him, but does not name them.
37. The clear implication, that the rope (*ṭanāb*) was a farsakh long, is misleading (as well as being highly improbable). As Yazdī explains, p. 206, one tanab is 80 sharʿi *ẓiraʿ* (or 50 Isfahani ziraʿ), and there are 150 tanab to the farsakh; there are thus either 12,000 sharʿi ziraʿ or 7200 Isfahani ziraʿ to the farsakh. Yazdi himself was evidently using the

Isfahani tanab of 50 ziraʿ, because he ends up with the fraction 25 ziraʿ for half a tanab. The tanab is just under 40 metres long, and the farsakh thus just under 6 km; cf. Adle, "Contribution", p. 78 n.45; a slightly different figure is given by Houtum-Schindler, see below, Table 5.
38. Bellan, p. 107, seems to think the measuring was done to ensure that exactly one farsakh was covered each day!
39. Yazdī, pp. 206-8, 216. His account is summarised by his son, Kamāl b. Jalāl, fol. 64vo.
40. The distance on the map is nearer 1000 km. On the other hand, some, such as Gouvea, say the distance was more than 200 farsakhs, see n. 1.
41. Several travellers, such as Figueroa, Herbert, Stodard and Olearius, give different and sometimes contradictory details for their journeys out and back. An alternative route via Kuhrud and Murcha Khurt is first described by Tavernier on his first voyage, in 1632. Riza-quli Khan Hidayat, in his continuation of the *Rauẓat al-ṣafā*, VIII, p. 329, incorrectly says that ʿAbbas went via Murcha Khurt.
42. *L'Ambassade de D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa en Perse*, tr. A. de Wicquefort (Paris 1667), pp. 251-2, on his return journey.
43. Dombi (Dunbī) is about 50 km northeast of Isfahan and 34 south of Sardahan. A. Olearius, *Relation du voyage d'Adam Olearius, en Muscovie, Tartarie, et Perse*, ed. and tr. A. de Wicquefort (Paris 1666), I, p. 479, II, p.3, makes it 8 farsakhs from Isfahan and 5 from Sardahan (II, p.4), thus more or less agreeing with Yazdi.
44. However, Stodard, *The Journal of Robert Stodard, an account of Sir Dodmore Cotton's mission in Persia in 1628-1629*, ed. Sir Denison Ross (London 1935), p. 67, makes it 7 leagues from Sardahan to Natanz. For the route from Isfahan to Natanz, see M. Siroux, *Caravansérails d'Iran et petites constructions routières* (Cairo 1949), pp. 18-19, who makes it 118 km and seems to exaggerate the distance between Dombi and Sardahan (48 km). But in November 1698, Père de la Maze made a long journey of 14 farsakhs (84 km), exceeding Yazdi's figure, between Natanz and Dombi, bypassing Sardahan which he says was only fit for animals; see *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (Paris 1780), IV, p. 105.
45. Stodard, pp. 66-7 (15 leagues); John Bell of Antermony, *Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to diverse parts of Asia* (Glasgow 1763), pp. 91-3 (15 or 16 "agatz"), see Table 4b. I have preferred Stodard's figures to Herbert's, which seem rather erratic. Figueroa gives 14 leagues, see next note.
46. Olearius, I, pp. 478-9. Struys went there in 1672, but gives no figures. Figueroa, pp. 247-9, stopped somewhere 8 farsakhs from Kashan and 6 from Natanz, but merely calls the place a garden, without buildings.
47. Della Valle, *I viaggi*, p. 142. European itineraries mention one or the other, never both. For the shrine of Sultan Salih b. Musa al-Kazim, in the hamlet of Kaghazi, see e.g. the travelogue of Mīrzā ʿAlī Khān Nā'īnī, *Safar-nāma-yi Ṣafā' al-Salṭana*, ed. M. Gulbun (Tehran 1366/1987), p. 83.
48. Figueroa, p. 207. This also shows that his previous stage, ʿAbbasabad, cannot be equated with Abu Zaidabad.
49. I have used the War Office Quarter-inch maps of the 1940s to trace this and subsequent sections of ʿAbbas's march, see nos I-39 V (Isfahan), I-39 P (Kashan), I-39 J (Qumrud), I-39 K (Shah ʿAbbas) and I-39 E (Demavend).
50. The route from Kashan to Siyahkuh has been described by C.E. Biddulph, Journey across the western portion of the Great Persian Desert, viá the Siah Kuh mountains and the Darya-i-Namak, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Soc.* 13 (1891), 645-63. He calls this well "Chah Taghi" (p. 655).

51. On the 1917 Quarter-inch map, the well is named as Chashma-yi Shah. The bridge over the salt river is remarked upon by della Valle, p. 158.
52. Rashma is about 11 km from the Chashma and about 30 km from Deh Namak, assuming the route continued north up to the Khurasan road. It seems unlikely that ʿAbbas would have made for the main place in Khwar, Qishlaq, rather out of his way to the northwest. The identification of Gezz or Gaze (Stodard) with Qīd (? Qīẓ) is made purely on the grounds of possible similarity of orthography. Sir Thomas Herbert, *Some yeares travels into divers parts of Asia and Afrique* (London 1638), pp. 164-5, gives the distance as 40 miles or 13 farsakhs from Siyahkuh. Yazdi gives a little over 11 farsakhs (see Table 3). Cf. Stodard, pp. 46-7, who mentions Rashma before Gezz, which seems to have been approached via the foothills of the Alburz.
53. The route was not used by the numerous European travellers of the Safavid period, whose itineraries were all confined to the western portion of the country. So far as I am aware, the first to leave a detailed account of the route was Van Meirop, in J. Hanway, *An Historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea*, 2 vols (London 1753), I, pp. 357-9. His figures are not reliable. For later travelogues, see the useful list in Adle, "Contribution", p. 78 n.43.
54. Ghulām-Ḥusain Khān Afżal al-Mulk, *Safar-nāma-yi Khurāsān va Kirmān*, ed. Q. R. Zaʿfarānlū (Mashhad n.d.); A. Houtum-Schindler, Safar-nāma-yi Khurāsān, in Q.R. Zaʿfarānlū (ed.), *Sih safar-nāma; Harāt, Marv, Mashhad* (Tehran 2536/1976), pp. 146-211; see p. 211 for the date. Cf. his Beschreibung einiger wenigbekannten Routen in Chorassan, *Zeitschrift der Berlin Gesellschaft für Erdkund.* 12 (1877), 215-29, with map.
55. Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Sadīd al-Salṭana, *Safar-nāma*, ed. A. Iqtidārī (Tehran 1362/1984), pp. 175-211, has 114.5 farsakhs; J.-P. Ferrier, who cut the corner between Nishapur and Mashhad, has 115 farsakhs and says the more southerly route was 3 farsakhs longer, *Caravan journeys and wanderings in Persia* (London 1856), p. 111. Houtum-Schindler, p. 199, says the difference was 2 farsakhs.
56. J.B. Fraser, *Narrative of a journey into Khorasan, in the years 1821 and 1822* (London 1825), I, pp. 383-4, agrees with Yazdi in putting Zaʿfaraniyya 7 farsakhs from Sabzavar. Houtum-Schindler makes it quite a bit less. However, his next stage, to (Sang-i) Kalidar is almost the same as Yazdi's (about 16 km), cf. Afżal al-Mulk, p. 46 (2½ farsakhs).
57. Afżal al-Mulk, p. 50, i.e. just over four farsakhs from Nishapur.
58. Sadīd al-Salṭana's route, pp. 209-11, adds up to 16 farsakhs; Houtum-Schindler's 66.5 miles = 17.7 farsakhs. Ferrier's estimate is 15 farsakhs.
59. *Farhang-i jughrāfiyāʾī-yi Īrān*, IX (Tehran 1329/1951), p. 209.
60. Yazdī, p. 216.
61. Ibid., p. 217. Though see also above, p. 211.
62. Thirty-eight if one counts separate entries for the width of Damghan and Sabzavar, from gate to gate.
63. As noted above, ʿAbbas is credited with the same rapid speed when mounted, on his pilgrimage via Tabas the following year.
64. In fact, this total should rise to 37 if we include Daulatabad as the first stage. It is, however, clearly unreasonable to regard the separate entries for the length of Damghan and Sabzavar as indicating discrete travelling days.
65. *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia, and the Papal mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries*, ed. and trans. Sir H. Chick, 2 vols (London 1939), p. 158.
66. Yazdī, p. 212; he also mentions the arrival of a message from Allah Verdi Khan on 22 Rabiʿ I (p. 211), i.e. before the news of Zainab Begum. Kashan was probably the seventh stage of the walk, taking Daulatabad as the first (see Table 3). For Zainab Begum, see also below, n. 84.

67. See Melville, "Qars to Qandahar", nn. 22, 89. ʿAbbas covered about 60 farsakhs (*ca* 360 km) in 28 hours in 999/1590, ibid., p. 205, citing Yazdī, pp. 196-7.
68. ʿAbbas left the author, Yazdi, in Isfahan to wait until his aunt recovered and then bring her to join the pilgrimage. Yazdi evidently rejoined the Shah at Kashan.
69. Falsafī, III, p. 47, gives a fuller version than the printed text of Yazdī, p. 212; the additional details are not in the B.L. mss.
70. Yazdī, pp. 215-16. The boy had been taken prisoner when Herat was recaptured from the Uzbeks in 1007/1598.
71. Ibid., p. 218. Cf. Hillenbrand, "Safavid architecture", pp. 790-1; and ʿA. Mawlawī *et al.*, Āstān-e Qods-e Rażawī, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, II, p. 830.
72. Muḥammad Yūsuf Vālih, *Khuld-i barīn*, C.U.L. Browne ms. G.14[4] (14), fol. 298ro.
73. Ibid., fol. 298vo.
74. Falsafī, III, pp. 13-14. He says the Shah left Isfahan on Thursday 15 Jumada I (*sic*)/11 November 1601 [a Sunday], a date not found elsewhere, and which indicates that the walk took 29 days. He repeats Yazdi's figures for the total distance of the journey, but states that the route was through Tabas and Turshiz, and that the Shah averaged 6 farsakhs a day. Falsafi has evidently somehow conflated this pilgrimage with one undertaken by ʿAbbas the following year, 1011/1603, though the dates are quite different (see Table 2). If the journey of 199 farsakhs had been done in 28 days, this would give an average of 7 farsakhs (*ca* 42 km) per day.
75. B.L. ms. Add. 16,684, fol. 227vo. The first part, to the end of 1025/1616, is written in one hand; part 2, to the end of the reign, is written in a different hand and was completed at the end of Rajab 1067/mid May 1657, cf. Rieu, I, p. 185.
76. Fols 227ro for the year (Ud-yil actually began in 1009), and 228ro for the poem (by Nasrabadi), for which see below.
77. Christ's College Cambridge, ms. Dd.5.6 (cf. E.G. Browne, *A supplementary hand-list of the Muhammadan manuscripts .. in .. the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, Cambridge 1922, p.139). A full evaluation of this manuscript is in preparation. The colophon indicates it was completed on Thurs. 17 Rabiʿ I, 1045/(Fri.) 31 August 1635. For access to this manuscript, and permission to refer to it, I am most indebted to the Master and Fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge.
78. Iskandar Beg, *Ẕail-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ed. S. Khwānsārī (Tehran 1317/1938), pp. 91, 92, 95, himself refers to his nephew and quotes some of his chronograms; see also Muḥammad Yūsuf Vālih, *Khuld-i barīn*, in idem, pp. 208, 297; Naṣrābādī, *Taẕkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, ed. Vaḥīd Dastgirdī (Tehran 1317/1938), p. 79.
79. Ms. Dd.5.6, fols 134ro-vo. Iskandar Beg is spoken of in this passage as though he is still alive. The whole passage has been crossed out in the ms. and many other erasures also suggest it is the autograph copy, or edited by the author. Iskandar Beg's death is generally put in 1043/1633-4, i.e. just before the completion of this ms. (see n. 77).
80. Fol. 132vo gives the tanab as 1000 paces (*qadam*), and 12 tanab to the farsakh, compare n. 37 above.
81. Aqa-yi Kamal's importance is noted by Naṭanzī, *Nuqāvat al-āṣār*, ed. I. Ishrāqī (Tehran 1350/1971), p.537, and he often acted as host to important visitors, cf. Iskandar Beg, pp. 776, 836, tr. Savory, pp. 973, 1044; for his brother Aqa Mirza, see ibid., p. 1092 (p. 1321).
82. Fol. 133ro. The same daily figure of 2-3 farsakhs is also mentioned at the beginning of the text, fol. 132vo.
83. See Yazdī, p. 212 and n. 68 above.
84. Fols 133ro-vo. For other information on Zainab Begum and her good works, see M. Szuppe, La participation des femmes de la famille royale à l'exercice du pouvoir en

Iran safavide au XVIe siècle (première partie), *Studia Iranica* 23/i (1994), 211-58 (esp. pp. 249-52) and eadem, (seconde partie), 24/i (1995), 61-122 (esp. pp. 100-2). Muhibb ʿAli Beg was later involved in projects to bring water from the Kurang to the Zayanda-rud, see Iskandar Beg, p. 949, tr. Savory, p.1170, and in the construction of the Masjid-i Shah in Isfahan, see R.D. McChesney, Four sources on ʿAbbas's building of Isfahan, *Muqarnas* 5 (1989), 103-34 (p. 122).

85. Yazdī, p. 234; cf. Iskandar Beg, p. 631, tr. Savory, p. 822.
86. Ibid., pp. 1111, 850-1 (pp. 537, 1060-2), for Siyahkuh and Mazandaran respectively. He says the causeway between Namaksar and Siyahkuh extended several farsakhs and cost around 10,000 tumans. The road improvements in Mazandaran took 10 years to complete.
87. Kamāl b. Jalāl, fol. 71vo.
88. Della Valle, p. 154; cf. Blunt, *Pietro's pilgrimage*, p. 136.
89. Ibid., p. 158, cf. Blunt, p. 138.
90. Herbert, p. 164. For Gezz, see above, n. 52.
91. Iskandar Beg, p. 564, tr. Savory, p. 748.
92. Herbert, p. 164; cf. *Travels in Persia, 1627-1629*, ed. Sir William Foster (London 1928), p. 142.
93. Della Valle, pp. 154-5; cf. Biddulph, p. 650. These presumably correspond to ʿAin al-Rashid and Shah ʿAbbas on the Quarter-inch map (I-39 K), the latter called ʿAbbasabad by Siroux, p. 72.
94. Ms. Dd.5.6, fols 133vo-134ro. The words, "at the Turuq (*tūruq, sic*) gate", have been crossed out. Budaq Khan had been appointed in 1006/1598, when the Shah regained Mashhad from the Uzbeks, see Naṭanzī, p. 602, Yazdī, p. 171, Iskandar Beg, p. 568, tr. Savory, p. 752.
95. Badā'unī, II, pp. 123-4, says he averaged 6 or 7 *kūs* a day; Abu'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, tr. H. Beveridge, II (Calcutta 1904-10), pp. 510-11, has 10 or 12 *kūs*, and gives the 16 stages of the journey. One kus is supposed to be one-third of a farsakh, so Abu'l-Fazl's figure is preferable: Akbar evidently went 3-4 farsakhs per day, rather brisker than ʿAbbas.
96. Abu'l-Faẓl, tr. Beveridge, III (Calcutta 1910-21), p. 111, 7 kus in 981/1574; Badā'unī, II, pp. 188-9, 7 kus in 982/1574, ibid., p. 280, 5 kus in 987/1579 (his last visit). Badā'unī's statement (II, pp. 107-8) that Akbar walked all the way from Chitor to Ajmer in 975/1568 is incorrect; after reaching Mandal, about 70 km from Chitor, with some difficulty, he was told his spirituality was already sufficiently great, and after covering the rest of the journey as usual (to the relief of his entourage), he walked only the last stage to the shrine, see Abu'l-Faẓl, II, pp. 476-7; Richards, p. 258.
97. Yazdī, pp. 207-8. See also Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Taẕkira*, p. 485 for the poem and pp. 451-2 for the poet's career.
98. Fol. 228ro; cf. Iskandar Beg, pp. 611-12.
99. Fol. 134vo; in the margin, the poet is identified as Maulana Hasan ʿAli (i.e. Nasrabadi).
100. Iskandar Beg, p. 611 (70 *ḥajj-i nāfila:* supererogatory pilgrimages); also in Christ's ms. Dd.5.6, fol. 133ro. The term hajj-i akbar seems here to denote simply the greater hajj as opposed to the *ʿumra*, though the term also denotes a year in which the day of ʿArafa (9 Zu'l-Hijja) falls on a Friday.
101. For its quotation in a letter attributed to Shah Ismaʿil, see ʿA. Navā'ī (ed.), *Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafavī. Asnād va mukātabāt-i tārīkhī* (Tehran 1368/1989), p. 51. Amīn Aḥmād Rāzī, writing in the reign of ʿAbbas, says the ziyarat was worth 7 (*sic*) hajjs, *Haft iqlīm*, ed. Javād Fāżil (n.p. n.d.), II, p. 193. A similar verse, with the ziyarat worth 70 hajjs, is

contained in a letter attributed to ʿAbbas, in ʿA. Navā'ī (ed.), *Shāh ʿAbbās. Majmūʿa-yi asnād va mukātabāt-i tārīkhī*, III (Tehran 1366/1987), p. 428. The fact that this letter is not genuine does not alter its significance here; cf. Riazul Islam, *Calendar of documents on Indo-Persian relations* (Karachi 1979), pp. 156-8.

102. Lockhart, *Persian cities*, p. 36; R.M. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids* (Cambridge 1980), p. 101; J. Calmard, Ḳum, *Encyclopaedia of Islam²*, V, p. 371. On the other hand, Rasūl Jaʿfariān (ed.), *ʿIlal-i bar-uftādan-i Ṣafaviyān* (Tehran 1372/1993), p. 375, has found no contemporary evidence in the Persian sources for a deliberate policy of discouraging the Meccan hajj.
103. See details in the useful study by Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans. The Hajj under the Ottomans 1517-1683* (London 1994), esp. pp. 127, 134-9; unfortunately, despite its title, the book has little to say about the Iranian pilgrimage in the 17th century.
104. Of ʿAbbas's predecessors, Shah Ismaʿil is reported to have visited and bestowed gifts on the shrines following his takeover of Baghdad in 914/1508: ʿAbdī Beg, p. 47; Qummī, p. 94; Iskandar Beg, p. 56. He was particularly generous in his patronage of Kazimain, because of its association with Musa al-Kazim, the alleged ancestor of the Safavids. Tahmasb also visited Kazimain following his capture of Baghdad in 935/1529, Qummī, p. 190. Tahmasb doesn't himself refer to this, though he mentions the assistance of the Imams (*Taẕkira*, pp. 12-13). Cf. H. Algar, ʿAtabāt, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, II, pp. 902-3 and S.H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq* (Oxford 1925), p.18.
105. Iskandar Beg, pp. 998-9, 1004-5, 1011, tr. Savory, pp. 1221-2, 1226-7, 1233; Iskandar Beg is at pains to suggest that the main point of ʿAbbas's expedition was to make the pilgrimage to Najaf. He restored some water canals first dug by Shah Ismaʿil. Longrigg, p. 57, based on Turkish sources, gives rather a different picture of ʿAbbas's behaviour in Baghdad.
106. Iskandar Beg, pp. 1045, 1051, tr. Savory, pp. 1266, 1272; ʿAbbas contented himself with sending votive offerings to Najaf and Karbala. Before this campaign, he made his last documented visit to Ardabil, to seek the aid of his ancestors, ibid., p. 1032 (p. 1253).
107. Iskandar Beg, *Ẕail*, pp. 79-81; he puts this in Qoy-yil, which he incorrectly says began in Shaʿban 1041, instead of 1040. Cf. Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Iṣfahānī, *Khulāṣat al-siyar*, ed. Ī. Afshār (Tehran 1368/1989), pp. 103-13.
108. Iskandar Beg, *Ẕail*, p. 95; his nephew, Muhammad Salih, accompanied the vizier; Muḥammad Maʿṣūm, p. 158; cf. Khātūnābādī, *Vaqā'iʿ al-sanīn*, ed. Bāqir Bihbūdī (Tehran 1352/1973), p. 512.
109. A.J. Wensinck and C.E. Bosworth, Makka, *E.I.²*, VI, p. 150. Cf. Father du Cerceau, *The History of the revolution of Persia, taken from the Memoirs of Father Krusinski* (London 1728), pp. 169-71; F.R.C. Bagley (ed. and tr.), *The Muslim World. A historical survey, III: the last great Muslim empires* (Leiden 1969), p. 87.
110. Krusinski, pp. 159, 169; *Carmelites*, p. 564.
111. J.-B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, tr. J. Phillips (London 1677), pp. 202-3; although he is writing in the reign of Sulaiman, his first visit to Persia, in 1632, was not long after ʿAbbas's death. Krusinski, pp. 159-61, follows Tavernier. I am grateful to Rudi Matthee for allowing me to see a pre-publication copy of his paper, From Venice to Surat: the trade in gold in late Safavid Iran, presented at the Workshop on the political economies of the Ottoman, Safavid and Mughul states during the 17th and 18th centuries, Istanbul, June 1992.
112. Hillenbrand, "Safavid architecture", pp. 818-19, rightly refers to the difficulty of dating these buildings, which are invariably associated with ʿAbbas I in 19th-century travelogues, though several were the work of ʿAbbas II.

113. E.g. Adle, "Contribution", p. 79, for the caravansarai of Shah Sulaiman at Ahuan (1097/1686).
114. The hajj was undertaken by several Uzbek Khans; see also McChesney's paper in this volume.
115. Faẓl-Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī, *Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā*, ed. M. Sutūda (Tehran 1976), esp. pp. 327-53; for Shahrukh, see B.S. Amoretti, Religion in the Timurid and Safavid periods, *Cambridge History of Iran*, VI, pp. 615-16. For a *caveat* on his "rediscovery" of ʿAli's tomb at Balkh, see R.D. McChesney in *B.S.O.A.S.* 58/ii (1995), pp. 371-2.
116. See R.D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia. Four hundred years in the history of a Muslim shrine, 1480-1889* (Princeton 1991), esp. pp. 85-90. Vali Muhammad's main works at Balkh post-dated the Safavid attack, once he had become Khan. He himself visited the shrine at Mashhad in 1020/1611, on his way to seek assistance from ʿAbbas, see Yazdī, p. 437.
117. Iskandar Beg, pp. 1079, 1111, tr. Savory, pp. 1303, 537. See Jean Chardin, *Le couronnement de Soleïmaan, troisième roy de Perse* (Paris 1671), p. 200 [ed. M.A. Langlès, *Les voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse* (Paris 1811), IX, pp. 533-5], for the custom of burying royal coffins in more than one place; he records the most common opinion that ʿAbbas was in fact buried in Ardabil, where his tomb was evidently seen by Olearius, I, p. 440.
118. M. Bazin, Qom, ville de pèlerinage et centre régional, *Revue Géographique de l'Est* (1973), pp. 77-135 (p. 84), Calmard, "Ḳum", p. 371. Iskandar Beg makes no reference at all to Qum in his survey of ʿAbbas's building works.
119. Iskandar Beg, *Ẕail*, p. 135; Muḥammad Maʿṣūm, pp. 168-9. Shamasbi is actually about 7 km south of Ardabil.
120. Ibid., pp. 234, 238-9; Muḥammad Yūsuf, *Khuld-i barīn*, in Iskandar Beg, *Ẕail*, pp. 187, 193; It was here that Safi issued the farmans discussed by Iraj Afshar in this volume.
121. Vaḥīd Qazvīnī, *ʿAbbās-nāma*, ed. Ibrāhīm Dihqān (Arak 1329/1951), pp. 103-5; Shāmlū, *Qiṣaṣ*, p. 325; Muḥammad Yūsuf, *Khuld-i barīn*, fols 118vo-119ro.
122. Vaḥīd Qazvīnī, p.137, says Turuq was one farsakh from Mashhad. The refurbishment of Qadamgah is dated 1053/1643 and work in Mashhad 1057/1647 by Hillenbrand, "Safavid architecture", pp. 796, 804; Mawlawī *et al.*, p. 831, refer to inscriptions dating repairs in 1059/1649, a preferable date since the work was probably initiated at the time of ʿAbbas II's visits to Mashhad.
123. C. Melville, Earthquakes in the history of Nishapur, *Iran* 18 (1980), 103-20 (p. 114); N.N. Ambraseys and C.P. Melville, *A history of Persian earthquakes* (Cambridge 1982), p. 51, with reference to building inscriptions in Mashhad dating the repairs. Khātūnābādī, p.532, puts the earthquake in A.H. 1083. Chardin, III, pp. 228-9, gives details of the manufacture of the gilded tiles used to repair the dome.
124. Chardin, III, pp. 135-6.
125. Ibid., VII, pp. 184-5. He is evidently expanding on information provided by Raphaël du Mans, who mentions one ban on the Meccan hajj in 1657 or 8, see his *Estat* de la Perse, 1660, in F. Richard (ed.), *Raphaël du Mans, Missionnaire en Perse au XVII*e*s. II. Estats et memoires* (*Moyen Orient et Océan Indien* 9/ii [1995]), pp. 61-2.
126. Krusinski, p. 161.
127. Khātūnābādī, pp. 552-3.
128. See Matthee, "From Venice to Surat", quoting Dutch sources.
129. *Carmelites*, p.472, quoting a report dated 30 October 1706, which also refers to a false start due to the Shah's illness and mortality in his entourage; Krusinski, p. 127. L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia* (Cambridge

1958), pp. 49-50, says the Shah returned early in 1708, but in fact he seems to have been away almost exactly two years; the return journey took only 22 days. Khātūnābādī, pp. 556-7, says the Shah left Isfahan in Jumada II, 1119, but as he was away on pilgrimage to the Hejaz at this time, he may have mistaken the date: 23 September 1706 is 14 Jumada II, 1118.
130. As also noted by Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, p. 243.
131. See Amoretti, "Religion in the Timurid and Safavid periods", p. 654, and Father Bazin in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, IV, p. 326, writing in 1751.
132. E.g., Mashīzī, *Taẕkira-yi ṣafaviyya-yi Kirmān*, ed. M.I. Bāstānī-Pārīzī (Tehran 1369/1990), p. 469; see also Rasūl Jaʿfariyān, pp. 359-75.
133. See *Cambridge History of Iran*, VII (Cambridge 1991), pp. 36, 307, 707.
134. Yazdī, p. 355; the story incidentally shows the need for the Shah's permission to go to the Hejaz.

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"Barrier of Heterodoxy"?: Rethinking the Ties Between Iran and Central Asia in the 17th Century

R.D. McChesney

One long-standing set of historical assumptions about the early modern Middle East stems from the origins of the Safavid state at the beginning of the 16th century and its assertion and articulation of a religio-political ideology based on Imami or Twelver (Ithna ᶜAshari) Shiᶜi thought. In the midst of nominally Sunni[1] (specifically Hanafi Sunni) states and on a territory whose population was predominantly Sunni, the early Safavid state declared its political distinctiveness by asserting loyalty to the Imami Shiᶜi tradition. Its public advocacy of basic Imami tenets[2] through the use of certain distinctive symbols[3] has, in turn, given rise to a style of historical writing based on assumptions about religious difference. These have particularly influenced the way in which the relations between the eastern and western Iranian worlds—between the Iranian plateau under Safavid dominion (1501–1722) and Transoxania (Mawarannahr) under two successive neo-Chinggisid entities, the Shibanids (*ca* 1500–98) and the Tuqay-Timurids (1598–1785)—have been interpreted.

Not the earliest, but certainly one of the most articulate and influential works to shape the views and, in many ways, set the agenda of later writing on these relations is the mid-19th-century *History of Bokhara* by Arminius Vámbéry.[4] Vámbéry had travelled in Central Asia in the 1860s, knew the languages, was a meticulous and articulate observer, and had access to two of the most popular works of Central Asian history in Mawarannahr at the time, the *Tazkira-yi Muqīm Khānī* and the *Tārīkh-i Rāqimī*, both of which he used extensively. In his historical sketch of Central Asia, Vámbéry advanced two fundamental premises which have, by and large, stood unchallenged since he proposed them.

The first hypothesis was that, after the establishment of the authority

of the Safavid house and its Qizilbash supporters in the region of present-day Iran, there arose a deep and enduring enmity between the Jamaᶜi-Sunni states of Mawarannahr—and by extension those who lived within their jurisdictions—and the Imami Shiᶜis of Iran, an enmity which was to persist to Vámbéry's own time. Describing the formative period in the relations between Iran and Mawarannahr (which he refers to as Central Asia), Vámbéry wrote,

> In proportion as the disciples of Shiism increased in Iran, so did the hatred and bitterness of the Central Asiatics wax stronger and stronger against these heretics; and even before the death of Sultan Husayn Mirza [in 1506], the philosophers of Herat, in conjunction with the ulemas [*sic*] of Bokhara and Samarkand, had branded the Shiites as beyond the pale of Mohammedanism, sanctioned the public sale of them as slaves and declared marriage with them to be mekruh, i.e. abominable.[5]

From this premise of an undying hostility kindled in the early 16th century, there logically followed a second: that the establishment of the Shiᶜi Safavid state in Iran brought about the complete separation of Central Asia from the western Jamaᶜi-Sunni world. In Vámbéry's view there had been long-standing ties which were now irrevocably severed:

> ...the fall and total extinction of the Timourides destroyed the last, though feeble, link still binding the Mohammedans beyond the Oxus and Yaxartes to their brethren in Western Asia. This rupture was naturally hastened by the Shiite zeal of the Sefides [*sic*], who drove as it were a wedge into the centre of Islamism.[6]

Vámbéry may not have been the first to voice this view but his work has been an important source for later writers and, even when his work was not consulted, the ideas it expressed were widely accepted as sound and in need of no further proof. Among 20th-century scholars whose work on Iran has profoundly influenced historians today, E.G. Browne described a "barrier of heterodoxy" which Shah Ismaᶜil "had erected between Western and Eastern Iran."[7] Alessandro Bausani, when summing up the positive accomplishments of the Safavid era, cites "the closing of Iran's frontiers" that he attributes, in large part, to the adoption of Imami Shiᶜi Islam as the religion of state.[8] More recently, in volume six of *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Ehsan Yarshater accepts the notion as given that "militant and fanatical Shiᶜism caused a schism in the body of the Islamic world." But he then shows a commendable uneasiness about

this assumption and the corollary hypotheses to which it logically gives rise when he goes on to note, in a characteristically insightful remark, that "it is a remarkable fact that in spite of the religious schism... Persian culture and literature had their widest territorial expansion during the 16th - 18th centuries."[9] In other words a schism, but without isolation. C.E. Bosworth reintroduces both themes of schism and isolation when he writes of the "virtual sealing-off of Transoxiana from the rest of the Islamic world through the erection by the Safavids of this bulwark on their northeastern frontier."[10] René Grousset, looking at the issue from the perspective of Inner Asian history, reiterates much the same theme.[11] Jan Rypka, viewing the other side of the same coin, sees the Jamaᶜi Sunni–Imami Shiᶜi schism as isolating Iran itself from India and Central Asia.[12]

Once Vámbéry had articulated this hypothesis, later historians have found it difficult to imagine the history of relations between Mawarannahr and Iran after the foundation of the Safavid state except in Vamberian terms - unremitting hostility rooted in sectarian differences and the consequent isolation of Mawarannahr, or Iran, depending on one's perspective.

This vision of a perpetual state of hostility between the two regions based on sectarian difference has in turn generated other hypotheses. One is that the 'sectarian barrier' produced cultural decline in Central Asia by shutting it off from a cultural 'centre'. That 'centre' is never explicitly located but the implication is that it was somehow connected with the Holy Cities, or perhaps some other place where Islam once had enjoyed a 'golden age'.[13] Another similar hypothesis is that isolation from a centre hastened the economic decline of Central Asia. In his contribution to the landmark work *The Rise of Merchant Empires*,[14] Morris Rossabi used the 'sectarian barrier' argument to rebut the thesis that the restructuring of world trade had the most significant impact on Asian trade routes. He too portrays Central Asia as isolated by Shiᶜi Iran.[15]

Adducing the single factor of sectarian difference as essential to understanding the relations between the eastern and western parts of the Iranian cultural world creates a number of problems. First, it ignores the historically close ties—economic and cultural—between Mawarannahr and South Asia prior to and after the rise of the Safavids. Secondly, it implies that the period prior to the rise of the Safavid state was characterised by harmonious political relations and peaceful commercial intercourse throughout the Persian cultural realm. Thirdly, from the standpoint of simple logic, if hostility and warfare are a necessary consequence of sectarian difference, then the reverse hypothesis - that the absence of sectarian difference should lead to, or at least be more likely to lead to, peaceful and cooperative relations between polities -

should also hold true, at least to some extent. If one reviews, even superficially, the record of relations between co-sectarian polities (e.g. the Mughals in India and the neo-Chinggisids in Mawarannahr, or the Abu'l-Khairid/Shibanids of Mawarannahr and the ᶜArabshahid/Shibanids of Khwarazm), the absurdity of this premise is quickly apparent. One could argue with considerable justification that the level of conflict between the Sunni Mughal state and the Sunni neo-Chinggisid states of Mawarannahr, beginning with Shibani Khan's struggle to oust the Timurids, continuing on through the long-standing fight over Badakhshan, the neo-Chinggisid attempt to take Kabul in the early 17th century, the Mughal occupation of Balkh in 1645–6, and the constant low level border warfare waged in the Hindu Kush, was no less fierce and destructive than that between the Safavids and the neo-Chinggisids. But surely no one has argued, or would argue, that a barrier of orthodoxy or a sealing-off and isolation of Central from South Asia was the consequence. Presumably such an argument has never been made because it appears patently absurd in the face of all the evidence we have of cultural and commercial exchange. The question then would seem to be: why is the argument that sectarian difference led to hostility, warfare, and isolation not equally absurd? One answer is, of course, that this argument is a selective one, adducing the instances of hostility as proof of its validity and ignoring, or at least not looking for, contrary evidence. Without the ideological element that has been emphasised in scholarship as the essential feature of the struggles between Imami Shiᶜi Iran and her Jamaᶜi Sunni neighbours, scholars can look for the cultural and commercial ties that linked Central Asia and India, for example, and—it is not surprising—find them. Perhaps it is the dominance of the Vamberian perspective that has similarly not encouraged scholars to look for evidence of cultural and commercial linkages between Central Asia and Iran in this period.

In any event, the "barrier of heterodoxy" explanation serves more to obscure than clarify the issue of relations between the eastern and western parts of the Persian cultural realm. On the other hand, there should be no question that throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, individuals of every sectarian identity believed they had a clear grasp of the ideological differences between their sect and the one with which they may have been mentally comparing it. Symbols of difference would have been well-known and were the grist of propagandists' mills. But it is one thing to agree that the differences between Imami Shiᶜism and Jamaᶜi Sunnism were obvious to those who identified themselves by these labels and that those distinctions, at times, proved useful in rallying support for a state policy or programme. It is quite another thing to conclude that a kind of 16th-century iron curtain between the eastern and western parts of the Persian cultural realm must have been the result,

totally isolating each party from the other and separating Central Asia from western Islamdom and therefore from some vaguely defined cultural 'centre'.

The "barrier of heterodoxy" motif is perhaps most useful in illuminating the strategising mind sets of 19th and 20th-century globalists like Vámbéry. When he did his research and wrote, perhaps he had in mind the sectarian wars that marked the history of European civilisation. He was certainly conscious of and an active participant in the superpower rivalries of his own time. In either case, the relationship of Safavid Iran and neo-Chinggisid Mawarannahr might have seemed to him an analogous situation and caused him to emphasise the issues of sectarian difference, separation and isolation.

The "barrier of heterodoxy" approach to the linked histories of Mawarannahr and Iran also makes it somewhat difficult to correlate their experiences with the world as a whole at the time, particularly with the phenomenon of a world economy driven by new technologies in transport, and by the massive movements of precious metals, particularly silver, into local and regional economies. The 17th century in particular was marked by the worldwide spread of new products, especially what could be called 'social consumables'—items that were primarily used in a social setting—tobacco, coffee, and narcotics. What were the common features of societies throughout the world in the early 17th century, for example, that stimulated demand and trade in such items? And does the concept of sectarian difference help explain this phenomenon?

If, on the other hand, we narrow our focus to the political, to the state policies of Iran and Mawarannahr, that is to say the policies of the officials who ran these states and of course made their livings from them, the notion of an ideological frontier between the Safavid lands and the neo-Chinggisid territories may not be far off the mark. Certainly ideology played a crucial part in the organisation and uses of power and this is perhaps the way in which the material on Sunni-Shiᶜi relations from the official sources can best be understood. For example, the use of fatwas declaring the enemy to be non-believers and therefore changing the status of property owned by the enemy from legally protected to legally seizable booty was, we may assume, purely political, designed to rally domestic support rather than to assert any absolute theological judgment on actual styles of religious practice.

However, when what is relevant to the political is generalised to encompass and explain all social relations and cultural production, problems arise and contradictions appear, as Yarshater noted. In the life of the individual, in the daily routine of commonly-held beliefs and practices, that is the realm in which the production of cultural artefacts occurs, one does not find much evidence of the "barrier of heterodoxy"

paradigm at work. Certainly people understood differences of sect or *mazhab* and on occasion those differences might be used to summon people to act. But there is little evidence that sectarian difference led to isolation and non-communication between these two world regions. If 19th and 20th-century historians saw evidence of such isolation, it was more likely the outcome of natural and technological conditions—distance and the time required for communications across it—rather than ideological factors.

There are many economic and cultural areas in which to examine the issues of communication and isolation. The production of poetry is one. Poetry—its conventions, methods and places of production, and its documentation—was a universal phenomenon. The literary evidence indicates there was an economy of poetry which was coterminous with the territorial spread of people culturally literate in Persian. Wherever Persian was read, recited or spoken, poetic production was to be found. That realm was, in the early modern period, virtually co-extensive with Islamdom from the Balkans to the Jungarian Gate and from Baghdad to the Straits of Malacca. Only the Arabophone regions of North Africa and the Fertile Crescent seem to have been able to resist the long-term effects of exposure to Persian literary imperialism.

This 'poetic economy' could not have existed without an equally widespread network of communications by which information about poetry and about poets was transmitted. In the remainder of this paper I will focus on one small link in the network that spanned the Persian literary realm as a means of reconsidering and reinterpreting the nature of relations between the eastern and western Iranian worlds and thereby, perhaps, re-evaluating the importance of the sectarian factor in those relations.

This link was a man named Muhammad Badiᶜ, a native of Samarqand. His pen-name was "Malīḥ" or in the form fashionable at the time, "Malīḥā." He observed and documented the poetic economy of Persian during the last two decades of the 17th century in a significant part of its domain, Iran and Mawarannahr. Elsewhere I have discussed the man and the work by which we know him in terms of his contributions to our knowledge of the social history of Central Asia in the late 17th century.[16] Here I will examine the three years (1090/1679–1093/1682[17]) he spent in Iran, the details of which are scattered throughout his only known surviving work,[18] the *Muzakkir al-aṣḥāb.*[19]

What little we know of his life is mostly contained in the *Muzakkir.* There is a brief entry for him in Muhammad Tahir Nasrabadi's *Tazkira-yi Naṣrābādī*[20] but as yet no other reference to him has been discovered in Iranian, Central Asian or Indian sources. In all probability he was born about 1060/1650.[21] His father, Mirza Muhammad Sharif, was a *muftī* in

Samarqand, and probably led a relatively comfortable life. Muhammad Badiᶜ tells the reader his father raised[22] him and that he was under his "protection" for the first 30 years of his life. There is no information about marriage or having a family and indications are that Muhammad Badiᶜ lived with his father and was supported by him. He says little about his own life before the death of his father, though he does recall being profoundly impressed at the age of ten or eleven by the world of poetry, the poets themselves, their social gatherings (*mushāᶜara, maḥfal,* and *majlis*) and the sense of belonging to a community which that world engendered. Scattered through his work are oblique references to the contacts he had with poets in the period before his father died and it is his only activity during that time that is recorded in the work.

The title of Muhammad Badiᶜ's work, *Muzakkir al-aṣḥāb,* translates as "A Recollection of (my) Companions" and plays on the Arabic root of *aṣḥāb* (*ṣ-ḥ-b*) from which another important word in the lexicon of the poetic economy was derived, *ṣuḥba,* which meant a friendly get-together for relaxation and conversation. Such social gatherings were, for Muhamad Badiᶜ, the milieu for most of his fieldwork. The *aṣḥāb* of the title (pl. of the word *ṣāḥib*) were the people with whom he socialised, all of whom shared the common bond of a love for the entire context of poetry—socialising, drinking, conversation and the impromptu and formal recitations of poetry. In Samarqand these gatherings were held in a variety of different places. Leading citizens, like the Ahrari family, or the governors hosted them in their homes, especially at holidays. More frequently the poets met casually at a madrasa or a mosque and, when the poet was a tradesman or shopkeeper and could not leave his place of work, at a shop. For Muhammad Badiᶜ these gatherings provided the basic information for his book, the biographical details, the gossip, and, of course, the verses.

He tells the reader that several works served as models: Daulatshah's *Tazkira*[23], the *Tazkira* of Nasrabadi[24], and a tazkira by Maulana Muhammad Baltu "Sami" Samarqandi which does not seem to have survived.[25] Although not specifically cited as an inspiration for his work, Muhammad Badiᶜ also mentions a tazkira (again which does not survive as far as I know)[26] entitled *Riyāż al-shuᶜarā* by Mulla Sadiq Samarqandi.[27] Finally, a source he does not mention but one that comes to mind because of its similar title is the mid-16th-century Bukharan tazkira, *Muzakkir-i aḥbāb* by Hasan Niṣārī.[28]

Despite the inspiration he says he received from these works, what he produced is entirely *sui generis.* First, he structures the work in an egalitarian fashion; poets appear in alphabetical order according to pen-name (*takhalluṣ*) without further hierarchical ordering. Muhammad Badiᶜ shows neither a consciousness of personal status[29] (at least in his

classification scheme) nor a geographic bias. Nisari, for example, classified his poets according to their status in life while Nasrabadi organised his poets by status and region. Nor did Muhammad Badi^{c} provide entries for the well-known and long-dead greats like Khaqani, Hafiz, Rumi and Sa^{c}di, as Daulatshah did, although he frequently mentions them. Even some of the greats of his own time, Sa'ib (d. 1087/1676), for example, or Kalim (d.1061/1651) are mainly of interest to him (he mentions them many times) for the influence they had on the poets in his book.[30] He was personally acquainted with most of his subjects and a majority of them were still alive when he wrote. And only one of those who had died and for whom Muhammad Badi^{c} provides the date of death, had disappeared from the scene before Muhammad Badi^{c} was born. His work therefore is a book about his contemporaries and their lives, as he knew them.

There are qualities in his work that make it particularly appealing to a late 20th-century reader. First is the comparative abundance of social, economic and political information that it contains, some of it—like the reports of murder and the descriptions of drug use—quite gritty. Another is the sometimes self-deprecating, sometimes disarmingly congratulatory way he offers autobiographical tidbits. He makes no attempt to exaggerate his own formal learning, although he did have a high regard for his poetic skills, and he manages to give the impression that he was something of an underachiever whose success was largely due to good connections. Between the ages of ten and thirty nothing much seems to have made an impression on him except the gatherings of poets that he attended. Or so his book implies.

His life changed dramatically when his father died. He seems to have lost not only the dominant figure in his life but also, at least momentarily, the security of his father's salary. He leaves little doubt that his way of life was threatened at this point. He explicitly refers to unnamed "great ones of the time" (*akābir-i vaqt*) who wanted his father's office (the muftiate) and salary that accompanied it but, he says, the khan in Bukhara, ^{c}Abd al-^{c}Aziz (r. 1645–81), "put them in my name".[31] Though the matter is understated, there seems little doubt that Muhammad Badi^{c} was put to some kind of test at this point to obtain his father's office. His use of the rhetorical device of directly addressing the reader ("the readers of these pages should know") to preface his reference to these "great ones of the time" highlights both the seriousness of the threat and his eventual victory. Had he not been appointed to succeed his father as mufti in Samarqand, his prospects for a decent livelihood may well have been dim. He says nothing to indicate that his education at this point was particularly distinguished. (He would come back from his trip to Iran and spend seven years studying Arabic and fiqh and only then make enough

of an impression to get an appointment as *qāżī* based on his own credentials, combined with the recommendation of an influential jurist.[32]) He had probably had a reasonably complete education in the religious sciences by the time he was 30 but the competition for the available salaried offices (qazi, mufti, mudarris)[33] appears to have been intense and we get no strong impression that on his own he would have had sufficiently outstanding qualifications to earn the patronage of the kind of individual who could secure him an appointment. In any event, his father's influence was sufficiently strong that he was not forced to make his own way.

This may do him a disservice and interpret too literally his own self-portrait. It seems safe to assume that he enjoyed the khan's high regard, for just after his father's death, perhaps when he arrived in Bukhara to claim his father's perquisites, he was chosen to go to Isfahan as a member of an embassy to the Safavid court. In fact, Nasrabadi in the entry he gave Muhammad Badi^{c} wrote, "he is highly regarded by, and has good relations with, His Highness ^{c}Abd al-^{c}Aziz Khan and [as a result] came to Isfahan with the envoy, Khwaja Niyāz...".[34] Muhammad Badi^{c} puts a rather different slant on his participation in the embassy when recalling the moment ten years later. After burying his father in the special cemetery for muftis that had grown up around the tomb of the Hanafi theologian, Maturidi, in Samarqand, Muhammad Badi^{c} remembered, "I no longer had any inclination to remain in Samarqand. I wanted to go to the Hejaz by way of Iraq (i.e. overland through Iran) and I got as far as Isfahan. I went as much for the reason of travel as for the reason of compiling this book."[35] The full circumstances under which he made the trip may never be known. He does not mention appointment to a mission, and the fact that he even travelled with an embassy must be deduced from his references to the ambassador (*īlchī*) which are found in only three places in his book. On the first occasion he gives the full name and rank of the ambassador – Beg Niyāz of the Qiyāt tribe, holder of the rank *mīr ākhūr* (chief equerry).[36] Later, when the party was at Simnan and then Kashan, he only refers to him as "the ilchi".[37] From Nasrabadi, who abbreviates and Iranises the name of the envoy into Khwaja Niyaz, we know the embassy was appointed to the court of Shah Sulaiman (r. 1667–94).[38] Why it is that Muhammad Badi^{c} recalls ten years later that the only reason he left Mawarannahr was a desire to go to the Hejaz remains a mystery.

The purpose of the 1090/1679 embassy to Isfahan is also a mystery. It may well have been a 'return' embassy, a response to an envoy sent to Bukhara by Shah Sulaiman. Muhammad Badi^{c} says he left Bukhara in the company of Hajji Baqā of Bukhara and Mas^{c}ud the son of Zaman, a goldsmith from Isfahan.[39] The latter's presence in Bukhara might well be

explained if there had been an earlier embassy sent from the Safavid capital.[40]

The fact that Muhammad Badiᶜ (and, we presume, the ilchi as well) visited the governors of Sarakhs (Zāl Khan), Mashhad (Mirza Saᶜd al-Din), Nishapur (Ibrahim Khan Bayat), and Simnan (Sadiq Khan), during the course of the trip, as well as being hosted by the governor of Erevan (Jamshid Khan) at a *chahār bāgh* he owned in Simnan also suggests a possible motive for the embassy. About two years after the mission left Bukhara, the Bukharan khan, ᶜAbd al-ᶜAziz, set off on his famous 'farewell pilgrimage' along the same route taken by the embassy. It is possible therefore that among the embassy's assignments was to make advance arrangements for this pilgrimage. This might explain the seemingly long time—more than three months[41]—that it took the embassy to travel from Nishapur to Isfahan, about half the total length of the itinerary.[42] Yet there might appear to be an argument against assuming that one of the embassy's assignments was to arrange the khan's pilgrimage across Iran. That is the fact that ᶜAbd al-ᶜAziz set off on the pilgrimage a year before Muhammad Badiᶜ returned to Mawarannahr. But it is, however, possible that the envoy, Beg Niyaz Qiyat, returned long before Muhammad Badiᶜ did, or, perhaps even more likely, that all necessary information was periodically sent back to Bukhara by the ilchi as the embassy made its slow progress across Iran.

One later Iranian source, reporting on the pilgrimage, says that when Shah Śulaiman heard that the Bukharan khan was coming, he ordered all his governors to offer their hospitality.[43] But it taxes one's credulity to think that such an undertaking would have been contemplated without advance permissions and guarantees, not just of safe passage, but of food and shelter. Moreover, the size of this particular pilgrimage caravan, reported by a Central Asian contemporary at "30,000" people,[44] even if highly exaggerated, would certainly have required considerable advance preparation, unless of course there was an annual trans-Iranian pilgrimage caravan like the Ottoman caravans that left Damascus. But we have no evidence at this time that there was such an institution.

Muhammad Badiᶜ's piecemeal account of his three-year sojourn in Iran is principally about his contacts and experiences in nine towns along the route—Sarakhs, Mashhad, Nishapur, Sabzavar, Bistam, Simnan, Aran, Kashan and Isfahan. He appears to have bypassed Qazvin and Qum, apparently taking the fork west of Simnan which joined the Qum–Kashan road about half-way between those two towns.[45] When he returned to Mawarannahr, we know he retraced this route for he makes several references to being in Kashan,[46] Simnan,[47] Sabzavar[48] and Mashhad[49] "on my return" or "for the second time".

The embassy left Bukhara and headed southwest through Qarakul,

crossed the Amu Darya at Charjui and travelled the main route to Marv. Although the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (which has been viewed by later writers as applicable to the period of Shah Sulaiman) indicates that Marv at this time, or at least by the 1720s, was under a Safavid *beglarbegi*, Muhammad Badiᶜ's references raise some questions about Safavid authority in Marv in 1679. For one thing, it is from Marv that the party negotiated with Zal Khan, the governor of Sarakhs, for passage through his territory. "When the author wished to depart from the province of Marv [with the] ilchi and proceed to holy Mashhad by way of Sarakhs and Qalᶜa-yi Muzdavarān,[50] [the governor] accorded the ilchi, Beg Niyaz mir akhur Qiyat, all appropriate pomp and ceremony. No padshahs have witnessed the like."[51] This is hardly conclusive and barely suggestive of Marv's separate status. But references to the fortifications of Sarakhs strongly suggest that it, rather than Marv, is the frontier. Sarakhs is "near the territory of the Uzbeks" and is strong in order to block their path, he writes.[52] Its *qalᶜa* (here probably meaning the citadel) was situated on a hill and surrounded by a moat.[53]

In Sarakhs itself, where the party stopped and spent some time, Zal Khan is the only literary figure who interested Muhammad Badiᶜ. His pen-name, or at least the cognomen by which Muhammad Badiᶜ knew him was "Zāl-i Ṯānī" (Zal the Second) referring to the legendary warrior of the Iranian epic and father of Rustam. The author then plays on the Zal-Rustam theme in the entry for Zal Khan, saying the governor of Sarakhs had fought 72 "Rustam-like" battles and "his courage, manliness and intrepidness were well-known to the Qizilbash of the capital."[54]

Muhammad Badiᶜ provides a number of details about the architecture of Sarakhs at the time and about work carried out under the patronage of Zal Khan. One of the landmarks of Sarakhs that he mentions are the ruins of a madrasa built by Saᶜd al-Din Taftazani (d. 792/1390). Inside the citadel (*arg*) of Sarakhs, the governor himself had built a structure (ᶜ*imāratī*) that commemorated his military career. One of its *aivans* was painted with scenes of "every army [he had defeated], every battlefield and his own method of fighting (*ṭarīqa-yi jang-i khūd*)."[55]

From Sarakhs the misson made its way to Mashhad. For the mufti from Samarqand, the Rizavi shrine and the coffeehouses nearby provided the main focus of interest. He met several people at the shrine and in the coffeehouses who eventually wound up as entries in his anthology. One of them was an unusual denizen of the shrine, the dervish "Ādam-i Mashhadī". Samarqandi first encountered this dervish at one of the entrances to the shrine. "There is a stone *ṣuffa*[56] inside the pure shrine of Imam ᶜAli Riza. To the right of the entrance coming from the avenue called Pāyān Pāy, he sits with his back towards the walls of the entry way (*ṭāq*), facing the back of the Takht-i Abdali."[57] He apparently

made his living by casting lots for passersby and pilgrims to the shrine. Two things in particular struck Muhammad Badi^{c} as odd about the man, although they became friends and spent time socialising together. First was his appearance: he was "tall with blond hair and a ruddy complexion."[58] Secondly, the man sported facial hair which "violates [the sensibilities] of the Shi^{c}is."[59] Later in his account of the dervish, he returns to the theme of facial hair and its symbolic importance to note the length of his mustache, shorter than an Imami Shi^{c}i presumably would wear at the time but not Sunni fashion either. It impressed Muhammad Badi^{c} as "not well-defined, like his beliefs."[60] The author seems to be conveying to the reader here his apparent surprise at finding a man at this quintessential Imami Shi^{c}i shrine openly presenting himself to the pilgrims coming to perform *ziyārat* as, if not anti-Shi^{c}i, at least demonstrably a non-Shi^{c}i and determined to advertise the fact. The shrine was still as important to the Sunnis of the region (including Mawarannahr) as it was to Shi^{c}is. Khurasan had been predominantly a Sunni region long before the Safavid period and well into it and the shrine's co-optation by the Safavid state (as a royal burial ground and an object of royal patronage) does not seem to have discouraged Sunnis from venerating it and performing pilgrimage there. But the shrine had been under the protection of an Imami-Shi^{c}i state for nearly two centuries (with one brief interlude in the 1590s) and perhaps because the other holy sites (Najaf and Karbala) were under Jama^{c}i-Sunni control it had come to be seen as the archetypal Imami-Shi^{c}i pilgrimage destination. Hence the behaviour of non-Shi^{c}is at the shrine might conceivably have been an issue. In hindsight it is easy to read into Muhammad Badi^{c}'s account an awareness of potential Sunni-Shi^{c}i antagonisms, but it is not clear that this passage represents anything more than a certain bemusement at the sight of this odd-looking, odd-acting dervish camped out at the entrance to the great shrine.

Thanks to this curious dervish, Muhammad Badi^{c} met two other men, both of them officials at the shrine. One was Mirza Muhammad Rafi^{c} Mashhadi, whose pen-name was Rafi^{c}.[61] Mirza Rafi^{c} was employed at the shrine as a *pīshdast*,[62] an assistant of some kind to the *mutavallī*, the chief trustee or manager. Muhammad Badi^{c} appears to have been introduced to him by Adam Mashhadi, or he met him simply "through acquaintance with" (*bi-ma^{c}rifat-i*) the dervish. In any event Muhammad Badi^{c} says that the three of them at least once went together for drinks at the "Hazrat's tavern."[63]

It was either through Rafi^{c} or the ambassador, Beg Quli Niyaz, that Muhammad Badi^{c} was introduced to the leading political figure in Mashhad at this time, Mirza Sa^{c}d al-Din the mutavalli of the shrine. Besides that office, he simultaneously held the title of "*vazīr* of

Khurasan".[64] According to Muhammad Badi^{c}, Mirza Sa^{c}d al-Din was also a patron of architecture. He was not, however, a poet and thus rated no separate entry in the anthology. But the information on his building activities is worth reproducing here.

> In the locale of Ṭuruq,[65] right at (*dar sar-i*) the junction (*chahār-rāha*) of the roads leading to Herat, Mazandaran, Nishapur, and Mashhad, which is why they call this place Ṭuruq (Highways) there are several fine buildings (*buq^{c}a-yi khair bisyār ast*). Opposite the caravansarai (*ribāṭ*) built by Mir ^{c}Ali Shir, he [Sa^{c}d al-Din] erected a ribat the like of which no eye has seen nor ear has heard. The gates of (*dar-hā-yi*) that building are [as strong as] a fortress (*qaṣr*) like the Qasr-i Shirin of Farhad and the verse "whose like has never been created in the land" [*Qur'an:* 89:8] is recited about it. It stands on the ground as solid as the Qasr-i Bisitun. Behind it (*dar ẕail-i ān*) he has constructed a verdant formal garden (*chahār bāgh*) which is an image of eternal paradise. Whoever lays eyes on it, there comes unbidden to his tongue the words "the Garden of Eden beneath which rivers flow." [*Qur'an:* 18:30, 98:7]. He also constructed a bath to which the verse "If you are in a state of impurity then cleanse yourself" [*Qur'an:* 5:5] directly pertains. They have inset in its walls and ceiling 'Aleppo glass' so that, when sitting inside, one has the sensation of movement outside.[66] But the writer has let his pen run on too long and here are some verses...[67]

Muhammad Badi^{c} then quotes some verses of Iḥsān, another of his new Mashhadi acquaintances, about Sa^{c}d al-Din and his buildings. One of the verses speaks of an *āyīna-khāna* (mirrored room), perhaps a reference to the bath at Turuq.[68]

Muhammad Badi^{c} was also interested in administrative details. At some point his curiosity led him to ask Mirza Rafi^{c}, the assistant to the mutavalli, what the expenses of the shrine administration (*sarkār*) were and was told that for food and drink (*āb o āsh*) alone, the daily cost was 25 *tūmāns*.[69]

Although the visitor from Samarqand described a musha^{c}ara held at the Hazrat's tavern, this was only one of the places in Mashhad where poets gathered. Muhammad Badi^{c} mentions two coffeehouses, both of them near the shrine—one referred to as "facing the Payan Pay *shabaka*" (the lattice screen surrounding the tomb?)[70] and alternately as "opposite the iron shabaka beside the foot of the Hazrat-i Imam"[71] and the second described as "in the Payan Pay of the shrine."[72] The first was the hangout (*maqām*) of Amir Sharif Muqim, pen-name Ihsan. He was a Husaini

sayyid born and raised near the shrine in Mashhad and was a regular at the coffeehouse facing the shabaka. At the same coffeehouse, Muhammad Badiᶜ socialised with Mirza Rafiᶜ, Adam-i Mashhadi, and "Sadiq-i Samit", a man from Isfahan who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and then gone on to India, eventually winding up in Mashhad at the coffeehouse where he was also a regular (*az muqīmān*) by the time Muhammad Badiᶜ returned to Mashhad in 1093/1682.[73] The second coffeehouse was the haunt of Qasim-i Mashhadi, another poet whom Muhammad Badiᶜ would meet on his return to Mashhad from Isfahan.[74]

From Mashhad to Isfahan the coffeehouse (*qahva-khāna*) was an important place for Muhammad Badiᶜ to meet Iranian poets and exchange news and views about the current state of the art.[75] The phenomenon of the coffeehouse as an intersection of commerce and culture does shed some light, or at least raise new questions on the Iranian cultural realm, particularly the Central Asian part of it, in the world economy. Although coffee had been known in the Middle East since late in the 15th century,[76] it was not until the time of Shah ᶜAbbas I (r. 1587–1629) that coffeehouses can be attested in Iran. They were already a well-known feature of the urban landscape early in his reign and give the appearance of being long-established by the time they are documented.[77] Unlike the other 'social consumables' of this period (tobacco and opium), coffee could not be cultivated in Iran or Central Asia, which was undoubtedly an important factor in the spread of its use. Although its availability and consumption had spread from its point of entry on the Persian Gulf throughout Iran, I have not been able to find evidence yet that it was available or consumed east of Mashhad, except in India to which it could be transported by sea. On the other hand, tobacco, which could be grown in Central Asia, reached Mawarannahr very quickly and was being cultivated, processed, consumed and exported already by Muhammad Badiᶜ's time. Tea (in later times) and opium also could be produced and so found a place in Mawarannahr. But coffee, or at least the coffeehouse, does not seem to have reached Mawarannahr, although future findings may change this conclusion.[78]

But as possible counter evidence, it should be noted that Muhammad Badiᶜ, who was travelling for the first time outside his native Mawarannahr, does not remark on coffee or the coffeehouse as in any way unusual or outside his experience. This might at first suggest that he was familiar with it at home. But that apparent familiarity may have only reflected the retrospective view he had on the subject when he actually began to compile his book, long after he returned from Iran. By then he may have been so familiar with coffee that it may not have seemed worth dwelling on it as something out of the ordinary. In any event, the mystery of coffee in Mawarannahr remains to be explored.

From Mashhad the embassy travelled to Nishapur. The man with whom he seems to have had the most contact there was Hajji ᶜAbd al-Karim, a grandson of one of the best-known poets of the century, Nāẓir-i Nishapuri. ᶜAbd al-Karim, known by the takhallus Karimi, showed the visitor from Turan the sights of the city and its suburbs and took him to the Nauruz celebrations.[79] Muhammad Badiᶜ tells the reader that Iran, and Nishapur in particular, have their own rules (*qavānīn*) for celebrating Nauruz, although he does not elaborate on what those "rules" might be. He does mention that decorations had been hung in Nishapur and ᶜAbd al-Karim and he took a stroll to admire them.[80]

Hajji ᶜAbd al-Karim was probably also his guide to the monuments of Nishapur. Muhammad Badiᶜ visited the tomb and shrine (*mazār*) of Nishapur's most famous son, the poet Farid al-Din ᶜAttar, "one-half of a *farsakh*" outside the city in a spot called "Bīrūn-i Shaikh." There, some 200 years earlier, Mir ᶜAli Shir (Nava'i) had built a madrasa around (*dar gird-i*) the tomb. But in a calamitous earthquake a few years before Muhammad Badiᶜ's visit, the Mir ᶜAli Shir madrasa as well as "all the buildings" in Nishapur had been levelled.[81] ᶜAttar's tombstone (*lauḥī bar sar-i qabr*) had, however, survived intact.[82] Other points of interest in Nishapur were the shrine (*mazār*) of a Shaikh Habib and another shrine (*qadamgāh*) containing two footprints of Imam Riza on a stone slab. "Sultans of the past", Muhammad Badiᶜ notes, had erected a magnificent domed building (*gunbad*) on the brow of a hill near a village named Malaka (or Milka) Shahrī, to house this relic.[83]

Muhammad Badiᶜ also came to know the governor of Nishapur, Ibrahim Khan, and his brother, Muhammad Amin Beg, a poet in his own right, and the governor's panegyrist, Muhammad Rafiᶜ called "Rifᶜat-i Nishapuri."[84] In fact the entire group of acquaintances which Muhammad Badiᶜ made in Nishapur revolved around the governor's household. Rifᶜat-i Nishapuri's teacher was ᶜAbd al-Karim, Muhammad Badiᶜ's host and informant during his stay.

Ibrahim Khan and Muhammad Amin Beg were members of the Bayat tribe which, "since the time of the Shahs, Tahmasb and Ismaᶜil", had held the governorship of this city with only the brief interruption of the neo-Chinggisid/Uzbek years.[85] Muhammad Amin Beg, who earns a place in Muhammad Badiᶜ's tazkira, is described as a *naukar* of the reigning sovereign Shah Sulaiman and the recipient of provisions (*ᶜalūfa*) and a salary (*rātiba*). Muhammad Amin Beg Bayat hosted his own majlis which is where the author met Rifᶜat-i Nishapuri. He describes the Bayat figure as a devotee of mushaᶜaras, a "follower" (*tābiᶜ*) of the *dīvān* of Nazir(a)-yi Nishapuri and a "believer" (*muᶜtaqid*) in the poetry (*shiᶜr*) of Mirza Abu'l-Hasan.[86]

Part of the value of Muhammad Badiᶜ's work lies in its exposition of

the ways in which poets were intellectually connected. This contextualisation of the individual poet was an essential feature of the information about poets which he felt obligated to convey to his readers. The information served to situate individuals otherwise unfamiliar to the Mawarannahrid readership. Certain poets were obviously well-known and needed no such contextualisation. These were people like Sa'ib (of Tabriz and Isfahan), Jamalistani (of Samarqand), Kalim (of Shiraz and Delhi), Nazim (of Herat) and Nazir (of Nishapur).[87] Their names are the moorings to which other people's contributions and creative accomplishments are anchored. This means of integrating new poets into the intellectual realm known to his readers is no small part of the evidence that the world of literature, from which many people in Iran and Turan derived their sense of identity in the world, was a unitary whole, to all appearances unaffected by concerns of religious and political orthodoxy or heterodoxy.

From Nishapur the embassy travelled west to Sabzavar. On this first visit, Muhammad Badi^{c} seems to have made the acquaintance of three of the four Sabzavari poets who would eventually be anthologised: Maulana Mu'min, ^{c}Ali Akbar "Mulla Munīb", and Sayyāḥ-i Sabzavari. For the last of these he provides little usable information and simply quotes six lines of his poetry.

Maulana Mu'min represented a new departure for the man from Samarqand. From Sarakhs to Mashhad to Nishapur, the people he met who composed poetry sufficiently well to gain entry into his anthology were all within the social scope of the embassy—mostly officials and their relatives, retainers and, as in the case of Darvish Adam in Mashhad, friends or acquaintances of official figures. In Sabzavar the pattern changes and we begin to see Samarqandi pursuing more independent fieldwork. Maulana Mu'min is a case in point. Muhammad Badi^{c} met him at his shop, a cloth emporium (*dukkān-i bazzāzī*) located in the main market (*chārsūq*) of the town "near a madrasa built during Mirza Shah Rukh's era."[88] Maulana Mu'min was a wealthy man (*ṣāḥib-i tamavvul*) whose sons managed the business and freed him to spend more time on his poetry, according to Muhammad Badi^{c}. Maulana Mu'min is the first of Muhammad Badi^{c}'s subjects whose acquaintance with the Samarqandi cannot be traced to the embassy and its official contacts. Muhammad Badi^{c} may have begun to be more self-confident about searching out poets or it may simply have been due to the fact that the longer he was in Iran the more names he would hear and the more leads he would have to follow.

From the very slight information he gives for Mulla Munib (^{c}Ali Akbar), the third Sabzavar poet he met on the journey towards Isfahan, there is no way to tell the circumstances under which they met but it

probably had to do with the official contacts of the embassy. At one point he describes him as "a panegyrist for noble governors (*maddāḥ-i ḥukkām-i kiram*) and a eulogist of great scholars (*vaṣṣāf-i fużalā-yi ^{c}iẓām*)" and he may have met him in the company of the governor.[89]

After Sabzavar, Muhammad Badi^{c} finds more and more of his subjects beyond the sphere of the local governor's (or in Isfahan, the Shah's) court, where members of the embassy were likely to have the most contact with the local population. The party's next stop was Bistam. It was apparently a relatively brief stop, judging by the number of people Muhammad Badi^{c} met there, or perhaps Bistam was somewhat of a poetic backwater. Here two new colleagues were found at the shrine complex of Abu Yazid Bistami. They were brothers, Khadim and Latif (Muhammad Taqi),[90] and they worked as schoolteachers (*maktabdār*) at the shrine. The maktab, a school for small children (*aṭfāl*), was known as the Dar al-Ta^{c}alim. There is little other information about them. *En passant*, Muhammad Badi^{c} remarks on the shrine's Friday mosque built by the Ilkhanid Öljeitü but says nothing about its condition. He does however say that "it has a minaret and on every tread of its staircase they say there is a footprint left by the shaikh (Abu Yazid)."[91]

The next major town and stop for the party was Simnan. The group camped at a chahar bagh belonging to Jamshid Khan, at that time the governor of Erevan.[92] One evening Muhammad Badi^{c} attended a gathering at the Friday mosque which stood in the main market square (*chahār sūq*) of Simnan and was built, he was told, during the time of Shah Tahmasb (r. 1524–76). At this get-together at which he was the lone "Turanian" he was impressed by a man whom he knew only by his pen-name, Nūras. Muhammad Badi^{c} was not, at first, favourably inclined to this Simnani poet for he made condescending remarks about Turan and the quality of its literature. "It is very surprising to me," Nuras is quoted as saying, "that there should be anyone in Turan whom one might actually speak to [about poetry]."[93] Earlier, Muhammad Badi^{c} had described him as "exceedingly proud of his poetry" and "rather arrogant about being a poet." But Muhammad Badi^{c} depicts his own response, a *ghazal* which he recited, as winning the approval of those present, including Nuras. He himself evidently overcame his initial impression sufficiently to include Nuras as one of three Simnani poets whose work he felt merited mention in the anthology.[94]

The second venue in Simnan where poetry was being produced was the Aqa Mansur coffeehouse. Here Muhammad Badi^{c} met the eponymous owner and builder of the coffeehouse, himself a poet who composed under the name ^{c}Āshiq. He calls Aqa Mansur one of the relatives (*az jumla-yi aqribā*) of the late Mir Fazūnī who enjoyed wide fame as the author of a satirical *qaṣīda*. Muhammad Badi^{c} says that the qasida was

repeated several times while he was there and he devotes almost two pages of his work to a part of it.[95] As long as he was in Simnan[96] he enjoyed the company and hospitality (*hamṣuḥbatī va hamulfatī*) of Aqa Mansur. The third Simnani poet was Aqa Mansur's teenaged nephew, Muhammad Afzal ("Fażalī") whom Muhammad Badiᶜ met several times at the uncle's coffehouse.[97]

The next lengthy stop for the embassy was Kashan. Either the embassy spent an unusually long time there, giving Muhammad Badiᶜ ample opportunity to meet every poet of consequence in the town, or Kashan truly rivalled Isfahan at this time as a centre of poetic output. Of the 56 Iranian poets in his anthology, he met about 20 in Kashan (although at least three of them were passing through when he met them). Economically, the town and the region around it appear to have been thriving thanks largely to the textile business. "There is a proverb", he writes, "that 'the business of Kashan is high quality textiles'."[98] He also singles out Ārān, about ten kilometres northeast of Kashan, for its textile manufacturing.[99] "All the shops (in Kashan) specialising in velvet (*makhmal*), gold embroidery (*zarbāf*) and high quality piece goods (*parcha-hā-yi khūsh qumāsh*), coming out of Iraq (*shuyūᶜ az ᶜIrāq*), are in the hands of the people of this place (Aran)." In addition, in Aran itself, there were "twenty thousand looms and young and old, men and women, were engaged in this work and there is no unemployment."[100] The number of poets of note in Aran and Kashan tends to support the picture of Kashan's robust economy and the trades in which two of the poets were engaged—silver thread making (*sīm sāzī*)[101] and pattern designing (*naqsh bastan*)[102]—corroborate the picture Muhammad Badiᶜ paints of a town heavily dependent on a single industry.

Muhammad Badiᶜ was introduced to the community of poets in several places in and around Kashan. The embassy stayed at least overnight at a caravansarai, called the Bagh-i Nar caravansarai, somewhere "in the outer part of the city" (*dar bīrūn-i Kāshān*). Muhammad Badiᶜ, like most travellers, is often vague about exact locales. He probably received inaccurate information at times and some gaps in his memory may have occurred by the time he finally got around to putting pen to paper. For example, he calls the village of Rig, another stop on the way to Isfahan, "one of the dependencies of Kashan"[103] although it actually was one stage from Isfahan.[104] In Kashan itself, shops and coffeehouses were the places he later remembers meeting the poets whom he immortalises in his work. A textile pattern designer named Ẓāhir, whose pen-name, appropriately, was "Naqqāsh" (Designer), introduced him to poets at his shop which was located near the Qaisariyya gate.[105] (Whether any of those to whom he was introduced at Naqqash's shop ever made it into his anthology is not clear, since he does not associate any of the 20 or so poets

he met in Kashan with the shop, except Naqqash himself.) Other artisan-poets whom he met in their workplaces, besides those in the textile industry, were Nāṣir, a shoemaker (*kafshdūz*)[106] and the father and son, Fāżil[107] and Anvar,[108] the father (over 100 years old) apparently retired and the son carrying on the family coppersmith business (*misgarī*).

In the course of his two visits to Kashan, Muhammad Badiᶜ visited at least three coffeehouses in the city or in nearby Aran. One of these was the Aghā Qiyāsā coffeehouse on the Maidan-i Sangīn.[109] A second coffeehouse is not identified by name and is only mentioned in conjunction with a meeting he had there on his return home.[110] The third was in Aran. There, on his way south towards Isfahan, he met Muhammad Kazim, whom he depicts as a layabout and a qalandar who hung out at this coffeehouse. Muhammad Badiᶜ speaks of him in the course of describing the dynamism of the textile business, contrasting his idleness with the fact that textile workers "both young and old, men and women, are busy all the time and are never without work" while he sits "without a care in the world" (*bī-taᶜalluqāna*) in the coffeehouse and "plays the role of a person for whom possessions mean nothing."[111]

By the time the embassy entered the gates of Isfahan, Muhammad Badiᶜ must have been very well versed in the contemporary Iranian literary scene. To the man from Samarqand, Isfahan must have seemed like a cornucopia of talent waiting to be sampled. And Muhammad Badiᶜ did indeed sample and record a great deal of talent that even the native Nasrabadi overlooked (or perhaps deliberately ignored). It is interesting to note, as Mirzoev has already pointed out, that of the 56 Iranian poets Muhammad Badiᶜ includes in his work, only nine also made it into Nasrabadi's *Tazkira*.[112] Muhammad Badiᶜ says that Nasrabadi was his idol and his work was the model for his own tazkira. But he seems to have had much more catholic, or perhaps less discriminating,[113] taste than Nasrabadi when it came to selecting poets to include in his work.

When the embassy finally reached Isfahan, it, or at least Muhammad Badiᶜ, settled in the northeast part of the city some distance from many of the places the visitor from Samarqand would regularly go. Muhammad Badiᶜ tells us his lodgings throughout his stay in Isfahan were "outside the Jūbāra gate near the chahar bagh of the *qūshkhāna*.[114] If Isfahan was a Mecca for Muhammad Badiᶜ, then a coffeehouse in Lunbān was its Kaᶜba and Muhammad Tahir Nasrabadi, the Black Stone. By his own account, Muhammad Badiᶜ spent seven months[115] in Isfahan, many, if not most, of his waking hours in the company of Nasrabadi or his eldest son, Mirza Badiᶜ "Ḥayāt", whom Nasrabadi *père* had assigned to show Muhammad Badiᶜ around the town.[116] Nasrabadi *fils* may also have been at least partly responsible for introducing Muhammad to the poets of the city.

Nasrabadi senior held court daily, according to Muhammad Badiᶜ, at a coffeehouse which he had built next to the Masjid-i Lunban. The Lunban gate, presumably near the site of the mosque, stood on the western side of the city, about one-half kilometre due west of the Maidan-i Shah.[117] Nasrabadi relates that Muhammad Badiᶜ "came frequently to the mosque at Lunban and we conversed."[118] Muhammad Badiᶜ, however, is quite clear that it was not at the mosque but at the coffeehouse next to the mosque where they met. Whose recollection was the more accurate is impossible to say. Perhaps to Nasrabadi, mosque and coffeehouse were all one. Muhammad Badiᶜ writes that Nasrabadi presented him with a copy of his "complete divan"[119] but the most important influence that Nasrabadi had on Muhammad Badiᶜ was the example of his own anthology which he was in the process of writing at the time Muhammad Badiᶜ came to Isfahan. "The afore-mentioned *mīrzā janāb* (Nasrabadi) has written a tazkira in several sections (*firqa*) of the poets of his own time whom he has either seen or heard of: a firqa on the Ottomans, a firqa on the Arabs, a firqa on the Iraqis, a firqa on the Khurasanis, a firqa on the Badakhshanis, a firqa on the Hindustanis, a firqa on the Turkistanis, and a firqa on the Mawarannahris.[120] I decided to do the same kind of thing for the Mawarannahris, investigating the lives (*taḥqīq-i aḥvāl*) of the poets and elegant ones (*ẓurafā*) of Mawarannahr, especially Samarqand."[121] He did not, of course, limit himself in the end either to Nasrabadi's classification model or to Mawarannahrid poets. But Nasrabadi's influence seems to have been what persuaded him to write the work in the first place.

Besides the Nasrabadi salon, Muhammad Badiᶜ had a chance to visit many other coffeehouses and places where poets met in Isfahan. He identifies five coffeehouses that he visited besides Nasrabadi's establishment at Lunban and several more indirectly: i) the Aghā Qiyās coffeehouse[122] which stood on the Maidan-i Shah and was the "seventh coffeehouse on the Qaisariyya side";[123] ii) a coffeehouse near the Chaharbagh-i Saᶜadatabad gate;[124] iii) the Takhtgah-i Sifahan coffeehouse, which stood across the street from the "Gunbad-i Hārūn";[125] iv) a coffeehouse "near the old maidan" (*maidān-i kuhna*),[126] and v) a coffeehouse "near the Darvāza-yi Chūbār (*sic*)."[127]

The description of the Agha Qiyas coffeehouse groups it with many other coffeehouses on the Maidan-i Shah. The great square in the southern part of the city was a well-known locale for this kind of establishment[128] so we might assume there were many more than seven open at the time. Further, at least in the contemporary imagination, it was possible to conceive of "one hundred coffeehouses all in a row", for that was an ideal which one of the coffeehouses, the Takhtgah, was said to surpass. The Takhtgah must have indeed been an impressive place and it

may be the one whose interior Jean Chardin describes.[129] Chardin, a near-contemporary of Muhammad Badiᶜ (his visits to Isfahan span the period 1665–77), called Takhtgah ("Tahtegah") "among the famous spots of the city."[130] Echoing Chardin's impression, Muhammad Badiᶜ writes that it was "the favourite spot in this city... and you could say that Isfahan has no better place of pleasure than this even if there were one hundred coffeehouses all in a row."[131]

Two madrasas appear in Muhammad Badiᶜ's recollections as important meeting places for poets. One was the "new madrasa" (*madrasa-yi jadīd-i ᶜālī asās*) which "Shah ᶜAbbas" built.[132] It was here that the author first met "Sahib-i Kashani" a scholar at the madrasa then studying debating and disputation (*munāẓara va mubāḥaṣa*).[133] Muhammad Badiᶜ also met another non-native Isfahani at this madrasa, Najat of Sabzavar. Najat had been raised in one of the quarters of Isfahan, however, and had lived most of his life there. When Muhammad Badiᶜ first met him he was employed by Shah Sulaiman and "prepared account books and paybooks."[134]

The second madrasa he mentions was called the Shahzada madrasa.[135] At a gathering here arranged by the younger Nasrabadi, Muhammad Badiᶜ was introduced to Akhund Vasila-yi Gilani who had come to Isfahan to study (*bi-rasm-i taḥṣīl*) and was pursuing his studies at the Shahzada madrasa. Muhammad Badiᶜ met him just once, apparently. The get-together took place in his room at the madrasa. Other people there, besides Nasrabadi, were Akhund Masiha (Sahib-i Kashani), Hajji Faridun Beg "Sābiq", and Shah Shaukat of Bukhara.[136]

This leads to another point about Muhammad Badiᶜ's stay in Isfahan. He seems to have introduced himself or been introduced to about 24 poets during the "seven months" he spent in Isfahan, but he also seems to have spent most of his time with a small group of friends. They included his guide and namesake, Mirza Badiᶜ "Hayat" Nasrabadi, Shah Shaukat, who was originally from Bukhara but was more appreciated outside his homeland, Hajji Faridun Beg "Sabiq"[137] of Isfahan, and Masᶜud b. Zaman, a goldsmith. Others sometimes appear in the gatherings he attended and are mentioned more than once but these were the mainstays of his company. At least one of them had travelled with him from Bukhara (Masᶜud b. Zaman) and by now they were probably fast friends. Since Masᶜud was also a native Isfahani, Muhammad Badiᶜ may also have depended on him to help with the introductions.

The circle of friends was an eclectic group. Muhammad Badiᶜ was the amanuensis, observing and recording; his namesake Mirza Badiᶜ Nasrabadi "Hayat" was a man of curious religious ideas or, at least, had curious ways of expressing them. "Mirza Hayat spoke of things regarding his sect", wrote Samarqandi, "in a kind of syncretic way which Shiᶜis

labelled as being Sunni and Sunnis called Shi^{c}i."[138] Muhammad Badi^{c} may have been referring to himself as the Sunni who thought these remarks were Shi^{c}i and Hajji Faridun Beg as the Shi^{c}i who thought of them as Sunni. Whatever the sectarian labels with which these men identified themselves, they seem to have got along well. On the return to Samarqand, Muhammad Badi^{c} says that at each stopping place (*manzil*) a letter (*murāsala*) would have arrived from Nasrabadi junior.[139] (Presumably this bit of information is to be understood by the reader as a sign of their friendship.) The fourth person in the group, Shah Shaukat, was perhaps the major figure in poetry at this time. Jan Rypka pairs him with Bidil as one of the last great exponents of the Indian style (*sabk-i hindī*) but says that although he spent the last years of his life in Iran (he died there in 1107/1696), "there is no evidence of his having aroused any notable response there."[140] But Muhammad Badi^{c} gives a rather different impression. He is highly critical of his fellow Turanis for their failure to accord Shah Shaukat his due as a poet and contrasts their lack of respect with the regard shown by the Ottomans and Iranians when he writes, "When [Shah Shaukat] was in Bukhara, the people of Turan despised him as much as they came to admire him after he had gone to Iran. Moreover, Ottoman and Western connoisseurs (*fuṣaḥā-yi Rūm va Maghrib*) such as the rhetoricians of Egypt and Syria, consider the quality of his mode of expression and his meaning to be equal to that of the most exquisite (writers) of Iraq and the poets of Khurasan in terms of eloquence and rhetoric. What can one say about the people of Turkistan who defer to the "good people" of Hindustan. Leaving Badakhshan out of it, what is there to say in this regard about Mawarannahr, which cannot find a single good word to say about him when he is in his own homeland?"[141]

He cites Nasrabadi senior as the final word on Shah Shaukat's place in the pantheon of literary greats. Second only to Khaqani as a "creator of meanings" (*khallāq al-ma^{c}ānī*) was Kalim. Then says Muhammad Badi^{c}, after adducing "one hundred pieces of evidence and one thousand pieces of proof", Nasrabadi awarded Shah Shaukat the laurels of "the third *khallāq al-ma^{c}ānī*".[142]

Shah Shaukat's religious beliefs are depicted as ecumenical in an age not noted for its ecumenicism. According to Muhammad Badi^{c}, "In Iran he was known as being a Shi^{c}i, but he himself really comprehended all 72 sects."[143] He dressed as a dervish wearing a felt cloak (*qabā*) and carrying "a Moses stick (*^{c}aṣā-yi Mūsā*)." He was famous throughout the region and everyone wanted to offer him hospitality and participate in a *ṣuḥbat* with him.[144] Muhammad Badi^{c} apparently knew him only by reputation before embarking on the embassy to Iran. Later, when recalling his first visit to Nishapur, he remembered being excited to learn from Hajji ^{c}Abd

al-Karim, his host there, that Shah Shaukat had passed through not long before on his way to the Hejaz via the holy sites in Iraq (Najaf and Karbala). At each stop after Nishapur, Muhammad Badi^{c} would ask after Shah Shaukat and be told that he had been there and left not long before.[145] Muhammad Badi^{c} finally overtook him in Isfahan and whether it was because Shah Shaukat was flattered to discover a fan of his from Turan or because they simply hit it off from the outset, Shah Shaukat became part of the foursome which often went to the musha^{c}aras together.

When the seven months were over and Muhammad Badi^{c} retraced his route home, his companions remained behind in Isfahan. Later Muhammad Badi^{c} would hear that in 1099/1688, Hajji Faridun Beg made it known publicly that he wanted to go to India. But he never learned what the outcome was. Despite the uncertainties of reliance on word of mouth, communications between Iran and Mawarannahr seem to have been fairly regular. Several times Muhammad Badi^{c} uses the phrase "later I heard", indicating a steady stream of people with news to exchange. For someone like Muhammad Badi^{c}, interested not in historical figures whose poetry could be found in any library, but in living poets, much of whose work was not written down, the lines of communication and the information they carried must have been extremely important.

We do not know how long the trip home took nor do we know if the embassy was still travelling together. The fact that only a few new poets were added to his catalogue on the return trip might indicate less time spent in each town and thus a speedier return trip. Or it may simply mean that he was already well acquainted with the best poets in each town by the time he returned.

There is silence on one subject that seems inexplicable, particularly if the role of the mission was to make advance arrangements for the pilgrimage of ^{c}Abd al-^{c}Aziz Khan. Muhammad Badi^{c} says that the trip to Isfahan and back began in 1090/1679 and ended in 1093/1682. ^{c}Abd al-^{c}Aziz abdicated and made his pilgrimage in 1092/1681 over the same route taken by Muhammad Badi^{c}. In addition, Muhammad Badi^{c} reports that five of the poets in the anthology accompanied ^{c}Abd al-^{c}Aziz Khan on the pilgrimage and refers to the pilgrimage in a number of places in the work. Yet there is no mention that Muhammad Badi^{c} encountered the 'pilgrim khan' either in Isfahan or on the road. But their paths should have crossed.

Two of the encounters on the return trip which the author did report – one in Rig and one in Mashhad – are worth including here because they touch on issues of mobility and communication within the Iranian cultural realm that seem to counter the impressions of isolation and

hostility engendered by the "barrier of heterodoxy" approach. First at Rig, described by Muhammad Badiᶜ as "one of the dependencies of Kashan", he met a poet with the pen-name Vāqif. Vaqif was a musketeer (*tufangchī*), from Qandahar originally, but at this time serving in Shah Sulaiman's army. Muhammad Badiᶜ notes that he had spent 12 years in Iran after leaving Qandahar to come and work for the Shah. The information is tantalisingly incomplete. Is Vaqif a Hanafi Sunni Afghan from Qandahar or an Imami Shiᶜi Qizilbash? Does the sectarian issue have any bearing on the employability of a tufangchi in this period? Qandahar had been in Safavid hands for 30 years by this time[146] and there is nothing other than the common motive of seeking better employment to account for Vaqif's move from his native Qandahar to western Iran.

Back in Mashhad, just before returning to Mawarannahr, Muhammad Badiᶜ returned to the coffeehouse on the Payan Pay avenue next to the Rizavi shrine. There he met an old soldier "from Iraq" whose name was Qasim Mahdi Beg and who was known in poetry circles as "Qasim-i Mashhadi". He must have been quite old if he had actually taken part in the battles he said he had. He had a stock of war stories about the battles which ᶜAbd-Allah Khan (the Abu'l-Khairid Shibanid, d. 1006/1598) had fought with Shah ᶜAbbas. These stories would have been about the almost decade-long struggle in Khurasan (1587–99) between the Shibanids and their Uzbek supporters and the Safavid Shah and the Qizilbash. It seems most unlikely that these could have been about his own experiences and they must have been stories he had heard. But he also told Muhammad Badiᶜ a story about the battle of Kūl-i Māghiyān outside Samarqand in 1020/1611 in which Vali Muhammad, the Tuqay-Timurid, backed by Qizilbash troops, had tried to regain his throne from his nephews and their Uzbek backers. Qasim-i Mashhadi said that he was in one of the Qizilbash units from Khurasan and took part in the fight. If so, he must have been at least in his eighties when he regaled Muhammad Badiᶜ with his stories. He was a good poet, as well as a story-teller, which is the reason for his inclusion in Muhammad Badiᶜ's work, of course, and the latter says that after he had been back in Samarqand for a year or so, he heard that the poetry of a certain Qasim-i Divana was becoming famous in Hindustani; when he eventually saw the divan of his poetry he knew it was Qasim-i Mashhadi.[147]

By the time Muhammad Badiᶜ had returned to Mawarannahr, there had been at least one significant political change with major literary implications, the abdication of ᶜAbd al-ᶜAziz and the pilgrimage that followed. These were perhaps less important for the fact that one politician had stepped aside in favour of another than for the fact that the pilgrimage became the occasion for a substantial number of poets (and

we assume other literary figures and artists as well) to travel to the Holy Cities and beyond.[148] Some of them went apparently in the hope of finding better careers, others simply for the experience. Some returned home overland immediately[149] while others set sail for India after performing the hajj and tried to find employment there. A few stayed in the Hejaz with ᶜAbd al-ᶜAziz, who died at the port of Mukha in 1094/1683.[150]

An interesting example was Naẓr-i Dastūr from Nasaf, known as "Dastūr-i Nasafī".[151] He wrote a qasida for Shah Sulaiman when the khan's pilgrimage caravan reached Isfahan and was given "several tumans of gold" as a reward.[152] After performing the pilgrimage, he sailed for India where he petitioned the Mughal court for an official post. He was made a qazi in Peshawar but had differences with the authorities in Kabul who had jurisdiction over Peshawar and was dismissed by the time Muhammad Badiᶜ came to write his book.

Like Muhammad Badiᶜ, these poet-travellers found not only their views of the world enriched but their poetry as well. Those who returned to Mawarannahr, especially to Samarqand, before A.H. 1100 must have also been important sources for Muhammad Badiᶜ. He singles out one in particular, Hafiz ᶜAbd-Allah "Naumīd" who performed the hajj through Iran (but not in the Bukharan khan's party) and then returned to Samarqand. Muhammad Badiᶜ says that Naumid conversed with the good poets of Khurasan and Iran (*khūbān-i Khurāsān va nīkān-i Īrān*) and came back to Samarqand with a new "maturity" (*pukhtagī*) and "fervour" (*sukhtagī*) in his poetry.[153] He also, no doubt, returned with new information for Muhammad Badiᶜ.

Muhammad Badiᶜ's study of contemporary poetry and its context in Mawrannahr and Iran is a particularly useful vehicle for confronting the concept of a "barrier of heterodoxy". Although he does refer occasionally to sectarian issues, to the beliefs of "Qizilbash and Uzbek" as he characterises it in one place[154] (thus glossing it as a matter more of politics than theology), his concerns are literary issues—mutual influences, innovative ideas, and not least the lifestyle of the people who produced poetry. Implicit in his work is the realisation that poetry, as Lila Abu Lughod has recently shown in a very different context, cannot be treated in isolation from the lives of those who composed it.[155] This realisation is implicit in the space Muhammad Badiᶜ devotes to the economic, social, sexual, and spiritual lives of his subjects. It is implicit in his characterisation and criticism of a poet's work, his use of metaphor appropriate to the occupation, the accomplishments or the status of the poet. It is also implicit in his careful analysis of the connections that bound a poet to his contemporaries and to his antecedents. He makes a very strong case for treating poetry as an integral part of a person's life. Poetry is a purposeful

activity. Poets have mundane reasons for producing it—economic reward, occupational advancement, recognition, and influence. Poets also use their creative skills, as Abu Lughod suggests, as an expression of freedom, an acceptable medium for criticising the moral universe to which the poet feels bound.[156]

From Muhammad Badi^{c}'s study there can be no doubt that the bounds of the world in which the poet operated bore little correlation to the limits of the political units of his time. About one-quarter of the entries in the book are poets who lived in Iran. Had his travels and his research taken him to India, it is probably safe to assume that he would have included any poets met there whose work impressed him. Unless he and the subject of his entry have discussed religious topics, he does not mention sectarian affiliation. Instead, place, especially a town or district, is a principal identifier. And the issue of belief usually has to do with whether the poet "believes in" (is a *mu^{c}taqid* of) one of the greats—Nazim, Nazir, Sa'ib or Kalim and not whether he is a Sunni or Shi^{c}i.

Allowing for the constraints imposed by the communications technology of the time, Muhammad Badi^{c} paints a picture of individual mobility hampered only by the means of the traveller and by the security of the roads from highwaymen. This was no different from the pre-Safavid period. In his work there is no evidence of harassment based on a sectarian state policy either anti-Sunni on the Iranian side or anti-Imami on the Central Asian side. Conditions for travel between Iran and Central Asia seem to have been no different, except topographically, from those between Central Asia and India or Iran and India.

Finally, the *Muẕakkir al-aṣḥāb* is not only an essential guide to the literature of the period, it is a striking testament to the interaction of 'Iranian' and 'Turanian' literary figures and a useful corrective to the notion either that Iran and Central Asia were isolated from each other or that Iran was somehow an obstruction, a "barrier of heterodoxy" separating Central from Western Asia.

NOTES

1. M.G.S. Hodgson's argument for the use of the term 'Sunni–Jama^{c}i' or simply Jama^{c}i (since Shi^{c}is also followed *sunna*) is a persuasive one; see *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago 1974), I, pp. 276-8. But in the period covered by this paper, the protagonists used the terms 'Shi^{c}i' and 'Sunni' in the commonly understood sense when labelling (or libelling) the other.
2. These included: i) the lineage of ^{c}Ali b. Abi Talib through his son Husain as the only legitimate leaders (Imams) of the Muslim community until the disappearance of the twelfth of the line in the 9th century; ii) the unimpeachibility of these Imams as sources of divine revelation after the death of the Prophet Muhammad; and iii) the legal evolution which flowed from that belief and the authority of the scholars

(*mujtahids*) who interpreted the truths for which the Imams were the source.
3. These symbols included: i) the public execration of the three caliphs of ^{c}Ali b. Abi Talib's time—Abu Bakr, ^{c}Umar and ^{c}Uthman; ii) the apotheosis of one of the Prophet Muhammad's spouses, Fatima, and the demonisation of another, ^{c}A'isha; iii) a distinctive call to prayer and similarly distinctive mottos on coinage; iv) the position of the hands during the five daily prayers, and v) tonsorial styles.
4. Arminius Vámbéry, *History of Bokhara from the earliest period down to the present* (London 1873).
5. Ibid., p. 266.
6. Ibid., p. 270.
7. Edward G. Browne, *A history of Persian literature in modern times (A.D. 1500–1924)* (Cambridge 1924), p. 24.
8. Alessandro Bausani, *The Persians from the earliest days to the twentieth century* (London 1971), p. 153.
9. E. Yarshater, Persian poetry in the Timurid and Safavid periods, in Peter Jackson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge 1986), VI, 965 – 94 (p. 977).
10. C.E. Bosworth, "Mā warā al-nahr", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*^{2}, V, p. 859.
11. René Grousset, *L'empire des steppes* (Paris 1948), pp. 562-3.
12. Jan Rypka, Persian literature to the beginning of the twentieth century in idem, *History of Iranian Literature* (Dordrecht 1968), 71–351 (p. 292).
13. In fact all of these interpretations of isolation and schism to one degree or another rest on the unexamined assumption that the 'centre' of Islam, and therefore the culture that was important to Central Asia, was somewhere in the Arab world. This assumption no doubt is a reflection of the culture of Western orientalism, including the way in which orientalists have been trained, in which the study of Arabic is seen as a necessary prerequisite to the study of Persian or Ottoman Turkish. From this perspective, Mughal India is less culturally significant than it might have appeared to Central Asian intellectuals of the 17th century.
14. James D. Tracy (ed.), *The rise of merchant empires: long-distance trade in the early modern world 1350–1750* (Cambridge 1990).
15. Morris Rossabi, The "decline" of the Central Asian Caravan Trade, ibid., 351–70 (p. 361).
16. Robert D. McChesney, The anthology of poets *Muzakkir al-ashab* as a source for the history of seventeenth century Central Asia, in Michel M. Mazzaoui and Vera B. Moreen (eds), *Intellectual studies on Islam: essays written in honor of Martin B. Dickson* (Salt Lake City 1990), 57–84.
17. The dating of his journey and its duration are somewhat uncertain. In the entry he gives himself in his work, he says, "After (my) return from this trip, three years had elapsed (*ba^{c}d az murāja^{c}at-i sair-i maẕkūr muntahā sih sāl shud*), ... then I spent another seven years studying Arabic, fiqh, tafsir, and hadith in Samarqand and Bukhara... and then in this year which is 1100 ... I was appointed qazi in Samarqand." (*Muẕakkir*, ms. no. 610, pp. 258–9). This appears to give a date of 1090/1679 for leaving Bukhara on the outbound trip. In one place he actually says that he began his trip in 1090 (ms. no. 4270, fol. 312b). Yet in another place he writes, "I was at the shrine (of Abu Yazid in Bistam) during the ^{c}*id* (the ^{c}*umra* celebration?) in Rajab 1089/July-August 1678)" (ms. no.610, p. 82) and then, to confuse the issue a little more, immediately after giving the date 1088/1677, he says, "in this aforementioned time (*dar tārīkh-i maẕkūr*) the compiler of this compilation [had come] to Nishapur" (ms. 610, p. 159). Finally he writes on p. 307, "After my return from Iran I met (Hadi of Bukhara) at a perfumer's shop across from the Hammam-i Bahjat in Bukhara in 1090"! For our purposes here the parameters of 1090 and 1093 A.H. serve well enough but should

not be considered final. [Henceforth citations by page number (p.) refer to ms. no. 610 from the Institut Vostokovedeniia in Dushanbe, Tajikistan and by folio numbers (f.) to ms. no. 4270 from the Institut Vostokovedeniia in Tashkent, Uzbekistan unless otherwise indicated.]

18. He mentions a commentary (*sharḥ*) that he apparently wrote on a technical treatise on probate (p. 62). He frequently quotes his own poetry, which he composed on various occasions, although he does not actually take credit for having compiled a *dīvān*, which suggests no book of his poetry was ever produced.

19. In Storey (I/2, pp. 825-6), citing the Bukhara catalogue of A.A. Semenov, the title of the work is given as *Tazkirat al-shuᶜarā-yi Subḥān Qulī Khānī*. According to my notes, the title *Muzakkir al-aṣḥāb* appears on f. 13a of the Tashkent manuscript no. 4270. At this time, I do not have access to that manuscript. My working copy here, no. 610 from Dushanbe, carries the title in modified Arabic script on the endpaper but does not seem to have it in the text itself. The late Abdul Ghani Mirzoev, who first published on this work in 1940 (see note 8 in his Novyi istochnik po literature Irana Sefevidskogo perioda, *Trudy dvadtsat' piatogo mezhdunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov* (Moscow 1963), pp. 269-75), was the leading expert on it and uses the title *Muzakkir al-aṣḥāb*. He was the source for the entry in Aḥmad Gulchīn-i Maᶜānī, *Tārīkh-i tazkira-hā-yi Fārsī* (Tehran 1350/1971), II, pp. 236-41. In the 1960 paper given in Moscow, he mentions a critical edition being prepared "at this time in the Department of Orientalism and Literary Legacy (Otdel vostokovedeniia i pis'mennogo naslediia) of the Academy of Sciences" in Tajikistan ("Novyi istochnik", p. 269). Presumably the work on the edition came to an end with his death for as far as I know it has not yet been published.

The *Muzakkir al-aṣḥāb* has two parts, the main section, written mostly in 1100/1688–9, and an epilogue (*khātima*) containing appendices (*mulḥaqāt*). In one place (f. 124a) the author says that he began writing the main section in 1094/1683. Given the detail with which he recalls his trip to Isfahan, he certainly must have taken notes and may actually have begun the compilation the year after his return. But he apparently did not do much work on it then because in the main section he uses the phrase "today which is 1100" numerous times (pp. 33, 107, 145, 220, 258, 259, 277, 312) mentioning no other date as being "now" or "today". The appendices, on the other hand, were compiled at various times during 1101, 1102, 1103, and 1104 (1689–93), dates which appears as "today's date" in the course of the section.

Mirzoev mentions seven extant manuscripts of the work in the then Soviet Union. While in Tashkent I used three of the four mss there: nos. 4270, 58, and 2727. No. 4270 is reputedly the autograph (A. Semenov *et al., Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Instituta Vostokovedeniia Uzbekskoi S. S. R.* (Tashkent 1971), IX, p. 62). No. 58, which has the most complete version of the *mulḥaqāt*, is quite late, having been copied in 1274/1858 in Bukhara. The main part of no. 610, which is missing almost the entire khatima and mulhaqat, is dated 1248/1832. No. 2727 has no date. In Tashkent my main text was no. 4270, which I supplemented with no. 58 for the last part of the mulhaqat. No. 4270 also had one folio missing at the entry for Nakhat of Kashghar (between the consecutively numbered fols. 232 and 233) and I used fols. 173b–174b of 2727 to fill the gap. The defective no. 2727 concludes in the chapter (of letter) *"nūn"* at Nuras of Simnan. The main part of *Muzakkir* contains entries for 165 poets, by my count. Mirzoev, p. 270 says 166. The appendices contain an additional 37 poets.

20. Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tazkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, ed. Vaḥīd Dastgirdī (Tehran 1317/1938), p. 443.

21. "This year which is 1100 and I am 40 years old", p. 259. But earlier on that same page, the author says that he had spent "30 years under the protection (*ḥimāyat*) of my father when he died... at the age of 72" in 1080. However, the discussion of the intervening period after his father's death makes it quite clear that he probably meant to date his father's death to A.H. 1090 (although the four manuscripts I have seen all say 1080). Mirzoev, without giving a source, dates the author's birth to 1053 (p. 269). Naṣrābādī, p. 443, supports the 1090 date when he says that Muhammad Badiᶜ was in Isfahan a year after his father's death.

22. The conventional notion of "raising" for a male meant his education (whether literary or practical), a task normally undertaken by the father, hence the usual silence in literature about the mother's role in a male child's upbringing. But we do find examples where the mother is credited with the education of a son. One example in the *Muzakkir* is Samiᶜ al-sadat, whose mother took over his education when his father died and thanks to whose tutelage he attained a high degree of expertise in calligraphy and poetry (p. 107).

23. Muḥammad Badīᶜ, p. 7.

24. Ibid., pp. 7, 170–1.

25. Ibid., p. 8. Muhammad Badiᶜ describes this work as covering poets "from the beginning of ᶜAbd-Allah Khan's reign" (i.e. from 981/1573) according to ms. 610 or "from the beginning of ᶜUbaid-Allah Khan's reign" (i.e. from 941/1535) according to ms. 4270, "until the time of the emergence (*khurūj*) of Naẓr Muhammad Khan" (presumably 1051/1641, when he succeeded to the throne at Bukhara on his brother's abdication).

26. There is no mention of this work either in Gulchīn-i Maᶜānī or in Storey.

27. Ibid., p. 62. This tazkira included an entry on one of Muhammad Badiᶜ's subjects, Mulla Tursun "Farā'izī". Muhammad Badiᶜ's wording on the attribution of the tazkira is somewhat convoluted. The text concerns the number of legal treatises written by Fara'izi, whose pen-name derives from his specialty in the law, estate division or the *farā'iż*. The text reads: *ᶜadad-i taṣānīf-i ū-rā ki dar tazkira-yi khūd ki musammā bi-riyāż al-shuᶜarā' karda mullā Ṣādiq Samarqandī navishta ast fihrisī* and then the titles follow. It appears to me that the author of the passage intended the reader to understand that Mulla Sadiq Samarqandi wrote a *fihris* (list) of Fara'izi's works in his (i.e Mulla Sadiq's) tazkira. This appears to be corroborated elsewhere (p. 310) where the phrase "the compilation (*jamᶜ*) of Mulla Sadiq who details the life of Qazi Saqi" is apparently a reference to the same work.

28. Ḥasan Niṣārī Bukhārī, *Muzakkir-i aḥbāb*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Faẓl-Allāh (Hyderabad 1389/1969).

29. It is worth noting that at the time Muhammad Badiᶜ was writing, the ruling khan, Subhan-quli, had a well-known pen-name, Nishān, and a certain fame as a poet. But Muhammad Badiᶜ does not give him an entry. He had nothing against politicians *per se;* the governor of Sarakhs (see below) makes it into his "top 200" but the poetry had to interest Muhammad Badiᶜ and meet his critical standards. In his introduction he explains how he came to choose the people he did.

30. One of the great contributions of this work is the information it contains on the ways in which poets are linked to other poets. However, interpreting this information is not easy. It covers straightforward matters like personal contacts, or teacher-pupil ("so and so is the *shāgird* of so and so") relationships. But it also has a variety of terms to describe other kinds of relationships whose meaning now is not clear. One kind of term refers to a poet's being "a contemporary" of another poet or poets. The words used are *muᶜāṣir, hamsann,* or *hamsannān*. Since virtually all the poets he includes are in one sense contemporaries, that is their lives overlapped, does he use these terms to indicate generational distinctions or do the terms have specific meanings related

to the profession of poet? Another seemingly time- or age-related term is "old" (*kuhna* or *qadīm*) as in *az shuᶜarā-yi qudamā*, "one of the poet ancients". But whether he means old in the sense of age or in the sense of fashion or style again is far from clear. Should we contrast these with another, seemingly opposite, term — *mutaqaddim* (a "modern")? There are also terms which indicate influence, but again the exact sense remains unclear. Poets are *tābiᶜ* or *az tābiᶜīn-i* (an "adherent" or "follower" of [the style? of]) another poet, usually well-known figures like Sa'ib, Nazir of Nishapur, Nazim of Herat or Kalim. An apparently related term is *muᶜtaqid* (a "believer"), that is a believer in the poetry of someone else, again usually a major figure. What, if anything, distinguishes a "follower" of someone from a "believer" is not at all clear to me.

31. Muḥammad Badīᶜ, p. 258.
32. Ibid., p. 259. The jurist was Qazi Mīrakshāh, from a family which had long served as judges in the Samarqand region and had held the post of *shaikh al-islām* there as well for generations until the late 16th century, when the Ahrari family was awarded the office. Ḥāfiẓ-i Tanīsh, *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī (ᶜAbd-Allāh-nāma)*, London, India Office Library, ms. no. 574, f. 275b.
33. There is a point here worth noting—the apparent relationship of appointments to a professorship (*tadrīs*) and a judgeship (*dār al-qażā*), which suggests that the actual funding of the salaries of judgeships was from the endowed professorships at madrasas. In Muhammad Badiᶜ's case too, he mentions that simultaneously with his being "ordered to the Dār al-Qażā" by Qazi Mirakshah, a certain Amir Ibrahim, "who held the post of professor at the Shibani Khan Madrasa offered it to me and I was appointed" (p. 259). This is not an unusual or coincidental occurrence.
34. Naṣrābādī, p. 443.
35. Muḥammad Badīᶜ, p. 258. The last sentence, *ayyumā* (or *īmā*) *bar sabab-i sair dar sabab-i taᶜlīf īn zarīᶜā rafta*, is not entirely clear to me.
36. Ibid., p. 103.
37. Ibid., p. 288 (Simnan), p. 205 (Kashan).
38. Naṣrābādī, p. 443.
39. Muḥammad Badīᶜ, f. 312b.
40. I have not yet found other references either to a mission sent by Shah Sulaiman to Bukhara or a responding one from the khan, ᶜAbd al-ᶜAziz. H. R. Roemer, in a survey of Safavid history, gives the distinct impression that there were few such missions during the Shah Sulaiman era (1667–94), primarily because relations between the two capitals were poor. The only diplomatic exchange that he mentions he dates to 1685, four years after the one in which Muhammad Badiᶜ took part. Unfortunately, Roemer does not provide a reference for this information, see *The Cambridge History of Iran*, VI, p. 304. Riazul Islam, who has done several detailed studies of Iranian-Mughal relations, also does not mention any missions exchanged by Isfahan and Bukhara at this time. One manuscript of the *Muẕakkir*, no. 58, notes in passing that "an ilchi came from Iran to Turan" and while conversing with ᶜAbd al-Karim Bī Naiman (governor of Samarqand at some time between 1050 and 1084/1640 and 1673) a point arose over the meaning of a verse in Firdausi (fol. 251b). Again there is nothing very helpful here except some evidence that diplomatic contacts were probably more regular than is generally believed.
41. Muḥammad Badīᶜ, p. 159.
42. Muhammad Badiᶜ, who is often precise about specific dates, is usually vague or silent about lengths of time. And when he does provide them, the numbers he uses seem chosen more for literary than historical reasons. What he tells us of durations is that "three years" passed from the time he left Mawarannahr until he returned, that the

journey from Nishapur to Isfahan, took "three months" and that "seven months" were spent in Isfahan.

43. Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, *(Mulḥaqāt-i) Tārīkh-i Raużat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī* (Tehran 1339/1960), VIII, p. 489.
44. Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī b. Khwāja Baqā, *Taẕkira-yi Muqīm Khānī*, Royal Asiatic Society, ms. no. 160, f. 68a.
45. Mirzoev, p. 270, believes that he visited Qum but I have found no evidence of this. He did meet poets from Qum, but in Kashan, Muḥammad Badīᶜ, pp. 65, 306.
46. Ibid., pp. 65, 283, 306.
47. Ibid., p. 288.
48. Ibid., p. 212. Here, rather than the phrases "second time" or "on my return", he says that after an all night mushaᶜara in the Khanqah quarter (*guzar-i khāniqāh*) near the Mashhad gate, he set off for Nishapur, i.e. eastbound, on the road towards home.
49. Ibid. p. 201.
50. A village and pass about mid-way between Sarakhs and Mashhad: 55 miles from Mashhad and 50 from Sarakhs according to the General Staff, Headquarters India, *Gazetteer of Persia* (Simla 1910), I, p. 564.
51. Muḥammad Badīᶜ, p. 103.
52. Ibid. The author is probably referring not to the Uzbeks of Bukhara or Samarqand but to the Uzbek tribes of the Qara Kum desert and its oases.
53. Ibid. It is surprising how little seems to have been published on the period of Shah Sulaiman's reign. Klaus Röhrborn in his work on the administrative structure of Iran under the Safavids, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1966), p. 1, notes that unlike previous times, no one at the court of Shah Sulaiman seems to have been writing a chronicle of the period. This lack of a court chronicle, for scholars who have heavily relied on court chronicles, has left a perceptible gap in the historiography of the period.
54. Muḥammad Badīᶜ, p. 103.
57. Ibid.
56. On the various uses of the term *ṣuffa* see Sheila Blair, Ilkhanid architecture and society: an analysis of the endowment deed of the Rabᶜ-i Rashīdī, *Iran* 22 (1984), 67–90 (pp. 69-70). Here the meaning would seem to be a raised platform.
57. Muḥammad Badīᶜ, p. 26. The avenue (*khiyābān*) runs along the northern side of the shrine. It is divided into segments, the eastern most part is called Payan or Payan Pay ("below the foot"). (See the plan in Robert Hillenbrand, Safavid architecture, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, VI, p. 790).
58. Muḥammad Badīᶜ, p. 26: *mardī būd buland qāmat zardīna mūy va sarkhīna rūy.* Muhammad Badiᶜ very rarely gives physical descriptions of his subjects and when he does, I presume it is because the appearance of the individual seemed unusual to him.
59. Ibid.: *maḥāsin rasā bar khilāf-i Shīᶜa-hā dārad.*
60. Ibid.: *hamchūn mashrabash maẕhabash muᶜayyan nīst.*
61. This according to ms. no. 610, p. 99. My notes from 4270 (f. 81a) say the pen-name was Raqim, but it is conceivable I misread it.
62. Ibid.: *bi-khidmat-i pīshdastī manṣūb ast.*
63. Ibid.: *baᶜd az (ān) bi-ittifāq-i Darvīsh Ādam bi-sharābatkhāna-yi ḥażrat ki dar jānib-i bālā-yi sar-i ān bāshad bi-taklīf burd* ("After that [meeting with Mirza Rafiᶜ] together with Darvish Adam [we] repaired to the Hazrat's tavern"). The text has the orthography *sarābatkhāna-yi ḥażrat* which in the absence of a better alternative [and in the context of the cultural milieu with its emphasis in Iran at this time on gathering places for

social drinking (whether wine or coffee)], I read as errant orthography for *sharābkhāna-yi* or *sharbatkhāna-yi ḥażrat*. The establishment in question was at the western end of the khiyaban ("at the head" of the Imam).

64. Muhammad Badiᶜ adds some useful information to what is already known about Safavid administration and the encroachment of the royal domains (the *khāṣṣa*) onto the domains of the state (*mamālik*). According to the Safavid administrative manual published by Minorsky, in the 1720s the governor of Sabzavar also held the title "*vazīr* of Khurasan"' (V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (London 1943), pp. 103, 168). We do not know whether Mirza Saᶜd al-Din was governor of Mashhad as well as mutavalli of the shrine. (*Tadhkirat*, p. 102, seems to suggest the governor of Mashhad should have had the title *beglarbegi*.) Since nearly all the governors of the towns visited are mentioned in the *Muẕakkir al-aṣḥāb*, it is reasonable to think that in 1679 Mirza Saᶜd al-Din was the governor of Mashhad, or at least its leading politician, as well as the representative (as *vazīr*) of the *khāṣṣa* administration in Khurasan and, finally, chief trustee of the Rizavi shrine. Writing at about the time of the Bukharan embassy, Naṣrābādī, p. 442, also mentions Mirza Saᶜd al-Din and calls him "*vazīr* of Khurasan".
65. A junction six miles south of the centre of Mashhad, *Gazetteer of Persia*, p. 722.
66. Muḥammad Badīᶜ, p. 28: *va dar [-i?] dīvār va saqf-i ān-rā bi-shīsha-yi ḥalabī girifta-and ki az darūn nishasta sair-i bīrūn mītavān kard.*
67. Ibid.
68. By the mid-19th century, the tradition seems to have been that Shah Sulaiman built the caravansarai at Turuq and that the date of its construction was 1669; see the *Gazetteer of Persia*, p. 722. It somehow seems unlikely that in 1680, Shah Sulaiman's top official in Khurasan would have been passing the building off as his own, if the Shah had indeed sponsored its construction. And there is no evidence in the written sources that two caravansarais were built at Turuq at this time. It is, of course, possible that Muhammad Badiᶜ simply misunderstood what he was told or someone gave him the wrong information. On the other hand Houtum-Schindler, who seems to be the source on which the *Gazetteer* relied, does not himself state the reason why he attributed the building to Shah Sulaiman. See Qudrat-Allāh Raushanī Zaᶜfarānlū (ed.), *Sih safar-nāma: Harāt, Marv, Mashhad* (Tehran 1347/1968), p. 201.
69. Muḥammad Badīᶜ, p. 99.
70. Ibid., p. 28.
71. Ibid., p. 166.
72. Ibid., pp. 26, 201.
73. Ibid., p. 166.
74. Ibid., p. 201.
75. Rudi Matthee, Coffee in Safavid Iran: commerce and consumption, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 37 (1994), 1–32, provides a comprehensive survey and analysis of the information on coffee and coffeehouses in Iran, significantly amplifying what has hitherto been available through the studies of Ralph Hattox, *Coffee and coffehouses: The origins of a social beverage in the medieval Near East* (Seattle 1986), C. van Arendonk, "Ḳahwa", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam²*, IV, pp. 449-53; and ᶜAli Al-e Dawud, "Coffeehouses", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, VI, pp. 1-2.
76. C. van Arendonk, p. 449.
77. Matthee, p. 20. Not every Iranian town visited by Muhammad Badiᶜ had a coffeehouse. In Sabzavar he was served coffee at a caravansarai near the Iraq gate, and mentions no coffeehouses there or in Sarakhs, Bistam, or Nishapur.
78. My hypothesis is based on the absence of evidence in the *Muẕakkir* for coffeehouses or coffee in Mawarannahr. About one-quarter of the book is devoted to Iran and its

poets and there are at least 19 references to coffeehouses and one additional reference to drinking coffee other than in a coffeehouse. In the remaining three-quarters of the book, which is devoted to the towns of Samarqand, Bukhara, Balkh, Nasaf, Hisar and Tashkent, and a few other smaller locales, I have not been able to find a single reference to a coffeehouse or to drinking coffee, even though many different kinds of places are mentioned as meeting spots for poets. In Central Asia, they gathered at shops, mosques, madrasas and in the homes of the well-to-do. Although we know the tavern (*maykhāna*) was a fairly common establishment, gatherings of poets, at least in Muhammad Badiᶜ's work, never took place in taverns. Another social gathering place was the opium den, called the "Banquet House" (*dār al-bazm*). But it clearly had an unsavory reputation and similarly was not considered a proper place for poetic get-togethers, at least to Muhammad Badiᶜ's way of thinking. His treatment of poets whose haunt is the *dār al-bazm* invariably carries a note of sympathy for the degradation into which they had fallen. e.g., pp. 34, 73, 263–4.

79. Using the 1090–3 parameters for the trip, it seems most likely that the embassy was in Nishapur for the Nauruz of 1680. The year 1090 A.H. did not begin until 12 February 1679 and if the embassy left Bukhara at any other time in 1090 but the very first days of the year then it would have been difficult for it to reach Nishapur by Nauruz of 1679. If indeed it was the following year, that would have given the embassy adequate time for leisurely stops in Marv, Sarakhs and Mashhad before arriving in Nishapur.
80. Muḥammad Badīᶜ, p. 207.
81. Ibid., p. 208 dates the earthquake to 1078/1667. According to most other accounts, the earthquake, which levelled half of Nishapur, killed 1600 people and seriously damaged many of the great monuments in Mashhad, occurred on 30 July 1673, i.e. in 1084 A.H. N.N. Ambraseys and C.P. Melville, *A history of Persian earthquakes* (Cambridge 1982), p. 51.
82. Muḥammad Badīᶜ, p. 209.
83. Ibid. C. Melville, Earthquakes in the history of Nishapur, *Iran* 18 (1980), 103–20 (p. 114), refers to a place called Qadamgah some 25 km southeast of Nishapur, which suffered extensive damage from the 1673 earthquake. Robert Hillenbrand, p. 804, dates the founding of the Qadamgah shrine to 1020/1611 and its repair and refurbishment under Shah ᶜAbbas II to 1053/1643. Muhammad Badiᶜ's description of the *gunbad* on a hill corresponds with Houtum-Schindler's account (see Zaᶜfarānlū, p. 198 and *Gazetteer of Persia*, p. 605), although by the 19th century, the name Malaka Shahri seems to have disappeared. Muhammad Badiᶜ probably visited the site while travelling from Mashhad to Nishapur, perhaps in early March 1680. He makes no mention of the earthquake damage or the repairs carried out on Shah Sulaiman's orders in 1091/1680.
84. Muḥammad Badīᶜ, p. 101.
85. Ibid., p. 31.
86. Ibid., p. 32.
87. From accessible, admittedly mostly European (but not excluding Iranian), sources we get no sense of the networks of poets, mutual influences and critical standards for this period. Perhaps if this work, like Daulatshah's *Taẕkira*, had been published in the Gibb Memorial Series, or indeed published at all, our view of the 17th century and its creativity would be markedly different from what one finds, for instance, in Rypka's *History of Iranian Literature*, or even in more focused studies like E. Yarshater, Persian poetry of the Timurid and Safavid periods, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, VI, 965-94 and idem, Safavid literature: progress or decline?, *Iranian Studies* 7 (1974), 217–70.
88. Muḥammad Badīᶜ, p. 240.
89. Ibid., p. 241

90. Ibid. The author, here as in many other cases, did not learn, or perhaps remember, Khadim's given name.
91. Ibid., p. 82.
92. Ibid., p. 285.
93. Ibid.: *mā-rā ʿajab ast ki dar tūrān kasī paidā shavad ki mukhāṭab gardad.*
94. It is perhaps worth a word or two here about Muhammad Badiʿ's critical standards. For the most part, the reader has only specific words and the connotations attached to them as a guide to how Muhammad Badiʿ evaluated the poetry that he heard. One of the concepts is that of "ideas" (*fikr*, pl. *afkār; mażmūn*, pl. *mażāmīn;* or *maʿnā*, pl. *maʿānī*). Some poets are praised for having "new ideas" in their poetry. What those new ideas were and what constituted an idea is beyond the scope of this paper and my own ability to decode the terminology. However, since many examples are given one could, perhaps, select the examples of poetry characterised as expressing new ideas and see what they might have in common. Other characteristics that merit singling out in Muhammad Badiʿ's mind were "solidity or substance" (*matānat* and *faṭānat*), "delicacy or exquisiteness" (*nazākat*), and "freshness" (*tāzagī*). These terms do not appear to have been chosen indiscriminately nor simply as a device for rhyming the text. But what the imagery or syntax is that produces a condition of "solidness", "delicateness" or "freshness" I am unable to explain at this point.
95. ʿAbd al-Rafiʿ Ḥaqīqat "Rafīʿ", *Farhang-i shuʿarā-yi zabān-i Fārsī* (Tehran 1368/1989), has entries for two (perhaps identical?) early 17th-century poets by this name, "Mīr Maḥmūd Fazūnī Astarābādī" and "Mīr Muḥammad Hāshim Fazūnī Astarābādī".
96. Ms. no. 4270 (f. 152b) gives the date A.H. 1090 for his visit to Simnan, i.e. on the road west. Ms. no. 610 (p.172) in that same place in the text has 1093, which would be on his route home.
97. Ibid., p. 196.
98. Ibid.: *maṣal ast: kār-i kāshān khūsh qumāsh.*
99. Ibid., p. 186.
100. Ibid.: *bī-kār nīstand.* Chardin, who visited the town some ten years earlier, reported that there were 1000 silk weavers in Aran. ʿA.N. Razawi, "Aran", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, II, p. 262.
101. Muḥammad Badīʿ, p. 47.
102. Ibid., p. 279.
103. Ibid. p. 304.
104. I am grateful to Charles Melville for this information.
105. Muḥammad Badīʿ, pp. 279-80.
106. Ibid., p. 284.
107. Ibid., p 181.
108. Ibid., p. 48
109. Ibid., p. 47.
110. Ibid., p. 283.
111. Ibid., p. 186: *vażʿ-i qalandarāna va bi-navāyāna dārad.*
112. Mirzoev, p. 270.
113. Jiri Becka, Tajik literature from the 16th century to the present, in J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature* (Dordrecht 1968), 485–605 (p. 507), apparently believed that other authors deliberately omitted poets who were of working class origin. "Maleho... is important mainly as the author of a *tadhkira* which contains information on Saiido and a number of other authors from the lower ranks who are ignored—obviously on purpose—in other *tadhkiras*."
114. Muḥammad Badīʿ, p. 160. This paper covers some of the same ground as my "Anthology of Poets" but in more detail. When that was written I had only my notes

taken from the manuscripts in Tashkent to rely on. In writing this paper I have been able to use a photocopy of the work (Dushanbe ms. 610) provided through the kindness of Ghulam Husain Ata'i. The manuscript has allowed me to flesh out and in some cases correct information contained in the earlier work.
115. Muḥammad Badīʿ, p. 158. Mirzoev, p. 270, says six months, although he does not say where that figure is mentioned in the work. As mentioned above, Muhammad Badiʿ was vague about intervals of time and the rare instances that he mentions them should not, perhaps, be taken too literally.
116. Muḥammad Badīʿ, p. 71.
117. For the relative locations of the Jubara or Chubar(a) gate and the Lunban gate, some distance beyond which lay the village of Lunban, see Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Der bazar von Isfahan* (Tubingen 1978), map 2. The location of the Chubar(a) gate on their map is however a tentative one.
118. Naṣrābādī, p. 443.
119. Muḥammad Badīʿ, p. 171. This is the manuscript that somehow "went into the water" and was lost when Muhammad Badiʿ was crossing the Amu on the way home.
120. Muhammad Badiʿ did not describe quite the work that Nasrabadi produced, although it is possible that what he saw was different from the published edition that we have today. The firqas that Muhammad Badiʿ describes are rather different from those in the Dastgirdi edition, which is divided into five *ṣaff*, each saff divided into firqas. Only the fourth saff is devoted to poets (*shuʿarā*) proper, although the other saffs (the ruling classes, the sayyids, and the scholars and intellectuals), also wrote poetry, the criterion for inclusion in the work. The fourth saff is divided into three firqas: the poets of Iraq and Khurasan, the poets of Mawarannahr and the poets of India. There are no firqas for Turkistani, Badakhshani, Arab or Ottoman (Rumi) poets. Perhaps all that Muhammad Badiʿ was aware of was the fourth saff of the work and perhaps he only knew it as a work-in-progress. Nasrabadi's entry on Muhammad Badiʿ gives the impression that he was working on the book while Muhammad Badiʿ was in Isfahan. He mentions the death of Muhammad Badiʿ's father as occurring "one year before the writing of this book." This would mean he was writing *ca* A.H. 1091 while Muhammad Badiʿ was in the capital or immediately after he left. The use of tense in the entry for Muhammad Badiʿ—"he came repeatedly to Lunban and we conversed"—suggests that that passage was written after Muhammad Badiʿ left Isfahan; Naṣrābādī, p. 443.
121. Muḥammad Badīʿ, p. 171.
122. Was this connected in some way with the Agha Qiyasa coffeehouse in Kashan?
123. Muḥammad Badīʿ, p. 80. The "Qaisariyya side" was the northern border of the maidan.
124. Ibid., pp. 141-2. This gate was located at the southern end of the great avenue/garden district called Chaharbagh, just across the Zayanda River and was the entrance to the Saʿadatabad garden. I am grateful to Masashi Haneda for this information.
125. Muḥammad Badīʿ, p. 227. In the Gaube/Wirth inventory the shrine complex is no. 289. It is situated about three-quarters of the way along the bazaar running for somewhat over two km in a northeasterly direction from the Maidan-i Shah to the Great Mosque.
126. Ibid., p. 228. The old maidan was adjacent to the Gunbad-i Harun on the northeast side.
127. Ibid., pp. 177, 300. This coffeehouse was near his own lodgings, which lay almost another kilometre beyond the Great Mosque to the northeast. The two references do not directly indicate that one and the same coffeehouse was intended but there is some indication that this was the case. In the first the author is discussing ʿAṭif-i

Isfahani, who may have just left the employ of the Erevan governor, Jamshid Khan, and arrived in Isfahan two weeks before the author came to the city. Muhammad Badiʿ says it was his habit to come to this coffeehouse, very regularly if not daily, at the third prayer time of the day (*namāz-i pīshīn* or *namāz-i ʿaṣr*) and he would meet ʿAtif at this time. In the later reference he notes that his subject, a Tabataba'i sayyid named ʿAbd-Allah, pen-name Vaḥshat, was a regular at this coffehouse. The two entries are linked and the coffeehouses are perhaps to be considered one and the same by the fact that ʿAtif was given his pen-name by the Tabataba'i sayyid Vahshat (p. 177).

128. See ʿAli Al-e ʿDawud, pp. 1-2: "In Isfahan, [coffeehouses] were clustered mainly around Meydān-e Šāh and the Čehel Sutūn and on the Ča(hā)rbāg and near other centers of traffic and commerce, especially in the vicinity of madrasas"; see also Rudi Matthee, pp. 21-2. For Muhammad Badiʿ, Isfahan must have been a physically challenging city. The walk or ride from his lodgings to the coffeehouse at the Maidan-i Shah was about three km each way. It was about three and a half km to the Lunban gate and five to the coffeehouse at the Charbagh-i Saʿadatabad gate.
129. Cited and translated by Rudi Matthee, p. 21.
130. Ibid., p. 22.
131. Muḥammad Badiʿ, p. 227: *maqām-i muʿayyantarīn-i balada-yi mazkūra ast... va tavān mīguft ki Ṣifahān az īn bihtar jā-yi khūshī nadārad tā ṣad qahvakhāna dar yalī yakdīgar uftāda.*
132. It is not clear to me which madrasa this might be. Hillenbrand does not identify a madrasa that might fit this description either for Shahs ʿAbbas I or II. Nor do Gaube and Wirth, though in their work there are two madrasas called "Madrasa-yi Jadda-yi Buzurg" and "Madrasa-yi Jadda-yi Kuchik", the "Big Grandmother's madrasa" and the "Little Grandmother's madrasa". These have inscriptions with dates of 1648 and 1646 (i.e. during the reign of Shah ʿAbbas II) and were both located 150-200 metres northeast of the Maidan-i Shah (nos. 112 and 105 in the Gaube and Wirth inventory). Is it possible that the adjective *jadīd* was later corrupted into *jadda*? [For a list of the religious foundations in Isfahan at this period see Haneda's article in this volume (Ed.)].
133. Muḥammad Badiʿ, p. 167. Sahib-i Kashani is also known as Akhund Masih Kashani and appears elsewhere (p. 271, e.g.) as Masiha-yi Kashani.
134. Ibid., p. 271: *bi-khidmat-i Shāh Sulaimān bi-muhimmāt-i daftar va ṭumār mīpardāzad.*
135. The Shahzada madrasa appears as no. 171 in Gaube/Wirth and is located about 250 metres north-northwest of the Maidan-i Shah.
136. Muḥammad Badiʿ, p. 306.
137. The author provides an interesting footnote on the Takhtgah quarter in the entry for Faridun Beg. He says (p. 134), "he was from the *guzar-i* (passage or street of) Takhtgah, not the same well-known Takhtgah which is near the maidan (*az guzar-i takhtgāh ghair az takhtgāh-i mashhūr ki nazdīk-i maidān ast mībāshad*)."
138. Ibid., p. 72: *sukhan rasī ki muvāfaqat-i mashrab mīvarzīd Mīrzā Ḥayāt-i mazkūr būd nauʿī ittiḥād dar miyāna būd ki shīʿa-hā sunnī va sunnīyān shīʿa mīguftand.*
139. Ibid., p. 71.
140. Jan Rypka, Persian literature to the beginning of the twentieth century, in idem, *History of Iranian Literature*, 71–351 (p. 302).
141. Muḥammad Badiʿ, p. 157: *tā dar Bukhārā būd chih qadr ki mardum-i Tūrān munkir-i mushār ilaihi būdand baʿd az ʿubūr bi-jānib-i Īrān hamān qadr bi-khūbī mūmī ilaihi muqirrand balkih fuṣaḥā-yi Rūm va Maghrib chūn bulaghā-yi Miṣr va Shām bi-rang-i ẓurafā-yi ʿIrāq va shuʿarā-yi Khurāsān bar faṣāḥat va balāghat-i ū muttafiq al-lafẓ vaʾl-maʿnā and az mardum-i Turkistān chih gufta shavad ki khūbān-i Hindūstān taslīm dārand va Badakhshān bar kinārī uftāda-ast dar īn miyāna Māwarānnahr chih gūyad ki bar khūbī ū sukhan nīst hamān tārīkh ki dar vaṭan-i maʾlūf būd.*

142. Ibid. Where Nasrabadi accords Shah Shaukat this honour is not at all clear. Perhaps Muhammad Badiʿ remembered this accolade from a conversation. Naṣrābādī, p. 442, has a typically brief entry for Shah Shaukat (whom he styles "Maulana Shaukat"). All he says about the poet is that he came to Herat in A.H. 1088 where he enjoyed the patronage of the governor, Safi-quli Khan. Later he enjoyed similar favours from the vizier of Khurasan, Mirza Saʿd al-Din, "where he is now". Finally, before citing ten lines of his poetry, he allows that Shah Shaukat's character (*ṭabʿ*) "is not devoid of kind generosity", a phrase he uses for other poets as well. But it is conceivable that Nasrabadi's anthology was little more than a catalogue of the poets of his time and hardly a true reflection—given the number of poets (some 1000) he includes—of his critical assessment of them.
143. Muḥammad Badiʿ, p. 158: *dar mulk-i Īrān bi-shīʿa-gī ṣāḥib-i shuhrat līkan khūd ramz-i fahmān-i sulūk haftād dū millat.*
144. Ibid.
145. Ibid., p. 159.
146. For a comprehensive account of Qandahar's political history in the 16th and 17th centuries see Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian relations: a study of the political and diplomatic relations between the Mughul Empire and Iran* (Tehran 1970).
147. Muḥammad Badiʿ, p. 201.
148. Ibid., pp. 69, 82–3, 107–8, 152–3, 220, 308, and f. 237b.
149. See e.g. the case of Qazi Lutf-Allah "Shākir", who held various judgeships in Bukhara, Miyankal and Samarqand before accompanying the khan to the Holy Cities. Muhammad Badiʿ seems to suggest in his biography of the qazi that the main body of the khan's attendants returned to Mawarannahr by the overland route "through the *ūlka-yi Rūm va Qizilbāsh*", p. 153.

The question of which pilgrimage route was more attractive in this period seemed to have nothing to do with sectarian differences and everything to do with banditry on land and piracy and storms at sea. The information available suggests that travel through Iran was no problem but the route through Ottoman territory (southern Iraq and the desert route to the Hejaz) was especially unsafe. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz's own caravan was attacked in Ottoman territory by Arab bandits. But the route via India was equally perilous, especially the sea portion of the route. The only recorded instance in the *Muẕakkir* of a poet who died a violent death while en route to Mecca is of Mulla Muhammad Jan "Mustaʿidd" of Bukhara. After being rebuffed by the Mughal court when he tried to obtain an appointment, Mustaʿidd sailed for Mecca to perform the hajj. But his ship was attacked by "Franks" (probably the Portuguese), sank, and he perished (p. 222). If the pilgrimage route via India was, on occasion, more attractive than the overland route, it was probably because it was thought at the time to be safer and, perhaps, cheaper than running the Arab gauntlet from Baghdad west.
150. Ibid., f. 135b. (Ms. no. 4270 includes a section not in no. 610 in which the author "corrects" and supplements some of the dates of the *Tārīkh-i Rāqimī*).
151. Ibid., pp. 82–3.
152. Mulla Lāmiʿ, another poet from Nasaf, was rewarded on this same occasion for composing a eulogy for Shah Sulaiman, ibid., p. 308.
153. Ibid., p. 292.
154. Ibid., p. 141.
155. Lila Abu Lughod, *Veiled sentiments: honor and poetry in a Bedouin society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1986).
156. Ibid., p. 258.

PART TWO

SOCIETY AND COMMERCE

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Persian in the Safavid Period: Sketch for an *Etat de Langue*

John R. Perry

I. INTRODUCTION

Even if they can be isolated from the continuum, periods of linguistic evolution do not fall into the same neat segments of political history, or the less precise eras of social history, as we use for convenience in other diachronic studies. Nevertheless, it is self-evident that particular periods of political and social upheaval, characterised among other events by population movements, the promotion, destruction or neglect of particular cities and regions, and radical changes in ideology, can have direct effects on sociolinguistic phenomena and may accelerate or otherwise affect longer-term linguistic shifts. The greater Safavid period (i.e., that during which the peculiarly Safavid political and cultural ethos became and remained dominant in Iran), which extends minimally from the establishment of the dynasty to the Zand and Afsharid interregna after the formal demise of the dynasty itself (*ca* 1500-1800), was just such an era in the history of Iranian society and the Persian language. In particular, the political separation and ideological estrangement of post-Safavid Iran from Central Asia and Afghanistan anticipated the emergence of modern nation states using distinct varieties of Persian.

By "Persian in the Safavid period" I refer primarily not to the literary language, but to the spoken language of the time. The state of the written language may readily be ascertained from the copious Persian literature of the period, and indeed most references to 'language' in scholarly studies of Safavid times concentrate on the written language and are asides on literature rather than language.[1] Much of this is irrelevant and even misleading, given the lag of generations (centuries, even) before a conservative literary language basing itself on a rigid poetic tradition is

likely to reflect changes in contemporary spoken usage. Obviously we can never know directly how Persian was spoken between the late 15th and early 19th centuries; the earliest audio recordings come from the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar. However, there are abundant if indirect and disparate data scattered throughout the writings of Iranians and foreign visitors of the time, little of which have been used so far. These we may set against our sketchy ideas of spoken Persian of pre-Safavid times and our more reliable knowledge of modern Persian, to hazard some guesses as to the state of the sound system, changes in vocabulary and idiom, and sociolinguistic trends.

A few observations and caveats are in order concerning the European transcriptions of Persian words that will be cited as phonological evidence in what follows. Historians of the greater Safavid period are familiar with European (especially English and French) renditions of Persian and Turkish names and terms, varying from the amusingly recognisable to the totally opaque in accordance with the writer's degree of familiarity with the language, his consistency in his attempts to render alien sounds in the unstandardised and non-phonemic orthography of his own language, and the reliability of the typesetter in reproducing his manuscript. From Sherley to Hanway, characters such as "Oliver de Beag", "Mortis Ally", "Hoschroff" and the "Ophgoons", however barbarously assimilated to the writer's own cultural norms, generally pose few problems.[2] With utterances other than names, there are fewer clues to the source form. Occasionally a writer will assimilate a term totally to a tempting homograph or cognate in his own language, as *daughter* for *dukhtar* 'daughter, girl'; in other cases a reproduced form evidently rests on a misunderstanding of the informant, as the gloss 'a cloud' for *sephyte* (i.e. *sefīd* 'white').[3] Where the representation of vowels, in particular, is inconsistent, the reader may decide for himself whether the evidence adduced is convincing.

The only European visitors to Safavid Iran who seem to have left a conscientious linguistic record of their experiences are Sir Thomas Herbert, Engelbert Kæmpfer and Joseph Labrosse. The Englishman Herbert, a close friend of Charles I, went to Iran with Sir Dodmore Cotton's embassy (which also included Robert Sherley) in 1627-8 and subsequently wrote several interesting accounts of his impressions; his Travels of 1638 includes a six-page Persian-English glossary and phrasebook in transcription.[4] Kæmpfer, a German, arrived in 1684 together with a Swedish embassy, and stayed a few years as physician to the Dutch merchants in the Gulf; among his writings are a topically arranged Persian-Dutch dictionary and a Persian-Turkish-Dutch vocabulary with a Turkish phrasebook, in transcription.[5] Labrosse, a discalced Carmelite missionary from Toulouse better known under his religious

alias of Ange de Saint Joseph, lived in Isfahan from 1664 to 1678 and learned Persian well; his *Gazophylacium Linguae Persarum* of 1684—ostensibly an Italian-Latin-French-Persian dictionary—is a veritable encyclopaedia of contemporary Iran, including a few transcriptions that indicate the colloquial pronunciation of the time.[6] Labrosse's work has been used by linguists, but so far as I am aware the notes of Herbert and Kæmpfer on Persian have not been taken into consideration. In general, the more naive Herbert (who often does not distinguish between Persian and Turkish) seems to be a more reliable informant for the sounds and idioms he heard; Kæmpfer and Labrosse, with their amateur scholarly approach, do not regularly distinguish between literary and spoken Persian.

II. PHONOLOGY UP TO THE SAFAVID PERIOD

The relative chronology of sound changes in Persian is problematic and controversial. The following survey of specific developments up to the beginning of the Safavid period is intended to establish an approximate *status quo,* not as a definitive statement on the questions broached.

The principal shibboleth distinguishing modern Persian of Iran from eastern dialects (Tajik of Central Asia, Dari or Kaboli of Afghanistan, Indo-Persian) and from earlier Classical Persian of Iran is the absence of the so-called *majhūl* vowels. Though not distinguished in the Arabic script, each of the "long" vowels represented by *vāv* and *yā* originally had two distinct realisations: /ū/ and /ō/, as in *zūd* 'soon' and *rōz* 'day' respectively, and /ī/ and /ē/, as in *pīr* 'old' and *dalēr* 'bold', or the minimal pair *shīr* 'milk' and *shēr* 'lion'. The two different vowels were not considered to rhyme in early Classical Persian verse; some time later, however, such rhymes begin to creep in, and in most varieties of western Persian of the last few centuries it is evident that the lower vowel of each pair has gradually merged with the higher vowel (/ō/ > /ū/ and /ē/ > /ī/). The available evidence, chiefly from the incidence or absence of rhymes in these vowels, suggests that /ō/ (*vāv-i majhūl*) had disappeared by end of the 12th century and /ē/ (*yā-yi majhūl*) by the late 15th or, at the outside, the early 17th century.[7] Thus /ō/ in this context had almost certainly dropped from the vowel repertory of western Persian by the beginning of the Safavid era, while /ē/ was probably still to be met with in some places up to the middle or even the end of the period.

This is entirely unconnected with the question of the realisation of the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/, by way of /ow/ and /ey/, as /ō/ and /ē/ respectively, which can occur in many varieties of western Persian under certain phonological conditions (in the colloquial pronunciation of, e.g.,

naxayr as /naxeyr/ or /naxēr/ or *dawra* as /dowre/ or /dōre/). Diphthongs are still a distinctive feature of eastern Persian dialects. Here, as in the related question of the shift from a bilabial pronunciation of consonantal *vāv* /w/ (as still heard in eastern Persian) to labiodental /v/as heard in present-day Iran, there is insufficient evidence to postulate a date.[8] All indications in the transcriptions given by Herbert and Kæmpfer are that 17th-century Persian was close to modern Persian in these respects.

Several other general sound changes had definitively taken place by the beginning of the 16th century. Consonants had disappeared, such as *vāv-i maᶜdūla*, i.e. the cluster /xv/ was reduced to /x/ in words such as /xvēš/ > /xīš/ and /xvad/ > /xud/, which in examples of the second type entailed rounding of the following vowel;[9] and fricative /δ/, an earlier allophone of /d/ represented by dotted *dāl* (*ẕāl-i muᶜajjama*) that was still a feature of southwestern Persian in the 13th century, seems to have disappeared almost everywhere by the 16th.[10] The collapse of /q/(the uvular plosive of Arabic and Turkish, not native to Persian) and /γ/(the uvular fricative common to Arabic, Turkish and Persian), which resulted in the identical pronunciation of *qāf* and *ghayn* in most of western Iran today, appears to have been achieved by the 15th century under the influence of Turkish.[11]

Another phonological shift—more accurately, an example of morphological drift in the lexicon—which had been largely completed by the onset of the Safavid period involves a class of some 1500 Arabic loanwords in Persian, namely those in the feminine ending *-a*, which are lexicalised in Persian either as *-a* (ending in the 'silent *h*') or *-at*. In the course of the past millennium, at least twenty-five percent of those originally incorporated in *-at* (initially a majority of the class) have shifted to *-a* (realised in current pronunciation of Tehran as /e/): e.g., *tajrubat* > *tajruba, maqālat* > *maqāla*. This drift, the rationale of which need not here concern us, is a continuing process; however, it seems to have peaked during the 12th to the 13th century.[12]

The realisation of non-final /a/, the 'short' vowel sometimes represented by *fatḥa*, is likewise thought to be in a state of continuing evolution in Persian of Iran. Despite considerable allophonic range, there is today a clear difference of quality between the low, front, open [æ] of Tehran or 'standard' Persian and the mid, central, half-open [ʌ] of Afghan, Tajik and Indo-Persian usage. These more conservative dialects are presumed to preserve more closely the articulation of this vowel in Classical Persian, before it was progressively raised in western dialects. Impressions of the degree of this raising at different periods are necessarily subjective and approximate. European visitors to Safavid Iran (including Kæmpfer and Labrosse) mostly use *e* to transcribe this vowel, or more rarely *a*; English visitors (including Herbert) mostly use *a*, and

more rarely *e*. This confirms the generally open, front quality of the vowel, but leaves vague a considerable range of tongue-height as between /a/ and /e/.

One environment where this vowel has been consistently raised to /e/ in modern Persian of Iran is in the (stressed) negative prefix before the verbal prefix *mī-* (formerly *mē-*, with *yā-yi majhūl*), as in /nemikonad/, /nemigoft/, etc. This must have happened subsequent to (and consequent on) the raising of the *majhūl* vowel; unfortunately there is no instance of a relevant verb form in Herbert to indicate whether this had happened by the early 1600s. The word *yak* 'one', today generally pronounced /yek/, was heard as such in the 15th century,[13] and again in the early 17th, going by Herbert's transcriptions *yeek, yeck, yec*.[14] Conversely, what appears to be a lowering of /e/ to /a/ in the word *emruz* 'today' was heard by the authors of the Codex Cumanicus in the early 14th century (*amruz*), and confirmed in Isfahan by Herbert (*amrowse*); apparently this is still a feature of Isfahan dialect today.[15]

Spoken Persian of the 16th to the 18th centuries, then, must have sounded much like that of today, with the following exceptions. The /ē/ reflex of *yā-yi majhūl*, as mentioned, may have been heard in words such as *pēsh, rēsh, darvēsh*. Final /a/ as represented in both Persian and Arabic vocabulary by the 'silent h' (*hā-yi mukhtafī*), which in modern west Persian usage is typically raised to /e/ as in /xāne/, /ejāze/, was still pronounced /a/. The raising to /e/ is generally dated as recently as the later 19th century, and thought to have begun in and spread from Tehran.[16] However, there are indications that this striking change (nowadays the most obvious shibboleth for Persian of Iran as distinct from Tajik and Kaboli) was already under way in the Safavid period.

III. SOUND CHANGES DURING THE SAFAVID PERIOD

A single member of this large class, the word *shanba* 'Saturday' and its compounds, has been pronounced /šambe/ at least since the early 15th century, on the evidence of its transcription in Armenian manuscripts.[17] It even shows this same pronunciation, anomalously, in the eastern dialects, which otherwise preserve /a/ in final position. In this case, as in that of the negative prefix in /nemi-/ forms of the verb, and that of /yak/> /yek/, a single high-frequency, semantically prominent vocable which forms part of a paradigmatic system (conjugation, numerals, dates) has anticipated and perhaps reinforced a general trend.

Almost without exception, Kæmpfer transcribes the final short vowel as *-è, -eh or èh* (e.g., *divonè, sjanbeh*) which—since he mostly transcribes /a/ in any other position as *e*—is not conclusive evidence for a

distinctive raising of final /a/. In Herbert's material we find final short /a/ in fifteen words given as *-a* or *-ah* (e.g., *Cobba* [*qaḥba*] 'a Whore', *Taghtah* 'a Table'). Only one word and its compounds or collocations (four instances) is transcribed with final *-ey*, sufficiently and consistently indicating a raised vowel: this is *Conney* [*khāna*] 'a House', as also *Adam Conney* 'a Privy' (perhaps for *ābdast-khāna*?), *Ob-Conney* 'a Close stoole', *Conney neese* 'He is not within'. There is a single exception: *Quo jaas chonna sumaw?* 'Where is your house?'.[18] It is not unlikely, I suggest, that this high-frequency vocable, at least in some idiolects and especially in the common adverbial *khāna (nīst)* '(he is not) at home', had already followed the lead taken by *shanba* and brought the raising of final /a/ one step closer to its universal application in Persian of three centuries thence.

Yet another feature of modern colloquial Persian that is generally assumed to have originated as a relatively recent feature of Tehran dialect can be found in the speech of Safavid Isfahan. This is the selective realisation of 'long' /ā/ before a nasal as /ū/, e.g. /xāne/ > /xūne/, /āmad/ > /ūmad/. In fact it can be shown to be a much older tendency in New Persian and other Iranian languages.[19] Latin transcriptions of a Persian translation of the Koran made by Spanish Carmelite monks in southern Iran between 1608 and 1622 reproduce this feature in words such as *nume* (< *nāma*), *āsoni* (< *āsānī*), *biaxumid* (< *biāshāmīd*).[20] Herbert has no fewer than ten familiar words showing this shift, e.g., *Emoom, Noon, Dandoon, untraf, Colloom* (for *ghulām*), *Tiroon* (for *tehrān*); the transcription of the vowel corresponds consistently to his representation of canonical /ū/ as in *saboon, zood.*[21] Labrosse has occasional examples, as *bigoune.*[22] As today, the feature is selective: Herbert has *Roam* 'Thighes' (for *rān*) and *Zavoan* 'a speech or lang[uage].'[23] In general, high-register, more 'literary' words are not subject to this rule: thus *zabān* in its literal meaning, as in *sāndvīch-i zabān* 'tongue sandwich', may colloquially be pronounced /zabūn/, but not in the metaphorical sense 'language'.

This facultative sound change is evidently not a 'shift', in the diachronic or telic sense of the progressive raising of /a/ or the shift of feminine-ending *-at* > *-a*, but rather a manifestation of a latent rule that may or may not be triggered at different times in different milieus.[24] On a sociolinguistic level, it seems possible that this feature—and perhaps also the tendency to raise /a/ in final or other prominent positions—might be typical not so much of a particular time or place, such as 17th-century Isfahan or 20th-century Tehran, but of 'the metropolis' as an absolute, or a particular section of its potentially mobile speech community. It has often been noted that the speech patterns of the court and related high-status institutions in a capital city such as London or Paris were imitated by the upwardly-mobile in the same and more distant regions: the uvular *r* [R] now characteristic of much of central western Europe began in Paris in

the century before the French revolution.[25] But what if the court and the capital were rarely in the same place for longer than a generation, as happened in Iran (with the exception of Isfahan between 1597 and the 1730s) from the late 15th to the early 19th century?

If we consider that the Safavid court (accompanied by its bureacracy, army, camp followers and other personnel) migrated twice from one city to another (Tabriz to Qazvin to Isfahan), and that subsequently the Zand capital of Shiraz and the Qajar capital of Tehran were of necessity 'staffed' by the same classes of people, including many of the same individuals, it should not surprise us if a distinctive court or metropolitan sociolect should evolve, not only passing on its peculiar features to later generations of the same classes but distributing them more widely to the citizenry of different centres who would tend to imitate high-status speech patterns. The effects of just such a mobile sociolect are evident in the lexicon, as demonstrated in the next two sections, so why should they not also affect phonology?

IV. THE LEXICON

The most significant lexical (and grammatical) innovation of Timurid times, well established in Safavid historiography, was the induction of the demonstrative adjective *ān* 'that' into the pronominal system to represent the third person neuter pronoun 'it', in contrast with *ū* 'he/she';[26] modern Persian usage was thus differentiated from Classical (and Turkish), where the third person pronoun *ū* (Turkish *o*) does not distinguish between animate and inanimate, human and non-human, or male and female. This limited introduction of grammatical gender, distinguishing human from non-human, marks an isolated step in the direction of de-turkicisation for Persian of this and the ensuing period, which is otherwise characterised by a continuing turkicisation of the lexicon and some of the syntax of Persian.

Herbert's vocabulary and phrasebook preserve several terms and expressions which strike the modern ear as archaic, or even as characteristic of the Persian of Afghanistan; such are *Hackeam* 'a Physitian', *Farsang* (nowadays more usually *farsakh*), *Respun* 'Thred' (cf. Persian *rīsmān*, Kaboli *rēspān*, but subjected to the /ān/ > /ūn/ shift), *Hali* 'Now' (cf. Persian *ḥālā*, Kaboli *ḥālē*), *paola* [*piyāla*] 'Cup', *Chaldery* 'How doe you?' (cf. Persian *ḥāl-i shumā/ ḥālat chetawr ast*, Kaboli *che ḥāl dārī*), and the reply *Shoocoro-Whoddaw* (*shukru-khudā*, cf. literary Persian *khudā-rā shukr*; spoken Persian came to prefer *al-ḥamdu li-llāh*, Kaboli and Tajik *shukr-ullāh*).[27] Lexically as well as phonologically, it appears that western Persian has changed more rapidly than eastern Persian in the course of the past 350 years.

The Mongol and Timurid invasions had already introduced a stratum of Mongolian and Turco-Mongolian vocabulary into Persian, some of which continued in use into the Safavid period. Much of this, having to do with the military and administration (*dārūgha, bulūk,* etc.), was ephemeral, being superseded during Safavid, Qajar, or at the latest early Pahlavi times. Among the few still in general use are *nōkar* 'manservant', *qadaghan* 'forbidden', *qeychī* 'scissors', *kumak* 'help' (which has formed a verb) and *jelow* 'bridle', which has expanded its scope to adverbial and prepositional use, 'in front (of)'.[28]

The scope of Arabic as a living literary language continued to diminish (though the volume of religious writing increased with the establishment of state Shiᶜism); inscriptions on metalwork and other artefacts are increasingly to be found in Persian rather than Arabic. However, official documents and hack historiography suffer a fresh upsurge of bureaucratic Arabisms (*fi'l-jumla* 'in sum', *fi'l-vāqiᶜ* 'actually', *ḥisbu'l-amr* 'as instructed' and its barbarous synonym *ḥisbu'l-farmān, ᶜalā ḥida* 'separate(ly)'—the last is common in colloquial Kaboli as /alayda/. It was Safavid bureaucrats, too, who popularised the use of the Arabic feminine plural in *-āt* to form collectives such as *māliyāt* 'taxes, taxation, finances', *nivishtajāt* 'writings' and regional toponyms such as *gīlānāt, shamīrānāt.*[29]

Native Persian words and long-assimilated Arabic loanwords were of course changing subtly in meaning, or at least gained connotations in speech which did not always surface in writing. One such was *ṣuḥbat* (< Arabic *ṣuḥba* 'company, friendly relations'), which combines with the auxiliary *kardan* to form an everyday Persian verb. The original meaning of the verb, 'to keep company, socialise (with)' specialised in two distinct directions: in modern Persian it is the common idiom for 'to chat, talk, speak', while in Indo-Persian and subsequent Urdu usage its primary meaning is 'to have sex'. (This in part closely parallels the evolution of English *intercourse,* which up until the early years of this century connoted 'communication, social intercourse', but which now means 'sexual intercourse' unless otherwise glossed.) As used in Persian poetry, especially the sufified *sabk-i Hindī* verse popular in both Iran and India in the later Safavid period, *ṣuḥbat* and its verb are mostly ambiguous (deliberately so, one often suspects), and the translator faced with a phrase like *ṣuḥbat-i yār* in a ghazal may not be sure whether to plump for a friendly chat, a passionate copulation or a metaphorical soul-mating, or to play it safe with the still-valid cover-sense of 'companionship, company.' I do not know of any citations from this period that would indicate convincingly whether the respective semantic specialisations were already established in either western or eastern Persian; however, there is an attestation of yet another specialised use of the word in early Safavid

court custom. The Venetian Michele Membré, visiting the court of Shah Tahmasb at Tabriz in 1540, describes an all-night party held by the Shah's brother, with alcohol and music, as a *ṣuḥbat (socpeti),* which accords with (Ottoman) Turkish usage of the time.[30]

A formal court banquet, we learn from Olearius (at Isfahan during 1636-8), was *sufra* (/süfre/ in Turkish, which was the language in which the grace was pronounced).[31] This old Arabic borrowing, basically meaning a tablecloth or napkin, comes naturally (like English 'table') to denote a meal: in present-day Persian it refers regularly to a votive repast given in thanks for a vow fulfilled. It is obviously the source of the Georgian *sopra,* a structured banquet with abundant liquor and a series of ritual toasts; the court of Tiflis, a vassal of the Shah for most of this period (except when prudence dictated a switch of allegiance to the Ottoman Sultan) borrowed or adapted a great deal of Safavid ceremonial together with its Turco-Persian terminology.

V. TURKICISM

Though the Safavid family may not have been ethnic Turks in origin, by the time they came to power in Iran they were turcophone by choice, and their principal tribal and other military supporters were Turks. Persian, however, was already established among speakers of every vernacular in the Turco-Iranian world as the superordinate written language and (increasingly in competition with Turkish) the major supraregional contact vernacular. As is well known, both Turkish and Persian literatures were patronised by the Shahs, who themselves wrote and spoke in both languages. Officers of the court and army, and evidently lower ranks, switched codes with a facility that passed over the head of occasional visitors like Herbert, however sympathetic and conscientious in their language studies. Eight of his "Persian" phrases, and a sprinkling of words in his glossary, are pure Turkish, e.g. *Oglan* 'Boy', *Whotoon* 'Mayden', *Sekym* 'Stones' (properly, 'penis'), *Ojam* '[I am] Hungry', *Man San O* 'I Thou He', *choggee* 'Healthie', *Ecbar Tanghy/-Tanghea,* i.e. the "Turkish *ezāfa*" form of *Tang-i Allāhu akbar,* a gorge near Shiraz.

There is even an amusing hybrid, *Na-choggea* 'Sick' (i.e. the Persian negative prefix added to Turkish *choq iyi* 'very good/well').[32] This might be dismissed as a joke, except that the Danish traveller Niebuhr lists a series of terms for officers of provincial musketeers (*tufangchī*) campaigning for the Zand ruler on the Gulf littoral in the 1760s, which are Persian-Turkish hybrids: modelled on the Turco-Mongol decimal system, the ranks nevertheless express some of the numerical qualifiers in Persian, as *mīn-bāshī, yūz-bāshī* but *pānṣad-bāshī, panjāh-bāshī, dah-bāshī.*[33]

The most obvious way in which post-Timurid Persia and its language was subject to turkicisation was in the presence, and acceptance, of a large and important Turkish speech community in the country, as exemplified above in Herbert's half-digested experience of Turkish as the everyday spoken language alongside and interwoven with the 'official' language, Persian. Sir Thomas, on his way from the Caucasus to Gilan and thence to Isfahan, was inevitably thrown into the company of soldiers, courtiers, and other subjects and servants of the Shah who were not native speakers of the nominal language. My own first experience of Iran was strikingly similar to Herbert's, in that I was not suddenly dropped into Mehrabad and whisked to the north of Tehran, listening to Persian as expected; I journeyed overland from the Turkish frontier, passing through towns where Turkish continued to be spoken, in the company of truck drivers and, finally, even in south Tehran, the owners and staff of *musāfir-khāna*s who spoke Turkish rather than Persian. Overland travellers to Iran, from Timurid through Safavid to Qajar times and up to the present, have inevitably found themselves in corridors, both geographical and sociological, where through quirks of economic and social history they hear more Turkish than Persian.

Chardin also noted this, and Pietro della Valle stated that spoken Turkish was so common among all classes in Iran as to be the lingua franca. At the same time, it enjoyed high prestige as the language of the ruling family and the Qizilbash tribes; Olearius writes that Persians actively learned Turkish, and Kæmpfer claimed: "From the court it spread to the leading families of the Persians to such an extent that it is now almost shameful in Persia for a man of distinction to be ignorant of Turkish."[34] If Arabic, the language of the evangelists of Islam, had such a profound effect on Persian, it is hardly surprising that Turkish, the language of the evangelists of state Shiᶜism, did not remain simply an alternative vernacular in Iran, but by dint of increasing bilingualism exerted a direct influence on the lexicon and grammar of Persian. This is manifested overtly in the many loanwords of obvious Turkish origin (*āqā, khānum, yaylāq, qishlāq, qāchāq,* etc.), and more revealingly in the way some of these terms parallel Persian synonyms on a more vernacular level of the lexicon: of the words for 'knife', Persian *kārd* is the hero's blade or the neutral kitchen implement, Turkish *chāqū* tends to connote the ruffian's switchblade; of the words for 'horse', Persian *asb* is the riding steed, Turkish *yābū* is the pack nag; Persian *murgh* 'hen, chicken' is originally the literary, generic term 'bird', *jūja* (probably of Iranian etymology, but shared with Turkish) is the more vernacular 'chick' and 'chicken' when cooked.

Turkish has also infiltrated Persian in more subtle, covert ways that have not been identified as turkicisms. A striking example from the field

of popular Shiᶜi ritual is the word *taᶜziya,* referring in Iran (like its Persian synonym *shabīh* or *shabīh-khwānī*) to the 'passion play' or dramatic representation of the tragedy of Karbala as presented during the Muharram mourning holidays. In the Subcontinent, taᶜziya designates a cenotaph, a model of the martyr's mausoleum carried in procession on 10 Muharram. This Arabic word was originally incorporated into Persian as *taᶜziyat* with the meaning 'mourning, condolence', and together with its verbal form *taᶜziyat guftan* 'to offer condolences' remains in this form in Persian of today. In this same meaning, however, Turkic languages (Ottoman and modern Turkish, Azarbaijani, Uzbek, Tatar—to the extent that the word has not been replaced in the lexicon by *teselli* or another synonym) consistently show the shifted form *taᶜziya.* Most of them do not have the Shiᶜi cultic sense 'passion play' as found in Persian, since this is alien to their Sunni culture. Azarbaijani, however, in addition to the Shiᶜi meaning, has the unspecialised, evidently transitional, sense 'funeral (obsequies)': the drama of Husain, or the *ᶜāshūrā* procession, or its cenotaph, are in fact a re-enactment of the martyr's funeral as it evolved in Safavid Iran (and was taken, at an earlier stage of its evolution, to India). The continued use of the earlier doublet *taᶜziyat* in an unspecialised sense and the existence of a transparent Persian synonym for *taᶜziya* clinches the evidence that the latter is a *Rückwanderer,* an Arabic loanword in Persian subsequently borrowed into Turkish, specialised and differentiated, then reborrowed into Persian.[35]

A similar example of semantic shift in an Arabic loanword in Persian which has probably been incubated in Turkish and returned to Persian (though this is harder to prove) is *musāfir* 'traveller, passenger; transient, (hotel) guest'. Both meanings are present in Persian and in Turkish of Turkey and Azarbaijan, but whereas in (literary) Persian the original sense of 'traveller' is primary, in Turkish the derived sense (backformed from *musāfir-khāna* 'transient hotel') is primary. I believe that a frequency-count of occurrences in spoken Persian would show the derived meaning to be primary here as well, arguing that the immediate provenance of Persian *musāfir* 'hotel guest', as of *taᶜziya,* is not mediaeval Arabic but Turkish in recent centuries.

In an earlier article I argued that the shift in word order in royal titulature from the type with a preposed title (*Shāh Ismāᶜīl, Shāh ᶜAbbās, Shāh Sulaymān*) to the type with a postposed title (*Nādir Shāh, Fathᶜalī Shāh, Riżā Shāh*), which is standard in Iran from the end of the Safavid dynasty, is simply the unconscious adoption of Turkish syntax (i.e. modifier before head) in what had previously been a Persian noun phrase (head before modifier). This was merely a belated stage of a process that had been under way since Timurid times or earlier: in, e.g., *Ṭahmāsb Mīrzā* and *Īraj Mīrzā,* a Persian title is postposed to designate a prince of the ruling

(Turkish) house, whether Safavid or Qajar, imitating the postposing of Turkish titles such as *khān* and *āqā*. These particular turkicisms, expressing the political dominance of Turkish military dynasts over the Iranian world, left the way clear for the titles *shāh, mīr* and *mīrzā* (lit. 'born of an emir') to be preposed, as per Persian syntax, for metaphorical use in the titulature of sufi leaders (*Shāh Niᶜmatullāh Valī, Shāh Mīr Ḥamza, Mīr Ḥaydar*) and of bureaucrats and writers (*Mīrzā [Muḥammad] Ṣādiq Nāmī, Mīrzā [Abu'l-Qāsim] ᶜĀrif*), which represented social niches in which Persians could enjoy cultural prominence. A variety of other collocations, including culinary delicacies such as *barra kabāb* and *sabzī pulau*, are frozen Turkish syntagms from this same period.[36]

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The high status that Turkish attained as the language of the ruling elite has diminished in Iran with the assimilation and ultimate demise of the turcophone dynasties of recent centuries. Turkish vocabulary and turkicisms, never as pervasive in Persian as the Arabic element, have been seamlessly assimilated and, where there is any sociolinguistic difference, are to be found in the lower registers of present-day Persian speech. The contrast with Central Asian varieties of Persian, especially the strongly turkicised Tajik of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, is illuminating. The infiltration and subsequent invasion and settlement of Turkish populations on the Iranian plateau occurred later than in the Oxus basin, but not by much, and both regions were ruled by turcophone dynasties from about 1400 until the 1920s (except for the Zand interlude in western Iran, *ca* 1750–1800). More significant was the pattern and depth of settlement. Generally speaking, Turkish speech communities in Iran were more scattered, and even where they were concentrated, as in Azarbaijan, they seem to have remained nomadic pastoralists, complementing rather than competing with the agrarian and urban Persian population, for longer than in Central Asia. As a result, the linguistic picture in and around the Oxus basin, where the Tajiks were confined to oasis cities and mountain refuges or soon assimilated with the Turks, was one of persophone islands in a Turkish sea; on the plateau, it was more a panorama of turcophone islands (and reefs) in a Persian sea.

The decisive factor was most likely the degree to which Persian had already established itself on the western plateau, not only as a literary language but as a widespread vernacular, by the 13th century. Although literary New Persian had been born in the Oxus basin under the Samanids during the 10th century, it was nevertheless a dialect of *Fārsī* of southwestern Iran, and spread rapidly as a spoken tongue over the

territory of its related western dialects; whereas in Central Asia it had barely replaced the indigenous, and quite distinct, Iranian vernaculars such as Sogdian and Khwarazmian when its range was overrun by waves of Turkish speakers in the vanguard and wake of the Mongols.[37] Since that time until the Soviet period, Persian of Central Asia evolved in diglossic channels, distributed by the implacable *mīrāb* of declining literacy between a nostalgic, conservative literature and an increasingly turkicised vernacular. On the western plateau, even when the Safavid conquest of Iran to an extent recapitulated the traditional turcophone invasions (though from west to east, reversing the traditional direction), the endorsement by the bilingual rulers of literary Persian secured its status, blunting the effects of turkicisation and permitting the development of Persian vernaculars homoglossically, in sociocultural proximity to the literary language.

It is worthwhile adding a coda to this disparate collection of remarks, tending as they do to underline both Persian's continuing membership, though under pressure, in the Indo-European confraternity and our indebtedness to the curiosity of European travellers for clues to its status in Safavid times. The recognition of the unity of Indo-European and the resulting rise of comparative philology is generally attributed to Sir William Jones's address to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1786, focusing on Sanskrit. However, as Benedict Anderson points out in this connection: "From the earliest days, Portuguese, Dutch and Spanish seamen, missionaries, merchants and soldiers had, for practical reasons... gathered word-lists of non-European languages...".[38] Some at least of these adventurers realised intuitively that certain exotic vernaculars might be related to their own tongue, though the rationales they proposed were as yet unscientific. A century and a half before Jones, Sir Thomas Herbert (and here we call to mind his transcription of *dukhtar* as *daughter*) justifies his inclusion of a section on the Persian language not only because it may "peradventure benefit the future Traveller" but because "it may shew thee the affinity it has with the Saxon in many words (for from the *Sacae* a people neere Mount *Taurus* they borrow both Name and Descent)".[39]

NOTES

1. E.g., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, VI, pp. 950-2, 979.
2. Respectively to be identified as Allah Verdi Beg, Murtaza ᶜAli, Ashraf, Afghans.
3. Thomas Herbert, *Some Yeares Travels into Africa & Asia the Great...* (London 1638), p. 245.
4. Herbert, pp. 244-50.
5. Engelbert Kæmpfer, *Lexicon Linguae Persicae*, British Library, ms. Sloane 2919;

Vocabularium Persicum et Turcicum, British Library, ms. Sloane 2924 (see Rieu II, p. 518).

6. Angelus a Sancto Iosepho [Joseph Labrosse], *Gazophylacium linguae Persarum/Lughat-i farang va pārs*, ed. Janson Waesberg (Amsterdam 1684); Ange de Saint-Joseph, dans le siècle Joseph Labrosse, *Souvenirs de la Perse safavide et autres lieux de l'Orient*, trans. and annotated by Michel Bastiaensen (Brussels 1985).
7. Jalāl Matīnī, Taḥavvul-i talaffuẓ-i kalimāt-i fārsī dar daura-yi islāmī, *Majalla-yi dānishkada-yi adabiyāt-i Dānishgāh-i Mashhad* 7/ii (1350/1971), p. 276; Andrzej Pisowicz, *Origins of the New and Middle Persian phonological systems* (Cracow 1985), p. 82; T. V. Kāmyār, Zabān-i fārsī dar ʿaṣr-i Ḥāfiẓ, *Majalla-yi zabānshināsī* 9/ii (Winter 1371/1993), pp. 76-80. The latter article provides an excellent summary of the various arguments for the history of several Persian sound changes.
8. Pisowicz, pp. 22-7, 59, 117-21; Kāmyār, pp. 85, 91.
9. Pisowicz, pp. 121-3; Kāmyār, pp. 70-5.
10. Pisowicz, pp. 107-11; Kāmyār, pp. 82-4.
11. Pisowicz, pp. 112-14, 117.
12. John R. Perry, *Form and meaning in Persian vocabulary: the Arabic feminine ending* (Costa Mesa 1991), pp. 110, 134-6.
13. Pisowicz, p. 79 (based on a Russian traveller's transcription *jek*).
14. Herbert, pp. 249, 250.
15. Pisowicz, p. 77; Herbert, p. 246.
16. Pisowicz, pp. 84-5; Kāmyār, p. 92.
17. Pisowicz, p. 76.
18. Sequentially pp. 247, 248, 249.
19. ʿAli Ashraf Ṣādiqī, Tabdīl-i "ān" va "ām" ba "ūn" va "ūm" dar fārsī-yi guftārī va sābiqa-yi tārīkhī-yi ān, *Majalla-yi zabānshināsī* 1/i (Spring-Summer 1363/1984), pp. 55-8, 61-2.
20. Pisowicz, pp. 79-80; Ṣādiqī, p. 60 (both referring to A. Bodrogligeti, The Persian Translation of the Koran in Latin Letters, *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 13 (1961), 261-76).
21. Herbert, pp. 245-8; Ṣādiqī, p. 61.
22. Pisowicz, p. 81.
23. Herbert, respectively pp. 246, 245.
24. For further discussion see Margaret Kahn and Jared Bernstein, Progress of the uN change in Persian: *dabestān* vs. *tābestun*, *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 35/i (1981), 133-40, and Ṣādiqī's article, which is in part a response to Kahn and Bernstein.
25. Peter Rickard, *A history of the French language* (London 1974), p. 112.
26. Muḥammad Taqī Bahār, *Sabk-shināsī*, III (Tehran 1337/1959), p. 255.
27. Sequentially, pp. 245, 246, 247, 249.
28. For an extensive list, see Bahār, pp. 242-3.
29. Bahār, pp. 241-3.
30. Michele Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)*, trans. with introduction and notes by A.H. Morton (London 1993), pp. 39, 96.
31. Tourkhan Gandjei, Turkish in the Safavid Court of Isfahan, in *Mélanges offerts à Irène Mélikoff, Turcica* 21-23 (Paris 1991), p. 313.
32. Herbert, p. 248.
33. Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibungen nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Länden*, II (Copenhagen 1774-8), p. 103.
34. Gandjei, pp. 311-12, 315.
35 Perry, *Form and Meaning*, pp. 182-3.
36. John R. Perry, *Mīrzā, mashtī* and *jūja kabāb:* Some cases of anomalous noun phrase

word order in Persian, *Pembroke Papers* 1 (Cambridge 1990), 213-36.

37. For discussion of these developments, see Gilbert Lazard, *The origins of literary Persian* (Foundation for Iranian Studies Annual Nouruz Lecture Series, Bethesda Md. 1993), esp. pp. 23-38.
38. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities* (Revised ed., Vista, New York 1992), p. 70.
39. Herbert, p. 244.

Pembroke Papers 4 (1996), 285-304

Similar Farmans from the Reign of Shah Safi

Iraj Afshar

We know that royal *farmān*s and orders concerning the remission of taxes and the redress of extortion and injustice, which had to be notified to the general public and preserved from being effaced and forgotten during the years they were in force, were engraved in stone and fixed on the walls of mosques and other public buildings, such as *khāniqāh*s and *takya*s, where those who were able to could read them for others.

Such inscriptions, some of which have survived in different cities, preserve important social, urban and historical information. Since their texts have not survived on paper, and no example has yet been found of a farman preserved both on paper and in stone, these inscriptions are basic first-hand sources for socio-historical studies. More such inscriptions exist for the Safavid period than for any other dynasty.[1] H.L. Rabino, during his stay in Mazandaran, Gilan and Astarabad, was the first scholar to collect some of these inscriptions, in about 1910; they were later printed in his book, *Mázandarán and Astarábád.*[2]

Apart from introducing various examples of these farmans, the aim of this paper is to draw the attention of scholars to the mistakes in reading, as well as variations in orthography, terminology and wording, that have occurred at the different stages of writing, engraving, copying and printing. This is clear from a comparison between the texts of the farmans and the published editions of them (see Appendices 1 and 2 for the Persian texts). At the same time, we will consider the manner in which similar farmans, having the same purpose (*muttaḥid al-ma'āl*), or circulars (*dastūr al-ᶜamal*), were issued. From this it will appear that many farmans concerning taxes and their remissions had a regional form, and were possibly intended for execution throughout the kingdom (*mamālik-i maḥrūsa*), though at present only a few examples are available.

The six farmans which will be discussed here belong to the reign of

Shah Safi (1038-52/1629-42). Four are dated A.H. 1046 and the other two 1047. Those in the first group are very similar and will be analysed in detail; the two dated 1047 are identical, and are noted briefly for the sake of completeness.

TWO FARMANS OF A.H. 1047

These two farmans (see Appendix 1) are dated Jumada II, 1047 and concern the prohibition of the contributions to the salary of the master of the royal hunt (*rusūm-i mīr shikār-bāshī*). This salary was received from ten professional groups: huntsmen (*ṣayyād*), skinners (*sallākh*), fishermen and fish-cooks (*māhīgīr va māhīpaz*), pigeon-fliers (*kabūtar-bāz*), makers of falconer's gloves (*bahla-dūz*), weavers of hunting bags (*kīsa-dūz*), chicken-sellers (*murgh-furūsh*), gut-sellers (*lālā-furūsh* = *rūda-furūsh*) and sellers of roasted livers (*jigarpaz*). In this year, these payments were exempted.

Two texts of this farman are known:[3] one in Astarabad, dated 6 Jumada II, 1047/26 October 1637, engraved on a stone tablet fixed to the Masjid-i Jamiᶜ in Astarabad (modern Gurgan).[4] The second inscription is attached to the wall of the entrance hall (*dihlīz*) of the Masjid-i Jamiᶜ of Yazd.[5]

FOUR FARMANS OF A.H. 1046

Three of these farmans are dated Muharram 1046/beg. 5 June 1636 and one is dated a month later, Safar/July (see Appendix 2).

(i) The inscription fixed on the wall of the Masjid-i Jamiᶜ of Qa'in, dated Muharram 1046, is addressed to Khwaja Jalal Beg, vizier of Khurasan. It concerns the concession of taxes (*māl-o-ḥuqūq*) from the Hindus called Khaṭīrān, the Kavulis [Kabulis] and the Hasan Abdallu and Baghdadlu tribes, and paying the salary of the Kavuligari. I saw this inscription 30 years while travelling on holiday, transcribed a summary of it and printed it in *Yaghmā*.[6] It is identified in the text by the letter 'q' (*qāf*).

Muhsin Saᶜid-zada has given a short account of the inscription and expressed the view that it was perhaps transferred to Qa'in from somewhere else.[7] This of course is a false assumption.

(ii) The inscription fixed on the wall of the mausoleum of Shah Qasim Anvar in the village of Langar, near Turbat-i Jam, is also dated Muharram 1046 and addressed to Khwaja Jalal Beg, vizier of Khurasan. It has the same contents as the Qa'in farman, but mentions 12 groups of guilds who enjoyed the tax concession. The names of these groups are given outside the text of the document and are engraved after the date. The text of this

inscription is given by ᶜAbd al-Hamid Maulavi;[8] it is identified by the letter 'l' (*lām*).

(iii) The third example of the inscription is fixed on the wall of the Masjid-i Sultani, situated in the Mahalla-yi bazar in Asadabad. It is addressed to the *ḥukkām, dārūgha, kalāntar* and *mubāshirān* of Nihavand, Asadabad, Harsin, Dinavar, Bailavar, Sunqur, Jūrāb and Malayir, and also concerns the concession of government taxes (*māl-o-huqūq-i dīvānī*) in respect of 16 classes of the poor, which are named outside the body of the text, below the date (again, Muharram 1046).

This inscription has been transcribed and published by Masᶜud Gulzari,[9] and is identified in the text by the letter 's' (*sīn*).

(iv) The final example, dated Safar 1046, is attached to the entrance hall of the Masjid-i Jamiᶜ in Yazd. It is addressed to the vizier, kalantar and *dārūgha-yi maḥāll*, with the same contents as the three earlier examples, but it mentions 18 guilds who enjoyed the concession. As before, their names are given outside the text and after the date of the inscription.

I have published this inscription in *Yādgārhā-yi Yazd;*[10] it is distinguished in Appendix 2 by the letter 'y' (*yā*).

According to the Safavid chronicles of Safi's reign, the Shah was in Ardabil during the month of Muharram 1046.[11] It seems therefore that these four farmans were signed in Ardabil and sent to Khurasan, Hamadan and Yazd. Although so far no other examples have been found, it is likely that in time, inscriptions of such farmans will also be found elsewhere.

A question arising here is whether these farmans were circulated altogether round other metropolitan cities, or at least round those which had a similar social and economic situation, or whether, when the people of one city got to know that tax exemptions had been received by another, they also petitioned and agitated for a similar concession to be issued. I have so far found no documentary reference to clarify this point, but the fact that the farmans of A.H. 1046 concern three areas very far apart suggests the farmans were sent in the form of a circular, with some specific local particulars.

I now turn to consider the variations in the form, phrasing, words and terminology of the farmans, and attempt to explain the reasons for these differences. First, it should be said that I have pictures only of the inscriptions in Yazd, and my judgments and suggestions regarding the other inscriptions are based purely on the published texts.

Variations in Subjects and Topics

(i) *Geographical names.* These vary according to the place concerned, thus *Dār al-ᶜibāda-yi Yazd, Sarkār-i Qā'in, Ulkā-yi Jām,* etc.
(ii) *Personal names.* Khwaja Jalal Beg, vizier of Khurasan, is named in the farmans of Qa'in and Langar; no personal name is found in the other two [see line 22].
(iii) *Offices and ranks.* These vary according to the status of the authorities concerned. Thus the vizier is addressed in the case of Qa'in and Yazd, and *ḥukkām* for the *maḥāll* of Nihavand, Asadabad and elsewhere; *ᶜummāl va musta'jir* is used in the farmans for Qa'in and Langar, and *mubāshirān-i umūr-i dīvānī* in the other two [see line 8 of the text]. Apparently the jurisdiction of the mubashir was wider, because it was concerned with the larger areas of Yazd and Asadabad, as opposed to Qa'in and Langar. Musta'jir is a term sometimes found alone, and sometimes together with *hama sāla-dār;* thus musta'jir in the farmans of Asadabad and Yazd, but *hama sāla-dārān va musta'jirān* in the case of Qa'in and Langar [see lines 15-16 and 34 of the text].

The term *raᶜiyatkhāna* is found denoting a group of people dwelling in a city. In the farmans of Qa'in and Langar, it is used twice instead of the term *fuyūj* (sing. *fauj*); the sense of the phrase indicates that raᶜiyatkhana denotes a lesser group than fuyuj.

Another variation determined by the nature of the context is in the terminology used for the taxes concerned. *Māl-o-ḥuqūq* is used in the farmans of Asadabad and Yazd, whereas in Qa'in and Langar this is replaced by *māl-o-jihāt, ḥuqūq-i dīvānī* or *vujūhāt* [see line 5]. Mal-o-huquq (-i divani) means payment in cash, while mal-o-jihat signifies cash and kind.

A further variation is related to the period of the payment of the taxes. Qa'in and Langar's farmans refer to the budget of Sichqan-yil (*muᶜāmala-yi sīchqān-yīl*); in the farmans of Asadabad and Yazd we read *az ibtidā-yi sīchqān-yīl* (from the beginning of Sichqan-yil), see line 5. Sichqan-yil began at Nauruz 1636 (12 Shawwal 1045), i.e. before the farman was issued, making it retrospective in its effect. The Astarabad farman of Jumada II, 1047 relates to the beginning of Pars-yil (Nauruz 1638, 5 Zu'l-Qaᶜda 1047) and therefore refers to the coming year.

Formal variations

Two of the four farmans of A.H. 1046 (Asadabad and Yazd) have a few lines less in content. The additional phrases and contents in the other two, being related to one region, have no fundamental differences, except

that in Qa'in's farman, the phrase *hama sāla-dār va musta'jir* is used in the singular, while in the case of Langar, the phrase *hama sāla-dārān va musta'jirān* is found in the plural [line 34].

Similarly, we see the words *takhfīf va taṣadduq* (for Langar) compared with merely *takhfīf* in the other three, and the additional phrase *yik dīnār bih aḥadī nadihand* is found in Qa'in's farman [lines 12-13].

Variations due to transcription and copying

The other variations found in the inscriptions are largely due to the long interval between the writing of the farman by the secretary and their publication in print about four centuries later. They have passed through the following stages, at all of which variations could be introduced.
(i) The secretary could write a single concept in two ways by the use of synonyms, like *kāfa* (in Langar) instead of *ᶜumūm* (in Qa'in) [line 3]; *mazkūr* (in Langar) and *mazbūr* (in Yazd) [line 11; see also line 16]. Sometimes differences arose from a slip of the pen, or from variations of orthography, as in the case of a word like *humāyūn* (or *humayūn*) [line 1], or the use of *hamza* on the letter *'h'* at the end of a word, in the form of *'y'*. Under this heading also come differences such as the word *bā* (in Langar) instead of *az* in other inscriptions, and *shavand* (in Asadabad), instead of *būda* (in Yazd) and *gashta* (in Langar) [line 3]. The forms *miyān* (in Langar) instead of *miyāna* [line 2], and *duᶜāy* (again in Langar) instead of *duᶜāgū'ī* [line 4] can also be placed in this category, athough they may be due to the bad reading or writing of the transcriber or inscriber.
(ii) After the farman reached its destination, it was handed over to a calligrapher with a clear hand, who would transcribe it onto paper by tracing (*girda-bar-dārī*) and needlepoint (*sūzan-zan*), so that the engraver could transfer it onto the stone. In order to insert the matter of the farman into the minimum possible number of lines and a more restricted area, the calligrapher was forced to write the words one above another according to his taste, to accommodate the text onto the most suitable stone. Sometimes he wrote in such a way that a later word preceded an earlier one, and sometimes a word or letter might be omitted.

In my opinion, the various lacunae in these four inscriptions are the result of bad writing by the calligrapher when transferring it onto the stone. For example, *mā* (Langar); *va alṭāf* (Qa'in and Langar); *va istadāmat* (Langar); *mazkūr* (Qa'in); *rā* (Asadabad); *mazkūra* (Qa'in); *hama sāla* (Langar); *jamāᶜat-i lūliyān* (Langar); *mashhūr bi khaṭīrān* (Langar); *ḥusn* (Langar); *kirām-i dīvān-i aᶜlā* (Langar); *mushakhkhaṣ* (Qa'in); *raqm* (Langar); *rasad* (Langar); *jamᶜ* (Langar) and *qarār* (Langar). These and other lacunae are marked in the text in Appendix 2 by a hollow square.

(iii) The engravers too made changes in the process of inscribing the stone and mistakes occurred; if they engraved similar letters incorrectly (e.g. *y, m, b, q* or *f*), this would cause variations in the text.
(iv) Finally, further differences could result from incorrect readings by those deciphering these inscriptions, compounded by printing mistakes in contemporary books.

Thus many mistakes and variations could be introduced during the process of recording these inscriptions and some words in these farmans may be some way from the original texts. It cannot therefore be said that these farmans of Shah Safi fully preserve the wording of the original document.

Altogether about 30 important incorrect readings can be found in these four farmans. Some do not greatly affect the meaning, but others change the meaning or are technically wrong. Some of these are noted here (they are marked by underlinings in the text in Appendix 2):

mārūḥ (Asadabad) instead of *āṣār-i khair* [line 2]

ruᶜāyā va fuyūj (Asadabad) instead of *ruᶜāyā-yi fuyūj* [line 5]

mamlikat (Langar) instead of *mamālik* (the expression is always *mamālik-i maḥrūsa* not *mamlikat-i maḥrūsa* [line 6]

ṭalab (Langar) instead of *ṭalabī* (which has been used in all cases and a number of times in all four farmans) [line 18]

kūliyān (Langar) instead of *kāvuliyān* (if the reading in the Langar text is correct, it shows that both *kūliyān* and *kāvuliyān* were used for 'gipsy') [line 24]

arānlū (Asadabad) instead of *abdāllū* [line 25]

parvāna (Qa'in) instead of *parvāncha* [line 34]

bidāncha (Langar) instead of *parvāncha* [line 36]

sitam imārat (?) (Langar) instead of *dar bāb-i istimrār-i mulāzimat* [line 36]

indarāj (Qa'in) instead of *ikhrāj* [line 39]

ẓuhr (Langar) instead of *muhr* [line 41]

farrāshān (Langar) instead of *furūshān* [line 43]

kishanda (Langar) instead of *gala-bānān* [line 43]

Among typographical errors, we may note:

mihr (Langar) instead of *khair* [line 1]

maᶜanī (Langar) instead of *maᶜālī* [line 22]

muṣaḥḥa (Asadabad) [*?muṣaḥaḥa*] instead of *munaqaḥa* [line 27]

Unfortunately, as mentioned earlier, I only have the photographs of the inscriptions in Yazd; the published photograph of the Asadabad farman is illegible. It is thus not always clear whether the printed form is correct or not. For example, the words *māliya va ḥuqūq* (Qa'in) should read *māl-o-ḥuqūq* [lines 10, 17]. *Ijāra-yi hama sāla* (Qa'in) should read *ijāra va hama sāla* [line 18]. *Zāriᶜ va tamāmī* (Langar) should read *ruᶜāyā-yi* [line 23].

THE GUILDS

Let us now consider the guilds exempted from paying taxes, whose names vary slightly in the different farmans.

In the Asadabad farman, the words *ā'īna-kārān* and *mū-bulandān* [line 43] are incorrect. The first term is certainly *ā'īna-dārān*, as found also in the Yazd farman. These were generally roving persons who were engaged in hair cutting and massaging (*dallākī*). They also held a mirror in front of brides. Saᶜdi refers to them in his *Gulistān*:[12]

darīgh āmadam hamī tarbiyat-i sutūrān-o-ā'īna-dārī dar maḥallat-i kūrān

and they are mentioned in the following couplet of Sa'ib Tabrizi:[13]

*yik ṣāf-dil dar anjuman-i rūzgār kū? * ᶜālam girift tīragī, ā'īna-dār kū?*

Hafiz also has the verse:[14]

*ay āftāb-i ā'īna-dār-i jamāl-i tū * mushk-i siyah-i majmara-gardān-i khāl-i tū*

The other word, *mū-bulandān*, does not denote the name of a profession. In the Yazd farman, the word a'ina-daran is followed by *rang-bandān*, which was one of the professions like *ḥinnā-bandān*, and it is clear that in the Asadabad farman, the word rang-bandan was written in such a way that the transcriber has read mu-bandan. The rang-bandan were people who dyed beards and the hair of the head.

In the Langar inscription, the words *farrāshān, gāv-kishanda, sūdmālān* and *shikamiyān* have been completely misread [lines 43, 45]. The correct forms are *kuhna-furūshān* (dealers in old clothes and rags), as is found in the Yazd and Qa'in farmans; *gala-bānān* (shepherds or herders), as found in the other three texts; *shūdmālān* (clear starchers of cloth), and *lash-kishān* (transporters of cow's and sheep's carcases), as in Asadabad and Yazd.

In the two farmans of A.H. 1047, concerning the exemptions of the *rusūm-i mīr shikār-bāshī*, one can see several errors arising from misreadings by Rabino, such as:

zīnat-i shāhīn instead of *shāhīn niyyat* [line 3]

quds sāy instead of *quds āsāy* [line 4]

tashabbuṣ ... va tajallub instead of *shast ... va mikhlab* (snare and claw) [line 6]

karm mīz (?) instead of *mamarr gīr* (highwayman) [line 10]

jīgar birīzān instead of *jigar birīzān* (seller of roasted liver) [line 11]

khwāhad shuda instead of *ḥāṣil shuda* [line 17].

In the Astarabad inscription there are also several cases of word omission, and some words are in the wrong order, because the calligrapher transferred them onto the stone above the line of writing in such a way that they were read before words they are supposed to come after.

In view of what has been said, it is clear that the Safavid farmans provide an important source of information. In order to take full advantage of these inscriptions and the material they contain, it is necessary to compile a chronological list of the inscriptions existing in different towns, both from printed local histories and from field research on historical buildings. Secondly, the type and quality of the inscriptions should be classified, according to the subjects concerned, and a reference glossary should be compiled of the technical terms and vocabulary used.

NOTES

1. See R. Schimkoreit, *Regesten publizierter safawidischer Herrscherurkunden* (Berlin 1982), and the catalogue of Bert G. Fragner, *Repertorium persischer Herrscherurkunden* (Freiburg 1980), esp. pp. 51-220.
2. H.L. Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád* (E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, London 1928).
3. Fragner, pp. 115-16; Schimkoreit, p. 230.
4. Rabino, Persian text, pp. 31-2.
5. Īraj Afshār, *Yādgārhā-yi Yazd* (Tehran 1354/1975), II, pp. 132-5.
6. Īraj Afshār, Bīst shahr va hizār farsang, *Yaghmā* 19 (1345/1966), pp. 255-7; reproduced in *Savād-o-Bayāż* (Tehran 1349/1970), II, pp. 72-4.
7. Muḥsin Saᶜīd-zāda, *Tārīkh-i Qā'in*, I (Qum 1371/1992), p. 151.
8. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd Maulavī, *Āṯār-i bāstānī-yi Khurāsān*, I (Mashhad 1354/1975), pp. 23-5.
9. Masᶜūd Gulzārī, Bar-rasī va muᶜarrifī-yi chand sangnabishta dar Asadābād-i Hamadān, *Bar-rasīhā-yi tārīkhī* 10/v (1354/1976), 219-30.
10. II, pp. 141-3; see also Fragner, p. 115 and Schimkoreit, p. 229, for the details.
11. E.g., Muḥammad Maᶜṣūm Iṣfahānī, *Khulāṣat al-siyar*, ed. Ī. Afshār (Tehran 1368/1989), p. 234.
12. Saᶜdī, *Gulistān*, ed. Gh. Yūsufī (Tehran 1368/1989), p. 90.
13. *Dīvān-i Ṣā'ib Tabrīzī*, ed. M. Qahramān (Tehran 1370/1991), VI, p. 3182.
14. Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. P.N. Khānlarī (Tehran 1359/1970), p. 816 (no. 400).

APPENDIX 1, The farman of A.H. 1047 (pp. 293-5) and APPENDIX 2, The farman of A.H. 1046 (pp. 296-304) follow. Note that squares indicate lacunae and underlinings draw attention to the more important incorrect words and phrases.

APPENDIX 1

گ:گرگان ـ ی : یزد

	۱
گ	هو شاه صفی الحسینی بسم‌الله‌الرحمن الرحیم فرمان همیون شد اینکه امراء عظام و حکام گرام (sic) و
ی	فرمان همیون شد آنکه □ □ □ حکام کرام و
	۲
گ	وزراء و داروغه‌گان و کلانتران و عمال و مباشران دیوانی دارالمؤمنین استرآباد و توابع احسن‌الله تعالی
ی	وزراء و داروغگان و تیولداران □ □ و مباشران دیوانی دارالعبادهٔ یزد و توابع احسن‌الله تعالی
	۳
گ	احوالهم بدانند که چون همواره شاهباز همت بلند □ زینت‌شاهین ارجمند نواب همیون □ در هوای
ی	احوالهم بدانند که چون همواره شاهباز همت بلند و شاهین‌نیّت ارجمند نواب همیون ما در هوای
	۴
گ	قدس سای عدل و احسان و فضای یزدان ستا □ □ بصید دلهای پریشان عجزهٔ □ زیردستان □
ی	قدس‌آسای عدل و احسان و فضای جانفزای برّوامتنان بصید دلهای پریشان عجزه و زیردستان در
	۵
گ	طیران بوده همگی توجه خاطر خطیر خورشید نظیر بدان مصروف است که کافّهٔ رعایا و عامّهٔ برایا از
ی	طیران بوده همگی توجه خاطر خطیر خورشید نظیر بدان مصروف است که کافّهٔ رعایا و عامّهٔ برایا از
	٦
گ	تشبث حوادث و تجلّب نوائب نجات‌یافته در ظلّ معدلت و کنف حمایت آسوده‌حال و فارغبال
ی	شست حوادث و مخلب نوایب نجات‌یافته در ظلّ معدلت و کنف حمایت آسوده‌حال و فارغ‌البال
	۷
گ	به دعای دوام دولت ابدی‌الاتصال اشتغال نمایند. لهذا □ □ □ شمهٔ از عنایت بی‌غایت شاهانه
ی	به‌دعاگویی دوام دولت ابدی‌الاتصال اشتغال نمایند. لهذا در این وقت شمهٔ از عنایت بیغایت شاهانه
	۸
گ	شامل حال جمعی از رعایای ممالک محروسه که رسوم میرشکارباشی متوجه ایشان بود فرموده از ابتدای
ی	شامل حال جمعی از رعایای ممالک محروسه که رسوم میرشکارباشی متوجه ایشان بود فرموده از ابتدای

۹

گ | بارس‌ئیل رسوم مزبور را که بدینموجب معمول است و مستمر بود بتخفیف و تصدق فرق اشرف مقرّر

ی | بارس‌ئیل رسوم مزبور را که برین‌موجب معمول □ و مستمر بود بتخفیف و تصدق فرق اشرف مقرر

۱۰

گ | داشته و صیادان دام‌گیر و کرم‌میز و گوه‌گرد و سلاخان و ماهی‌بریزان و ماهی‌گیران و کبوتربازان و

ی | داشته □ صیادان دام‌گیر و ممرگیر و کوه‌گرد و سلاخان و ماهی‌بریزان و ماهی‌گیران و کبوتربازان و

۱۱

گ | بهله‌دوزان و کیسه‌دوزان و مرغ‌فروشان و روده فروشان و جیگر بریزان و سایر جماعت متعلق به

ی | بهله‌دوزان و کیسه‌دوزان □ مرغ‌فروشان ولالا فروشان و جگر بریزان □ سایر جماعت متعلق به

۱۲

گ | قوشخانه که در وجه میرشکارباشی مقرر بوده □ فرمودیم که مستوفیان عظام این عطیّه را در دفاتر

ی | قوشخانه □ در وجه میرشکارباشی مقرر بوده مقرر فرمودیم که مستوفیان عظام قرار عطیه را در دفاتر

۱۳

گ | خلود ثبت نموده من بعد یکدینار و یکمن‌بار حواله و اطلاق ننمایند و میرشکارباشیان عظام

ی | خلود ثبت نموده من بعد یکدینار و یکمن‌بار حواله و اطلاق ننمایند □ میرشکارباشیان عظام

۱۴

گ | امر و سخنان فوق خاصه شمرده بدین علت متعرض احدی نشده [□] و توقعی ننمایند □ باید [که]

ی | و قوشچیان □ خاصهٔ شریفه بدین علت متعرض احدی نشده طلب و توقعی ننمایند می‌باید که

۱۵

گ | این حکم همیون لازال نافذ فی‌الربع‌المسکون بر سنگ نقش نموده در □ مسجد جامع نصب نمایند و

ی | این حکم همیون لازال نافذاً فی‌الربع‌المسکون بر سنگ نقش نموده در در مسجد جامع نصب نمایند و

۱۶

گ | بعد بدین علت ازین حواله □ □ □ احدی □ مزاحمت و نرسانند [□] نوعی نمایند که دعای

ی | بعد از این بدین علت حواله و اطلاقی بر احدی ننموده مزاحمت نرسانند و نوعی نمایند که دعای

۱۷

گ | خیر جهت نواب همیون خواهد شده و آثارآن بروزگار فرخنده آثار □ گردد. باید امیرشکارباشیان

ی | خیر جهت نواب همیون حاصل شده و آثار آن بروزگار فرخنده آثار باید گردد □ امیرشکارباشیان

۱۸

گ | عظام گرام حسب‌المسطور درحالی رسوم مزبور را بر طرف داشته در این باب عذر ندانند

ی | عظام کرام حسب‌المسطور مقرر دانسته رسوم مزبور را بر طرف دانند در بن باب قدغن دانسته

۱۹

گ | و بر عهده شناسند. □ فی ششم جمادی‌الثانیه سنهٔ ۱۰۴۷

ی | در عهده شناسند. تحریراً فی شهر جمادی‌الثانی سنهٔ ۱۰۴۷

APPENDIX 2

س: اسدآباد ـ ی: یزد ـ ق: قائن ـ ل: لنگرجام

۱

س | فرمان همیون شد آنکه چون پیوسته مکنون خاطر خیرمآثر نواب همیون ما آن است ده در زمان دولت
ی | فرمان همیون شد آنکه چون پیوسته مکنون خاطر خیرمآثر نواب همیون ما آن است که از زمان دولت
ق | فرمان همیون شد آنکه چون پیوسته □ خاطر خیرمآثر نواب همایون ما آن است که در زمان دولت
ل | فرمّان همیون شد آنکه چون پیوسته مکنون خاطر مهر مآثر نواب همیون □ آن است که در زمان دولت

۲

س | ابد پیوند و عهد خلافت ارجمندما روح □ احسان در میانهٔ طوایف انسان منتشر گردد و عموم رعایا و
ی | ابد پیوند و عهد خلافت ارجمند آثار خیر و احسان در میانهٔ طوایف انسان منتشر گردد و عموم رعایا و
ق | ابد پیوند و عهد خلافت ارجمند آثار خیر و احسان در میانهٔ طوایف انسان منتشر گردد و عموم رعایا و
ل | ابد پیوند و عهد خلافت ارجمند آثار خیر و احسان در میان طوایف انسان منتشر گردد و کافهٔ رعایا و

۳

س | کافّهٔ برایا از مراحم □ الطاف بیدریغ خسروانه بهرهمند شوند از کمال رفاهیت و آسودگی در مهد □ □
ی | کافّه برایا از مراحم و الطاف بیدریغ خسروانه بهرهمند بوده از کمال رفاهیت و آسودگی در مهد □ □
ق | کافّهٔ برایا از مراحم □ □ بیدریغ خسروانه بهرمند بوده درکمال رفاهیت و آسودگی در مهد □ □
ل | عامهٔ برایا از مراحم □ □ بیدریغ خسروانه بهرهمند گشته با کمال رفاهیت و آسودگی در مهد امن و

۴

س | امان غنوده به دعاگوئی دوام دولت روزافزون و استدامت سلطنت ابدمقرون قیام نمایند بنابر ترفیه
ی | امان غنوده به دعاگوئی دوام دولت روزافزون و استدامت سلطنت ابدمقرون قیام نمایند بنابر ترفیه
ق | امان غنوده بدعاگوئی دوام دولت روزافزون در استدامت سلطنت ابدمقرون قیام نمایند بنابر ترفیه
ل | امان غنوده به دعای دوام دولت روزافزون و □ سلطنت ابدمقرون قیام نمایند بنابر این

۵

س | حال رعایا از ابتدای سیچقانئیل مالوحقوق دیوانی جماعت مذکوره ضمن رعایا و فیوج
ی | حال رعایا از ابتدای سیچقانئیل مالوحقوق دیوانی جماعت مذکوره ذیل رعایای فیوج
ق | حال رعایادر معاملهٔ سیچقانئیل مالوجهات و وجوهات □ جماعت مذکوره ضمن رعایاء فیوج
ل | □ □ در معاملهٔ سیچقانئیل مال و جهات و حقوق دیوانی جماعت مذکوره ضمن رعایای □

۶

س | ممالک محروسه را
ی | ممالک محروسه را
ق | ممالک محروسه □ سوای کاولیان و لولیان و هندویان مشهور به خطیران و حسن‌ابداللو و بغدادلو و
ل | مملکت محروسه را □ کاولیان و لولیان و بیدقیان مشهور به خطیران و حسن‌ابدال‌لو و بغدادلو و

۷

س | به تخفیف و تصدق
ی | به تخفیف و تصدق
ق | توابع که مقرر است که از عهدهٔ مالیهٔ □ خود بیرون آیند به قید همه ساله به تخفیف و تصدق
ل | توابع که ر است □ از عهدهٔ حقوق دیوانی خود بیرون آیند □ قید همه ساله به تخفیف و تصدق

۸

س | مقرر فرمودیم حکام و داروغگان و کلانتران و مباشران امور دیوانی و غیره □ نهاوند و اسدآباد و
ی | مقرر فرمودیم وزیر و داروغه و کلانتر و مباشران امور دیوانی و غیره □
ق | مقرر فرمودیم وزیر و □ و کلانتر و عمال و مستأجر و همه‌ساله‌دار سرکار قائن
ل | □ فرمودیم □ □ □ □کلانتر و عمال و مستأجر همه‌ساله [دار] الکای جام

۹

س | هرسین و دینور و بیلاور و سنقر و جوراب و ملایر و توابع از الوسات و احشامات ساکن محال مذکوره
ی
ق
ل

۱۰

س | حسب‌المسطور مقرر دانسته و از تاریخ مزبور یکدینار بهیچوجه من‌الوجوه بعلت مالوحقوق
ی | حسب‌المسطور مقرر دانسته □ از تاریخ مذکور یکدینار بهیچوجه من‌الوجوه بعلت مالوحقوق
ق | حسب‌المسطور مقرر دانسته و از تاریخ مذکور یکدینار بهیچوجه من‌الوجوه بعلت مالیه وحقوق
ل | حسب‌المسطور مقرر دانسته و از تاریخ مذکور یکدینار بهیچوجه من‌الوجوه بعلت مال و حقوق

	۱۱
س	دیوانی جماعت مفصلهٔ مذکوره ضمن رعایا و فیوج طلب ننموده مزاحمت نرسانند و جار نموده
ی	دیوانی جماعت مزبورهٔ مفصله ضمن رعایا و فیوج طلب نموده مزاحمت نرسانند و جار نموده
ق	دیوانی جماعت □ □ ضمن رعایا□ فیوج طلب ننموده مزاحمت نرسانند و جار نموده
ل	دیوانی جماعت مذکور □ ضمن رعایای رعیتخانه طلب ننموده مزاحمت نرسانند و جار نموده

	۱۲
س	وجمع رعایاء مذکور را مخبرسازند که مطلع گردند □ مالیهٔ ایشان بتخفیف □ □ مقرر
ی	□ جمیع رعایای مذکور را مخبرسازند که مطلع گردند که مالیهٔ ایشان بتخفیف □ □ مقرر
ق	□ جمیع مردم □ □ را خبر سازند که مطلع گردند که مالیهٔ ایشان بتخفیف □ □ مقرر
ل	و جمیع رعایا بلده و بلوکات را خبررسانند که مطلع گردند که مالیهٔ شان بتخفیف و تصدق مقرر

	۱۳
س	شده و صورت حکم همیون □ بر سنگ نقش نموده□ در مسجد جامع
ی	شد□ و صورت حکم همایون را بر سنگ نقش نموده□ در مسجد جامع
ق	شده □ یک دینار به احدی ندهند و صورت حکم مذکور را بر سنگ نقش نموده بر در مساجد
ل	شده و صورت حکم همایون را بر سنگ نقش نموده و در مسجد جامع

	۱۴
س	محال مذکوره و بقاع‌الخیر که منظور نظر خلایق بوده باشد نصب نمایند و تغییر کننده را مورد سخط
ی	دارالعبادهٔ مذکور و بقاع‌الخیر که منظور نظر خلایق بوده باشد نصب نمایند و تغییر کننده را مورد سخط
ق	و بقاع‌الخیر که منظور نظر خلایق بوده باشد نصب نمایند و تغییر کننده را مورد سخط
ل	نصب نمایند و تغییر کننده را مورد سخط

	۱۵
س	و غضب شاهانه شناسند که ثواب آن به روزگار فرخنده آثار اشرف اقدس عاید گردد □ □ □ □
ی	و غضب شاهانه شناسند که ثواب آن به روزگار فرخنده آثار اشرف اقدس عاید گردد □ □ □ □
ق	و غضب شاهانه شناسند که ثواب آن به روزگار فرخنده آثار □ □ عاید گردد و همه‌ساله‌داران
ل	و غضب شاهانه شناسند که ثواب آن به روزگار فرخنده آثار اشرف اعلی عاید گردد و همه‌ساله‌داران

	۱۶
س	□ مستأجران وجوه مزبور بشرح فوق عمل نموده از تاریخ ورود پروانچهٔ اشرف یکدینار بعلت
ی	و مستأجران وجوه مذکوره بشرح فوق عمل نموده از تاریخ ورود پروانچهٔ اشرف یکدینار بعلت
ق	و مستأجران وجوه مذکوره بشرح فوق عمل نموده از تاریخ ورود پروانچهٔ اشرف یکدینار بعلت
ل	□ مستأجران وجوه مذکوره بشرح فوق عمل نموده از تاریخ ورود پروانچهٔ اشرف. یکدینار بعلت

	۱۷
س	مالوحقوق دیوانی جماعت مذکورهٔ ضمن متعلقه به فیوج و به اجارهٔ□ □ □ ایشان
ی	مالوحقوق دیوانی جماعت مذکورهٔ ضمن متعلقه به فیوج که به اجارهٔ□ □ □ ایشان
ق	مالیه‌وحقوق دیوانی جماعت □ ضمن متعلقه به رعیتخانه که به اجاره و همه سالهٔ ایشان
ل	مال وحقوق دیوانی جماعت مذکورهٔ ضمن متعلق به رعیتخانه‌که به اجازه و به همه سالهٔ ایشان

	۱۸
س	مقرر است باز یافت نکرده طلبی ننمایند و مالیهٔ جماعت
ی	مقرر است باز یافت نکرده طلبی ننمایند و مالیهٔ جماعت
ق	مقرر است باز یافت نکرده طلبی ننمایند و از اجاره همه‌سالهٔ خود برطرف دانند و اگر از جماعت
ل	مقرر است بازیافت نکرده طلب ننمایند و از اجارهٔ □ □ خود برطرف دانند و اگر □ جماعت

	۱۹
س	مذکورهٔ ذیل را که
ی	مذکور ذیل را که
ق	کاولیان و غیره که مالیهٔ ایشان بتخفیف مقرر نشده احدی به امر دشتبانی و غیر آن که بموجب ضمن
ل	کاولیان و غیره که مالیهٔ ایشان بتخفیف مقرر است احدی به امر دشتبانی و غیر او که بموجب ضمن

	۲۰
س	
ی	
ق	بتخفیف مقرر است اشتغال نمایند بعلت مالیه و حقوق دیوانی آن که بتخفیف مقرر است طلبی نکرده
ل	بتخفیف مقرر است اشتغال نماید بعلت مالیه و حقوق دیوانی او که بتخفیف مقرر است طلب نکرده

۲۱	
س	آنچه بعلت مالوحقوق کاولیگری و غیره که بتخفیف مقرر نشده
ی	آنچه بعلت مال و حقوق کاولی‌گری و غیره
ق	که بتخفیف مقرر نشده متوجه ایشان باشد موافق حق و
ل	□ □ □ □ □ متوجه ایشان باشد موافق حق و

۲۲	
س	بازیافت نموده باشند
ی	
ق	حساب بازیافت نمایند وزارت و رفعت پناه □ عزت و معالی دستگاه آصفی خواجه جلالایکا□ وزیر
ل	حساب بازیافت نمایند وزارت و رفعت پناه و عزت و معانی دستگاه آصفی خواجه جلالایکای وزیر

۲۳	
س	که بتخفیف مقرر نشده بازیافت نموده
ی	که بتخفیف مقرر نشده بازیافت نموده
ق	خراسان چون‌مالیهٔ جماعت ذیل رعایا □ □ رعیتخانه که بتخفیف مقرر نشده .... رسیده
ل	خراسان چون‌مالیهٔ جماعت مذکورهٔ زارع و تمامی رعیتخانه □ □ □ □ بتخفیف رسیده

۲۴	
س	با آنچه جماعت کاولیان و جماعت لولیان و جماعت
ی	با آنچه تا ورود پروانچهٔ اشرف از جماعت کاولیان □ جماعت لولیان □ جماعت
ق	مشخص نمایند جماعت کاولیان □ جماعت لولیان و جماعت
ل	مشخص نمایند که از جملهٔ رعیت‌خانهٔ الکاء مذکور جماعت کولیان و □ لولیان و جماعت

۲۵	
س	هندویان مشهور بخطیران و جماعت حسن ارانلو و □ □ و توابع
ی	هندویان مشهور بخطیران □ جماعت حسن ابدالو و جماعت بغدادلو و توابع
ق	هندویان مشهور بخطیران و جماعت حسن ابداللو و جماعت بغدادلو و توابع که از جملهٔ رعیتخانهٔ
ل	هندویان □ □ و جماعت □ ابداللو و جماعت بغدادلو و توابع

۲۶	
س	
ی	
ق	الکاء مزبور چه مبلغ رسد جماعت ظهرست که بتخفیف مقرر شده و چه مبلغ رسد جماعت فوق است
ل	چه مبلغ رسد جماعت ظهرست که بتخفیف مقرر شده و چه مبلغ رسد جماعت فوق □

۲۷	
س	مذکوره فوق باز یافت نموده باشند نسخهٔ مصحهٔ مفصله بر حکام و کلانتران و غیره محال اجارهٔ خود
ی	نسخهٔ منقحهٔ مفصله به مهر وزیر و کلانتر و داروغه وغیره محال
ق	که می‌بایدازعهدهٔمالیهٔ خودبیرون‌آیند و نسخهٔ □ منقحه
ل	که بتخفیف مقرر شد نسخهٔ □ منقحه

۲۸	
س	محل به محل در دست داشته مدفرمان (؟) همیون آورند که بعداز عرض الحار همه ساله
ی	اجارهٔ خود محل به محل در دست داشته به دفترخانهٔ همیون آورند که بعد از عرض آنچه از همه سالهٔ
ق	
ل	

۲۹	
س	همه‌مال داران وجوه مذکورمنکسر مانده شد
ی	همه‌ساله‌داران وجوه مذکور منکسر شده باشد عوض داده شود
ق	برمسد جمعی که بتخفیف مقررست
ل	به‌رسد جماعات بتخفیف مقررثبت

۳۰	
س	
ی	عظام کرام دیوان اعلی
ق	در دست داشته □ به دفترخانهٔ همیون فرستند که مستوفیان عظام کرام دیوان اعلی بعد از عرض
ل	درست دارند و به دفترخانهٔ همیون فرستند که مستوفیان عظام □ □ □ بعد از عرض

۳۱	
س	
ی	
ق	در دفاتر از آن قرار عمل نمایند و اگر تا ورود حکم اشرف مستأجر و همه ساله‌دار بر رسد جمعی
ل	ازآن قراردردفاتر عمل نمایند □ اگر با ورود حکم اشرف مستأجر و همه ساله‌دار بعلت رسد جمع
۳۲	
س	
ی	
ق	که بتخفیف مقرر شده در سیچقان‌ئیل چیزی گرفته باشند نسخهٔ آن را به دفترخانهٔ همیون فرستند که
ل	که بتخفیف مقرر شده در سیچقان‌ئیل چیزی گرفته باشد نسخهٔ او را به دفترخانهٔ همایون فرستند که
۳۳	
س	
ی	
ق	از آن قرار جمع شده به همه ساله حساب شود و آنچه کسر نماید بعد از عرض عوض دهند. همه
ل	از آن قرار جمع شده به همه ساله حساب شود □ آنچه کسر نماید بعد از عرض عوض دهند. همه
۳۴	
س	
ی	
ق	ساله دار و مستأجر وجوه رعیتخانهٔ الکا□مذکور از تاریخ صدور پروانهٔ اشرف بشرح فوق عمل
ل	ساله‌داران و مستأجران وجوه رعیتخانهٔ الکای مذکور از تاریخ صدور پروانچهٔ اشرف بشرح فوق عمل
۳۵	
س	
ی	
ق	نموده بعلت رسد جمعی که تخفیف مقرر شده طلبی نمایند و رسد جمعی که بتخفیف مقرر نشده
ل	نموده بعلت رسد جمیع که بتخفیف مقرر شده طلب نمایند و رسد جمعی که بتخفیف مقرر نشده

۳۶	
س	
ی	
ق	پروانچهٔ وزیر خراسان □ سازد و تصدیق دفتر در باب استمرار ملازمت داشته □ از آن قرار □
ل	بدانچهٔ وزیر خراسان مشخص سازد و تصدیق دفتر □ ستم‌امارت □ داشته باشد از آن قرارداد
۳۷	
س	مستوفیان عظام کرام دیوان اعلی
ی	مستوفیان عظام کرام دیوان اعلی
ق	طلب‌نمایند و اگر چیزی کسر نمایند □ تصدیق وزیرگرفته‌به‌دیوان‌آورند مستوفیان عظام □ □ □
ل	طلب □ □ اگر چیزی کسر نمایند و تصدیق وزیر □ □دیوان آورد مستوفیان عظام □ □ □
۳۸	
س	رقم این عطیه را در دفاتر خلود ثبت نموده از شائبهٔ تغییر □ □ مصون و محروس شناسند
ی	رقم این عطیه را در دفاتر خلود ثبت نموده از شائبهٔ تغییر و تبدیل مصون و محروس شناسند
ق	رقم این عطیه □ در دفاتر خلود ثبت نموده از شائبهٔ تغییر و تبدیل مصون □ □ شناسند و آنچه
ل	□ این عطیه را در دفاتر خلود ثبت نموده از شایبهٔ تغییر و تبدیل مصون □ □ شناسند □ □
۳۹	
س	
ی	
ق	بعلت مالیهٔ رسد جماعتی ظهر جمع باشد از دفتر اندراج نمایند و رسد جمعی که بتخفیف مقرر نشده
ل	بعلت مالیهٔ □ جماعت ظهر □ باشد از دفتر اخراج نمایند و رسد جمعی که بتخفیف مقرر نشده
۴۰	
س	
ی	
ق	و از قرار آنچه وزیر خراسان مشخص سازد نسخه به دیوان فرستد بعد از عرض دفاتر عمل نمایند
ل	□ از □ آنچه وزیر خراسان مشخص نمایند

۴۱
س | و درین باب قدغنِ دانسته □ □ □ □ چون پروانچه به مهر مهر آثار اشرف
ی | □ درین باب قدغن دانسته در عهده دانند و چون پروانچه به مهر مهر آثار اشرف اقدس ارفع مزین گردد
ق | □ درین باب غدقن دانند
ل | و □ □ □ □ □ در عهده دانند و چون پروانچهٔ ظهر رسد [...]

۴۲
س | عمل نمایند تحریرا فی شهر محرم‌الحرام سنة ۱۰۴۶
ی | اعتماد نمایند تحریراً فی شهر صفر سنة ۱۰۴۶
ق | □ □ □ فی تاریخ محرم‌الحرام سنة ۱۰۴۶
ل | □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ سنة ۱۰۴۶

۴۳
س | با جماعت از صابون‌فروشان و آینه‌کاران و مویلندان و گاو گله‌بانان و چوپانان
ی | جماعت کهنه‌فروشان و کهنه‌چینان جماعت آینه‌داران و رنگ‌بندان جماعت گاو گله‌بانان و چوپانان
ق | جماعت کهنه‌فروشان و کهنه‌چینان جماعت آینه‌داران و رنگ‌بندان جماعت گاو گله‌بانان و چوپانان
ل | جماعت □ فراشان و کهنه‌چینان □ □ □ □ □ □ جماعت گاو کشنده و چوپانان

۴۴
س | و مکاریان و مشاطگان ونوکران و تون‌بانان و ساربانان و صیادان و زه‌تابان و رمالان
ی | جماعت ماماچگان و مشاطگان و تون بانان □ جماعت منقیان و آسیابانان و
ق |
ل | جماعت ماماچگان و مشاطگان جماعت مغنیان و لولیان جماعت شبانان و

۴۵
س | و جراحان و قصابان و لش کشان
ی | صیادان جماعت شودمالان و دشتبانان جماعت ترک‌طبیان و جراحان و لش‌کشان
ق |
ل | و سودمالان جماعت ترک طبیان و شکمیان

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The Rise of the Julfa Merchants in the Late Sixteenth Century

Edmund M. Herzig

The sudden rise of Julfa, a small Armenian town near the Ottoman–Safavid border, in the last decades of the 16th century presents a historical paradox. The town itself had until then remained more or less obscure, certainly not one of the major centres of the region, and the period was one which saw some of the most ferocious campaigns of the Ottoman–Safavid wars as well as the outbreak of the Celali (Persian *jalālī*) revolts. It is generally viewed as one of the bleakest and most turbulent episodes in the whole of Armenia's often bleak and turbulent history, not a time in which the emergence of a thriving new commercial town might be expected.[1] The problem to which this paper seeks a solution can, therefore, be reduced to two simple questions: why Julfa? and why in the late 16th century?

The first section of the paper examines the evidence for Julfa's commercial rise, as well as briefly considering the broader historical context. This permits a fuller statement of the problem. The subsequent sections offer explanations on three levels: local and regional economic and geographic factors, political factors, and global economic factors. The sources for the investigation are sparse and scattered. Many of the primary documentary and epigraphic sources remain unpublished or inaccessible and there are relatively few studies; the history of Old Julfa on the River Aras has remained much less researched than that of New Julfa, the suburb of Isfahan to which the Julfans were transferred by Shah ᶜAbbas I Safavi.[2] The solutions offered must, therefore, remain tentative and in some cases speculative.

The ruins of medieval Julfa (Armenian *Jugha*) still survive on the north bank of the River Aras not far from the modern settlement of the same name and the road and rail bridges linking Iran and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic of Azerbaijan. The site of the old

town was a narrow spit of land a little more than two kilometres long and four to five hundred metres wide, sandwiched between the River Aras to the south and a steep mountain ridge to the north. At some point in its history the town outgrew its site and spread to the south bank of the river.[3] In most respects it was an inhospitable place, whose dry climate and barren rocky soil discouraged agriculture, but it possessed two important advantages. First, it was readily defensible, being protected by the ridge and the river to north and south, while the eastern and western approaches were guarded by stone walls.[4] Second, it was strategically situated at a river crossing on major routes linking Transcaucasia and Iran with Anatolia, Syria and the Mediterranean.

From early in the Islamic period Julfa is occasionally mentioned in historical sources, usually as a crossing point on the Aras.[5] The river had been notorious since classical times for its fierce current, with Virgil dubbing it *"pontem indignatus Araxes"*.[6] Travellers of the 16th and 17th centuries were well aware of the dangers. Cartwright complained about the "outrageous turnings and windings and his many rushing downfalls" and Chardin agreed that it was dangerous to cross when in spate, though in places it could be forded on camelback in winter when the level was low.[7] For much of its course the river runs through steep gorges, but at Julfa the river bed and banks flatten out and become less rocky.[8]

In the early Islamic period Julfa seems to have been no more than a ford, but the *Ṇuzhat al-qulūb* (written in 1340) mentions a bridge ("one of the greatest of fine buildings") built by Ziya al-Mulk Nakhjavani in the vicinity of Karkar.[9] Though the author does not identify this as the Julfa bridge, it must surely be the same as the bridge of Ziya al-Mulk crossed by Timur's army some fifty years later. Sharaf al-Din ᶜAli Yazdi was so impressed that he wrote a detailed description, noting the impressive engineering, the strong gates and the caravansarai built onto the northern end. He also clearly identifies the bridge as that of Julfa.[10] Today only ruins mark the site; the bridge may have been destroyed during the Ottoman–Safavid wars of the 1570s and 1580s, though the sources contradict one another. John Newbery states that in 1581 he crossed the Aras on a bridge of boats that had replaced the already broken stone construction,[11] but according to at least one manuscript of the *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh* the bridge was still standing in 994/1586.[12] The bridge was certainly broken by the time of ᶜAbbas I's retreat through Julfa in 1604, and as none of the numerous sources for that campaign record its destruction it seems likely that this occurred some time earlier, either in war or perhaps through natural causes.

Until the 16th century the river crossing and bridge seem to have been the only remarkable things about Julfa and the town is mentioned only occasionally in Armenian and Persian sources. There are no grounds

for supposing that Julfa was considered an important commercial centre until about the middle of the 16th century. The clearest evidence for dating Julfa's rise comes from the inscriptions on the *khachkars* (cruciform head stones) in the cemetery. These suggest a meteoric rise in the last three decades of the century: of more than two thousand monuments very few recorded examples are dated earlier than 1550 and the vast majority, including the most magnificent, are from the period 1570-1604.[13] The sparser evidence on the construction of churches and other buildings confirms an upsurge of activity in the same period.[14] Kouymjian's research on manuscript production lends further support to this view, revealing a sudden expansion in the number of manuscripts produced in Julfa or paid for by Julfa merchants in the last decades of the century.[15]

Julfa's sudden rise generated great wealth and the town rapidly became renowned among Armenians as a rich and splendid city full of magnificent churches and luxurious merchants' mansions. After its destruction poets were to lament its passed glory:

> Julfa, that nobly-built town,
> Whose lofty pavilions and courts
> And myriad embellishments
> Enraptured the beholder;
> Exalted by its seven chapels,
> Its richly-decorated churches,
> With their gilt censers
> And brocade chalice napkins.
> The gospels and processional crosses
> Were studded with priceless gems;
> The altars and sanctuaries
> Were the delight of all who saw them.[16]

The most eloquent witnesses to the wealth of late 16th-century Julfa are the *khachkars*. Their exquisite decorative style differs from that of most mediaeval khachkars, showing the influence of Islamic artistic traditions and hinting at the cosmopolitan world of the Julfa merchants.[17] The large number erected in memory of merchants provides physical evidence that Julfa's prosperity stemmed from trade.

European sources also confirm that Julfa's rapid rise occurred in the late 16th century. The Julfans' earliest European contacts were probably Levant merchants in Aleppo and the English Russia Company's agents in Shirvan, Qarabagh and Gilan in the 1560-80s. European reporters, many of them merchants themselves, took an interest in the Julfans as potential partners or competitors. They tell us that they were particularly

associated with the trade in raw silk: "a people rather given to the traffique of silks",[18] which explains their prominent place in the Armenian community in Aleppo, the principal Levant silk market of the period.[19] In 1570 Julfa (appearing as Chinla) was marked on Ortelius' world atlas,[20] and in the same year there is the first notarial record of a Julfan in Venice, where they crop up quite frequently thereafter, sometimes clearly identified as silk merchants.[21] As early as the turn of the 17th century we find Europeans describing the Julfans as controlling the whole of Iran's raw silk export, which was an exaggeration, but indicative of their growing dominance of the trade.

The first European travellers' descriptions of Julfa itself also date from the late 16th century. Newbery (1581) counted seven churches and three thousand houses, of which the richest paid twenty dollars tax a year (cited as an indication of their wealth).[22] John Cartwright (1600) counted only two thousand houses, estimated a population of ten thousand and praised the town's buildings: "very faire, all of hard quarrie stone".[23] Sefer Muratowicz (1601) claimed, improbably, that there were fifteen thousand houses.[24] Gouvea (whose credentials as an eyewitness are doubtful) described the town as "peopled with Armenian merchants, the richest in the whole province, by reason of which it is very fine and full of commerce".[25] Ayvazyan's suggestion that the town probably contained between two and four thousand houses is credible,[26] but firm answers to questions relating to the town itself must await an investigation of the surviving ruins.

Persian sources provide little information until ᶜAbbas I's 1603-4 campaign, by which time Julfa was recognised as a wealthy commercial city by the court chroniclers. The earliest Safavi *farmāns* preserved in the New Julfa Cathedral archive date from the reign of Tahmasb I (930-84/1524-76). There are four from his reign (two concerning tax) and one issued by Hamza Mirza (993/1585), which suggests that Julfa was already important enough to interest the Safavid court.[27] An interesting property deed of 1576 published by Papazyan records the sale by a Julfan convert to Islam of the village of Meghri in the Armenian canton (*gawaṛ*) of Siwnik some 60 km downstream from Julfa, which indicates that by this time Julfans owned property some distance from their own town.[28]

If the evidence for Julfa's rise is fragmentary, it does all point in the same direction: that the town experienced rapid commercial development in the later 16th century, and that this development was a result of the Julfa merchants' involvement in the export of raw silk to the Levant.

A sudden commercial boom in a hitherto insignificant town would be less remarkable if it was part of a wider trend, or was paralleled in other comparable centres, but Julfa's rise is puzzling precisely because it

occurred in a period when much of the surrounding region and many towns suffered serious social and economic disruption and in some cases complete destruction. The campaigns of 1578-88 were among the most ferocious and damaging to the civilian population of all the Ottoman–Safavid wars. Tbilisi, Shamakhi, Aras/Aresh, Ganja, Erevan, Tabriz and many smaller towns, as well as wide areas of countryside were destroyed or devastated. The Treaty of Istanbul (1590) brought an end to hostilities with the cession of Georgia, Armenia, Shirvan and most of Azarbaijan, to the Ottomans, but it brought little respite for the civilian population. These were the years when the Celali revolts were at their most intense and when there was a breakdown of authority and security in much of the eastern Ottoman Empire. The causes and significance of the revolts remain the subject of debate, but that they resulted in widespread depopulation of the countryside, a crisis in agriculture and serious disruption of commerce has not been questioned. The Armenian sources leave little doubt that this was a terrible period to live through.[29] The worst impact of the Celali revolts was felt further to the west than Julfa, but it would be surprising if the revolts did not have a negative impact on a town whose prosperity depended on the security of trade routes through some of the areas worst affected.

REGIONAL ECONOMIC AND GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS

This section considers Julfa's position on the routes of international trade, especially in relation to the raw silk trade with which, as we have seen, the Julfa merchants were particularly associated. The picture that emerges is indistinct, partly because of the underdeveloped nature of Safavid historical geography in general, and partly because modern political boundaries and nationalist historiography have delimited the scope of modern research, with the consequence that such work as has been done often presents only a partial picture of the Safavid state's northwestern provinces and obscures rather than reveals the connections between towns and regions.[30]

Julfa's clearest advantage as a trading place was the crossing point on the River Aras. The construction of the stone bridge in the early 14th century must have further enhanced this advantage. For most of the mediaeval period there were only two bridges on the River Aras, the one at Julfa and another at Khudafarin, 150 km further downstream and therefore of little use to anyone travelling west from Tabriz.[31] Sharaf al-Din ᶜAli Yazdi remarks, in his description of the bridge at Julfa, that it incorporated a stone caravansarai, which is also significant since the existence of an established stopping place, rather than merely a river

crossing, is likely to have involved the Julfans in contact with passing merchants and in the provision of services such as provisions, market facilities, storage and transport.[32] The existence of the river crossing and the bridge/caravansarai complex do little, however, to explain why Julfa became a prominent commercial centre only in the late 16th century. The crossing had been in use for centuries and the bridge was built in the early 14th century and destroyed in the later 16th century without apparent negative consequences for the town's growing prosperity. It would therefore be a mistake to lay too much emphasis on the river crossing and bridge alone. They may help to explain why Julfa, rather than one of the other nearby towns, developed into a major commercial centre, but they give no clue as to why Julfa's rise occurred when it did.

Another significant aspect of Julfa's location was its relation to the areas where raw silk for export to the Levant was grown (see Fig. 1). Gilan, Shirvan and Qarabagh were, according to numerous merchants' and travellers' reports, the principal silk-producing provinces, with the towns of Rasht, Tabriz, Shamakhi, Ganja and Aras/Aresh all acting as important collection and distribution centres and Qazvin and Ardabil also occasionally mentioned in this regard.[33] Julfa merchants were buying silk in all these areas by the end of the 16th century, and had reasonably easy access to them. The main route to the southeast linked Julfa with Tabriz and from there with Gilan, and another less-frequented road via Ahar and Ardabil could also have provided a route to Gilan. It is, however, difficult to imagine that the Julfans first become involved in the silk trade as purchasers in Gilan itself. The province is a considerable distance from Julfa and there were other commercial centres (Rasht, Tabriz, Qazvin, Ardabil) whose merchants had much easier access. It seems more likely that the Julfans initially bought Gilan silk in the markets of Tabriz and only later travelled to Gilan itself.

The raw silk of Shirvan and particularly Qarabagh was closer to hand, but there is little information available on the routes used to transport this silk to the west. Some at least was taken across Georgia to the Black Sea coast of Mingrelia[34] and more may have been carried overland through Georgia and westward via Ardahan or Kars. If a part of the export from these provinces took a more northerly route, however, there is also evidence of Julfan participation: the English Russian Company agents encountered Julfans buying silk in Shirvan and Qarabagh, and though it is hard to establish which roads the Julfa merchants took to reach these regions, they can be traced for both an earlier and a later period.[35] Among the major producing regions, Qarabagh, with its large Armenian population, seems the most likely area for initial direct Julfan involvement in the purchase of raw silk. There is

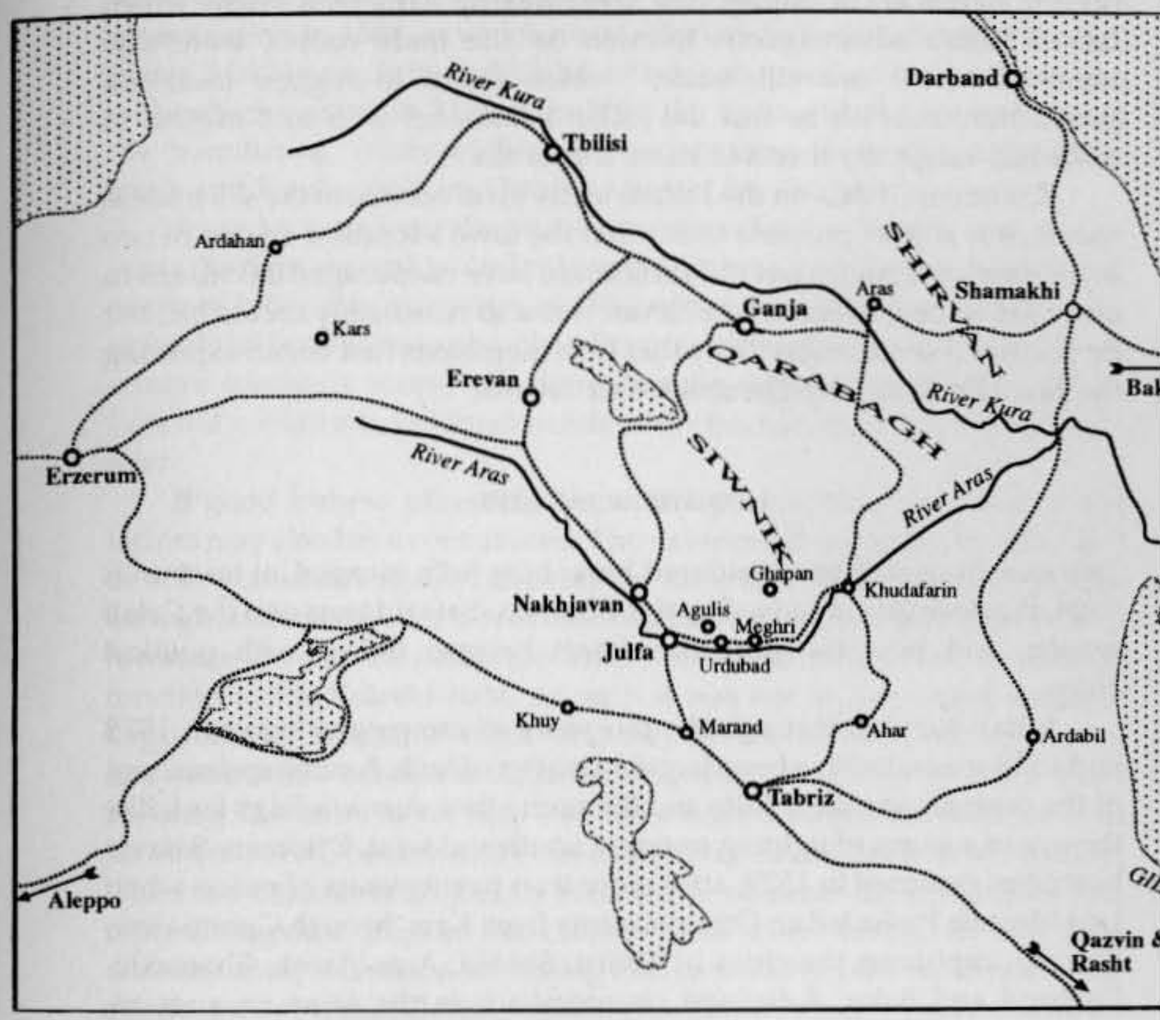

Figure 1. Julfa, routes and silk producing areas *ca* 1600
[based on *Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients*, B VII 17 (Armenia and Georgia *ca* 1200) and B VIII 20 (The Safavid Empire)].

also the possibility of limited raw silk production in Siwnik on Julfa's back door.[36] Agulis and Ghapan, two other nearby Armenian towns which lacked Julfa's advantageous location on the trade routes, were also involved in the raw silk trade,[37] which seems to suggest local silk production; could it be that the Julfan landowner who sold Meghri in 1576 had originally invested there for its silk?

To sum up, if data on the Julfans' early involvement in the silk trade is sparse, it is at least possible to see that the town's location on one of two main westward routes out of Tabriz could have encouraged its citizens to enter the trade in Gilan silk. Shirvan was also reasonably accessible, but on balance it seems most likely that Julfa merchants first began exporting the raw silk of nearby Qarabagh and Siwnik.

POLITICAL FACTORS

Two questions will be considered here: how Julfa escaped, at least until 1604, the destruction caused by the Ottoman–Safavid wars and the Celali revolts, and how the Julfa merchants became linked with political elites.

Julfa's survival through the ten years of campaigns between 1578 and 1588 seems to have been largely a matter of luck. A summary account of the campaigns makes Julfa and the immediate surroundings look like the eye of a storm of fighting to north, south and west. Ottoman–Safavid hostilities resumed in 1578, after more than twenty years of peace, when Lala Mustafa Pasha led an Ottoman army from Kars through Georgia into Shirvan, capturing the cities of Tbilisi, Shakki, Aras/Aresh, Shamakhi, Darband and Baku. A Safavid counterattack in the same year retook much of Shirvan, including Aras, which was sacked and its inhabitants massacred, and Shamakhi, which was also sacked, but the Ottomans retained Tbilisi, Darband and Baku. In 1579, Mehmed Giray Khan led the Crimean Tatar allies of the Ottomans through the Caucasus at Darband, bringing Shirvan back into Ottoman hands and in addition taking and sacking Ganja and devastating Qarabagh and Mughan. 1580 saw the Ottomans consolidate their position in Georgia and Shirvan, but the following year the Safavids again counterattacked, recovering Shirvan (except Baku and Darband) and much of Georgia (but not Tbilisi). Two Ottoman campaigns in 1583 resulted in Georgia and Shirvan changing hands again (though the Safavids retained Ganja) and, further to the south, in the capture of Erevan; this latter advance, however, was not pushed further along the Aras valley towards Nakhjavan and Julfa. In 1584, Osman Pasha led a large Ottoman army east from Erzerum through Chaldiran, Khuy and Marand (to the south of Julfa) before defeating the

Safavid army and taking Tabriz. Subsequent Safavid efforts concentrated without success on the recapture of Tabriz until Hamza Mirza's assassination in 1586, at which point effective Safavid resistance ceased. Ganja, Nakhjavan, Julfa and Urdubad were mopped up by the Ottomans without opposition in 1588-9. In 1590 the young Shah ᶜAbbas I signed the humiliating Treaty of Istanbul, recognising the massive Ottoman gains and leaving Julfa in Ottoman hands for the next 13 years.[38]

It can be seen from the above narrative that for the first four or five years the fighting took place in Georgia, Shirvan and Qarabagh, all to the north of Julfa. The campaign of 1583 which took the Aras valley route towards Julfa went no further than Erevan, while the attack on Tabriz took a more southerly route, and thereafter the fighting centred on Tabriz. Julfa did not fall into Ottoman hands until effective Safavid resistance was over.

If good fortune played an important part in Julfa's survival, other factors may also have contributed. The defences, though hardly sufficient to offer protection against an army on campaign, were probably strong enough to deter smaller forces and marauders. Julfa may also have been fortunate to be an all-Armenian town with no administrative or military function in the Safavid state. As such it was not an important strategic target for the Ottoman invaders and may have been viewed in some way as a neutral in a conflict traditionally expressed in terms of Sunni–Shiᶜi rhetoric. The same factor may also have helped Armenian merchants to travel between Ottoman and Safavid territory during periods of hostility, when the Ottomans frequently resorted to commercial embargoes and reprisals against Iranian merchants.[39] But even taking all this into consideration, it remains surprising that so wealthy a town did not suffer attack, if only for the sake of plunder. One of the Persian historians and an English traveller explain that the Julfans bought their safety by making generous gifts to passing commanders, which may have been a more effective safeguard than perceived neutrality.[40] Whatever the causes, the fact that Julfa emerged unscathed from a period of war during which many of the commercial cities of the region suffered repeated destruction must have given its merchants a significant advantage over their competitors, who were obliged to rebuild or relocate after each disaster.

Turning now to the question of the Julfa merchants' contacts with local and imperial political elites, it is well known that in the early 17th century, after the deportation to Isfahan, their relationship with Shah ᶜAbbas was very close; Pietro della Valle compared it to that between the Spanish King and his Genoese bankers.[41] Tracing the origins of that relationship, and of the Julfans' connections with other elites, local or Ottoman, is important for a full understanding of the circumstances

surrounding their rise. It was often remarked by Europeans that in the East no merchant could prosper without a powerful patron, and by the same token it is inconceivable that a small Armenian town could have grown rich without the protection of the holders of political power, who could benefit from the taxes and tolls and make use of the merchants' services to further their own commercial interests.

Data for this subject are sparse, but there are a few fragments which at least allow a glimpse of the probable nature of the Julfans' relations with political elites prior to the 17th century. Links with local elites will be considered first since these presumably predated and prefigured contacts with imperial elites. The principal military-administrative centre in the vicinity of Julfa in the Islamic period was Nakhjavan, so it is reasonable to anticipate that the amirs of Nakhjavan would be the first to take an interest in Julfan commerce. The evidence appears to bear this out: the bridge at Julfa was built by Ziya al-Mulk, amir of Nakhjavan, in the early 14th century (the late Il-Khanid period). The investment must have been considerable and it may be presumed that the amir expected to get some return on his outlay, probably in the form of tolls and caravansarai charges. That the construction of the bridge indicates Nakhjavani interest in Julfa's economy is corroborated by the fact that for nearly a decade in the early 14th century the Nakhjavan mint was temporarily relocated to Aras Bridge (*Pul-i Aras*), which must surely be the newly constructed bridge at Julfa.[42] This confirms the link between commerce through Julfa and the amir of Nakhjavan's revenue; the bridge must have been the ideal place to monitor merchants, collect tolls and duties from them and allow or compel them to remint foreign coin.

Apart these fascinating snippets there is no record of the relationship between Julfa and Nakhjavan until the time of ᶜAbbas I's 1603-4 campaign. Mirza Beg Hasan Husaini Junabadi, one of the chroniclers of the campaign, gives a unique version of the events surrounding the destruction of Julfa and Nakhjavan and the deportation of the Julfans. According to Junabadi, during his advance from Tabriz to Erevan, ᶜAbbas ordered the destruction of Nakhjavan and the massacre of its inhabitants, because it had been the seat of the Ottoman governor of the province of Chukhur Saᶜd and the people were all Sunni supporters of the Ottomans. At the same time he ordered the deportation of the Julfa Armenians in order to prevent any recovery of Nakhjavan, "for the prosperity of that town (Nakhjavan) depended on the Armenians of Julfa, who were universally known for their trade and great wealth".[43] Junabadi's account is contradicted by most other sources,[44] but it is tempting to see in the *Raużat al-ṣafaviyya* the unsavoury truth deliberately concealed in the 'official' versions of Jalal al-Din Munajjim Bashi and others, who have ᶜAbbas greeted by cheering crowds all along the way. Whether or not

Junabadi's is the accurate narrative, it shows that in the Safavid period the two towns were still perceived as being in the same kind of close relationship as in the 14th century.

The Julfans' 16th-century relations with the Safavid court are also ill-documented. The four farmans from the reign of Tahmasb I do not in themselves indicate any close relationship, but Hamza Mirza's farman is more interesting in that it records payment to a Julfa craftsman for making a sword for the prince.[45] This suggests that Hamza Mirza was informed about the town and its craftsmen and that he had an interest in extending his patronage there. The date (1585) may also be significant: this was the time of the Ottoman capture of Tabriz, so the order for a sword may have been intended to send the Julfans a signal about the prince's determination to drive out the invader. There is also some evidence to suggest that in the late 16th century Julfa already belonged to the *khāṣṣa* establishment, both under the Safavids and during the period of Ottoman rule.[46]

The earliest evidence of direct relations between Julfa merchants and the Safavid court comes, however, not from Persian or Armenian sources, but from the travelogue of the Italian d'Alessandri, who according to the version of his text used by Alishan, met two Julfans in Qazvin (the Safavid capital of that time) in 1571, as they were about to depart as royal envoys to Venice.[47] Other editions of d'Alessandri, however, record only that he discussed the silk trade with Armenian merchants in Tabriz.[48] If the employment of Julfans as royal envoys and commercial agents by Tahmasb remains uncertain, there can be no question that ᶜAbbas I's close relationship with the Julfa merchants began to form well before the deportation to Isfahan. In 1590-1 (when Julfa was in Ottoman hands) he sent Julfans as envoys to Venice,[49] and Ter-Avetisyan suggests that Khoja Khachik, the *kalāntar* of Julfa, held the prestigious title "royal merchant".[50] Ter-Yovhaneants gives a translation of a 1001/1593 letter patent awarding the same title to Khachik's son Nazar, who later became kalantar of New Julfa.[51] There seems to be a pattern already emerging in the 1590s of ᶜAbbas deliberately employing and honouring the leading Julfa merchants. The Shah's desire to win over the Julfans to his cause and prepare the way for his subsequent reconquest of Azarbaijan was probably as important a motive for his patronage during the Ottoman occupation as the more frequently cited interest in securing reliable intermediaries to pursue his diplomatic and commercial interests in Europe. If this interpretation is correct, the policy appears to have succeeded: several sources note that the Julfans were hostile to the Ottomans, and most agree that they gave ᶜAbbas a warm reception when he 'liberated' them in 1603.[52]

In the political context, a combination of luck, perceived neutrality,

good defences and payment of protection money seems to have allowed Julfa to survive the wars and troubles of the late 16th century. At the same time the town's commerce was probably always to some extent safeguarded by a close relationship with the local political elite in Nakhjavan. The second half of the 16th century, particularly the last decade, when ᶜAbbas I was preparing the ground for the reconquest of the northwestern territories ceded in 1590, also saw the development of a close relationship with the Safavid court, a relationship which matured only in the 17th century.

GLOBAL ECONOMIC FACTORS

It has been suggested above that Julfa's location in relation to the routes of international trade and the silk producing areas, as well as the town's fortunate survival and the development of links with the local and Safavid elites go some way towards answering why Julfa rather than some other centre experienced rapid commercial development, but in order to answer the second of the questions posed at the outset—why in the late 16th century?—it is necessary to widen the focus of enquiry to cover developments in global trade, whose dynamics lay far beyond Julfa or even the Ottoman and Safavid states. The basic objective is to examine the Levant trade and see whether there are factors there which might help explain Julfa's commercial rise in a period when the local and regional economic and political conditions were so unpromising.

In the second half of the 16th century most Iranian raw silk destined for Europe was traded in Aleppo. The silk merchants returned to Iran with European manufactures (principally woollen textiles) and bullion (mostly in the form of silver dollars of various sorts). Iranian raw silk was also exported to Bursa, still the main centre of Ottoman silk textile manufacture, but entering a period of decline and no longer a major centre for export to Europe. Later, in the 17th century, Izmir came to rival and then surpass Aleppo as a silk market, but this happened after the period that interests us here.

The scale of European raw silk purchases in the Levant largely depended on the level of bullion exports, and in the later 16th century that level seems to have risen significantly. Braudel linked the rise to increased output in the American silver mines and to a shift away from Antwerp and towards Italy in the distribution patterns for American silver in Europe in about 1580.[53]

At the same time as this increase in European bullion exports to the Levant there were also changes in the balance of commodities in the Levant trade. Prior to the Portuguese discovery of the Cape route to

India, European merchants came to the Levant primarily to buy spices, but in the 16th century competition from the Cape route reduced the profits and increased the risks of importing spices from the Levant. As a consequence European Levant merchants increasingly turned their attention to Middle Eastern commodities and to raw silk in particular. Already in 1550 a Venetian merchant remarked that silk was as important as spices for European merchants in Aleppo,[54] and at the turn of the 17th century, when the Dutch entered the Indian Ocean trade, silk finally displaced spices as the principal import of European Levant merchants.[55] The scattered and unreliable quantitative data for the Levant silk trade point to a significant increase in exports of Iranian raw silk to Europe in this period.[56]

The impact on Middle Eastern economies of these developments remains relatively little studied. The first Ottoman historians to consider the problem looked for and found sharp price inflation, a nice parallel to the European experience.[57] It was only much more recently that Gerber pointed out that this price inflation, though real enough in the eyes of the wage-earners, consumers and treasury officials who suffered it, was a product not of the increasing abundance of silver in circulation, but of the progressive debasement of the Ottoman currency.[58] His suggestion that the silver flowing into the Empire from the west was flowing out just as fast to the east—to Safavid Iran, the Persian Gulf and ultimately India—has since been confirmed and elaborated by Sahillioğlu-Inan.[59]

Çizakça's study of the price history of the Bursa silk industry is also of interest.[60] He is primarily concerned with the Bursa manufacturers, and employs the familiar price inflation model that ignores the progressive devaluation of the currency, but his work does clearly show that between 1550 and 1650 bullion-rich European merchants were increasingly able to outbid Ottoman manufacturers in the market for Iranian raw silk.

In summary, the increase in European bullion exports to the Levant, the fact that much of that bullion was subsequently re-exported to Safavid Iran, the Levant merchants' shift away from spices and towards raw silk, and the evidence from Bursa silk prices and from the quantitative data on the silk trade all point in the direction of growing European demand for Iranian raw silk in Levant markets.[61] The agents of the Russia Company in Transcaucasia were in no doubt about what was happening in the Levant trade: "There is brought into Persia an incredible summe of Dutch dollars, which for the most part are there imploid in raw silk".[62]

These developments were obviously advantageous for anyone with raw silk to sell in Bursa or Aleppo, and particularly advantageous for the Armenians, who as Middle Eastern Christians formed natural intermediaries

between Christian West and Muslim East and were generally the preferred trading partners and agents of European Levant merchants. It was the developments in European trade with the Levant that provided the Julfans with the opportunity for their rapid commercial rise. They never achieved the monopoly of Iranian raw silk exports often claimed for them by European commentators,[63] but by the end of the 16th century they occupied a leading position in a booming trade, in which European buyers and Armenian suppliers were steadily gaining at the expense of Muslim silk manufacturers and merchants. It was possible for Julfa's rise to occur at a time of violent conflict and serious regional social and economic dislocation precisely because the Julfans' prosperity ultimately depended not on the local economy but on a long-distance trade whose demand side was determined in Europe and whose supply side was at least in part (e.g. in Gilan) spared the turmoil affecting much of Transcaucasia and Anatolia.

It is interesting to note that, though little research has been done on the impact of increased silver imports into the 16th-century Safavid state, there seem to have been certain parallels with the Ottoman case. Leaving aside the question of price inflation and currency devaluation, we know that in the 17th century silver imported into Iran from the west was rapidly re-exported to India, where bullion was always at a premium compared with Iran.[64] The Julfa Armenians, as major silver importers, played a significant role in this process and already in the 16th century we can trace the beginnings of Julfan commercial expansion via central and southern Iran to India (but not, for example, to Khurasan, Central Asia or Russia, where bullion prices were no higher than in Iran).[65] There can be little doubt that they were already trading on to India some of the silver earned from raw silk sales in Aleppo. It may be stretching the point, but it is not altogether implausible to propose a connection between the increased customs receipts recorded for Hurmuz in the late 16th century and the contemporary development of Iran's raw silk for bullion trade in which the Julfa merchants played such a prominent role.[66]

In conclusion, the examination of factors on several levels does offer a credible solution to the paradox posed at the outset. No single context could have provided a sufficient explanation; rather it is by examining the interplay of economic and political factors within local, regional and international spheres, and over timescales as varied as those of a single campaign and of the evolving patterns of global trade, that it has been possible to approach an answer. The rise of the Julfa merchants provides a striking illustration of the complex dynamics of early modern Middle Eastern economic history.

NOTES

1. See H.D. Papazian [Papazyan], Armenia and Iran vi. Armeno-Iranian relations in the Islamic period, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, II, pp. 471-2; A.G. Hovhannisyan (ed.), *Hay zhoghovrdi patmutʿyun*, IV (Erevan 1972), chapters 2, 6 and 7; E. Schütz, An Armeno-Kipchak document of 1640 from Lvov and its background in Armenia and in the diaspora, in G. Kara (ed.), *Between the Danube and the Caucasus* (Budapest 1987), 247-330.
2. The principal studies are: Gh.M. Alishan, *Sisakan* (Venice 1893), pp. 409-28; Lēo, *Hayotsʿ patmutʿyun* and *Khojayakan kapitalē* in *Erkeri zhoghovatsu*, 10 vols (Erevan 1966-72); S. Ter-Avetisyan, *Gorod Dzhuga* (Tiflis 1937); A. Vruyr, Jugha, *Patma-banasirakan handes* (1967/iv), 169-80; V.A. Baiburtyan, *Armyanskaya koloniya Novoi Dzhulʾfy v XVII veke* (Erevan 1969); J. Carswell, Djulfa, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd ed.), Supplement, pp. 274-7; A.A. Ayvazyan, *Jugha* (Erevan 1984) (which includes a sketch map of the site); idem, Jugha and Jughayi gerezmanatun, in *Haykakan sovetakan hanragitaran* (Erevan 1974-87); J. Baltrušaitis and D. Kouymjian, Julfa on the Arax and its funerary monuments, in D. Kouymjian (ed.), *In Memoriam Haïg Berbérian* (Lisbon 1986), 9-53. The greatest obstacles to the study of Old Julfa are the lack of a collected edition of 16th-century Armenian colophons (contrast the 13th, 14th, 15th and 17th centuries); and the lack of archaeological research on the site, which is located on the former Soviet–Iranian border in Azerbaijani territory. The cemetery contains numerous inscribed headstones, only some of which have been recorded. Considerable damage was inflicted on the site during the construction of the railway in the early twentieth century and there were reports of further damage in 1990 during border demonstrations (see *Current digest of the Soviet press* 42/ii (14 February 1990), p. 9).
3. Ayvazyan, *Jugha*, p. 5.
4. Ibid., p. 6.
5. Ibid., p. 4; Alishan, *Sisakan*, p. 410.
6. Cited in V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history* (Cambridge 1957), p. 27.
7. J. Cartwright, *The preacher's travels* (London 1611; reprinted Amsterdam 1977), p. 34. Cartwright's travelogue also appears in volume 8 of S. Purchas, *Hakluytus posthumous or Purchas his pilgrimes*, 20 vols (Glasgow 1905-7); J. Chardin, *Voyages de Chardin...*, ed. L. Langlès, 10 vols and atlas (Paris 1811), II, pp. 305-7.
8. J.-B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages...*, 2 vols (Paris 1682), I, p. 43.
9. Ḥamd-Allāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (London 1915), p. 89. Minorsky, p.27, has Ziya al-Din for Ziya al-Mulk. In 1319 the governor of Nakhjavan was Malik Ziya al-Din (I am grateful to Charles Melville for this information). This is probably the same as the Ziya al-Din mentioned by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Ẕail-i Jāmiʿ al-tavārikh-i rashīdī*, ed. K. Bayānī (Tehran 1350/1971), p. 127, who was the son of Ziya al-Mulk, presumably the builder of the bridge.
10. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. A. Urunbaev (Tashkent 1972), f. 179b. The description is given in Armenian translation in Alishan, *Sisakan*, p. 410.
11. J. Newbery, in Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumous*, VIII, p. 462.
12. Qāzī Aḥmad Qummī, *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, ed. I. Ishrāqī, 2 vols paginated as 1 (Tehran 1359-63/1980-84), p. 1044.
13. Ayvazyan, *Jugha*, pp. 33-8; idem, "Jughayi gerezmanatun"; Baltrušaitis and Kouymjian, "Julfa", p. 31; S. Saghumyan and V. Harutʿyunyan, Vimagrer Hin Jughayitsʿ, *Lraber* (1983/xii), p. 46; Vruyr, "Jugha", p. 173.
14. Ayvazyan, *Jugha*, pp. 29-32, 41-3.

15. D. Kouymjian, Dated Armenian manuscripts as a statistical tool for Armenian history, in T.J. Samuelian and M. Stone (eds), *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, California 1983), p. 431.
16. A. Hovhannisyan, *Hayerēn dzeṛagreri 17 dari hishatakaranner*, I (Erevan 1974), p. 366. Compare the lament of Yovhannes Makuetsʿi, in P.M. Khachʿatryan, *Hay mijnadaryan patmakan voghber (14-17 dd.)* (Erevan 1969), pp. 278-9.
17. A number of Julfa *khachkars* are illustrated in Ayvazyan, *Jugha;* and Baltrušaitis and Kouymjian, "Julfa".
18. W. Biddulph, in Purchas, *Hakluytus posthumous*, VIII, pp. 274-5.
19. A. Siwrmēean, *Patmutʿiwn Halēpi hayotsʿ*, 3 vols (Aleppo, Beirut, Paris 1940-50), III, p. 59; idem, *Patmutʿiwn Halēpi azgayin gerezmanatantsʿ ew ardzanagir hayerēn tapanakʿarern* (Aleppo 1935), pp. 12-13, 25; S. Lehatsʿi, *Ughegrutʿiwn, tarngrutʿiwn ew yishatakarankʿ*, ed. N. Akinean (Vienna 1936), pp. 318-20; A.K. Sanjian, *The Armenian communities in Syria under Ottoman dominion* (Cambridge, Mass. 1965), pp. 46-8.
20. A. Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp 1570), map 49.
21. Gh.M. Alishan, *Hay-Venet* (Venice 1896), pp. 23ff., 368-80, 430-1, 464-5. The Archivio di Stato in Venice contains a number of wills made by Armenian merchants.
22. Newbery, in Purchas, *Hakluytus posthumous*, VIII, p. 468.
23. Cartwright, *The preacher's travels*, p. 35.
24. M. Szuppe, Un marchand du roi de pologne en Perse, 1601-2, *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien XVIᵉ-XIXᵉ s.* 3 (1986), p. 93.
25. A. de Gouvea, *Relation des grandes guerres et victoires...*, trans. A. de Meneses (Rouen 1646), p. 223 [this is a French translation of the original Portuguese *Relaçam em que se tratam as guerras...* (Lisbon 1611)].
26. Ayvazyan, *Jugha*, p. 6.
27. L.G. Minasean (Mīnāsyān), *Diwan S. Amenapʿrkichʿ Vankʿi 1606-1960* (New Julfa 1983), p. 107; idem, Farāmīn-i maujūd dar mūza-yi Julfā, *Hunar va mardum* 84 (1348/1969), p. 17. See also V. d'Alessandri, in *A narrative of Italian travels in Persia in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, ed. and trans. C. Grey (London 1873), p. 218, where Zutta is probably in error for Julfa.
28. Pʿapʿazyan, *Matenadarani parskeren kalvatsagrerē*, vypusk I (Erevan 1968), document 24.
29. M.K. Zidalyan, *Jalalineri Sharzhumē ev hayzhoghovrdi vichakē arevmtyan Hayastanum XVI-XVII darerum* (Erevan 1966).
30. Most studies cover either the territory of modern Iran, e.g. M. Siroux, Les caravansérails routiers safavids, *Iranian Studies* 7/i-ii (1974), 348-75; idem, *Caravansérails d'Iran et petites contructions routières* (Cairo 1949); M.Y. Kiyānī, The Iranian Caravansarais during the Safavid Period, Ph.D. dissertation (London University 1970); or that of modern Azerbaijan, e.g. M.Kh. Geiderov, *Goroda i gorodskoe remeslo Azerbaidzhana XIII-XVII vekov* (Baku 1982); idem, *Remeslennoe proizvodstvo v gorodakh Azerbaidzhana v XVII v.* (Baku 1967); A.A. Rakhmani, *Azerbaidzhan v kontse XVI i XVII veke* (Baku 1981); S.B. Ashurbeili, *Gosudarstvo Shirvanshakhov* (Baku 1983); or that of modern Armenia, e.g. A.D. Papazyan, *Agrarnye otnosheniya.*
31. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, p. 27.
32. See note 10 above.
33. E.M. Herzig, *The Armenian merchants of New Julfa, Isfahan: a study in pre-modern Asian trade*, D.Phil. dissertation (Oxford 1991), pp. 121-2.
34. M. Membrè, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)*, trans. A.H. Morton (London 1993), p. 13.
35. For the early mediaeval period see: *Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients*, B VII 16 & 17.
36. Papazyan, *Agrarnye otnosheniya*, p. 60.
37. Ibid.

38. The account of the campaigns is based mainly on B. Kütükoğlu, Les relations entre l'Empire Ottoman et l'Iran dans la seconde moitié du XVIᵉ siècle, *Turcica* 6 (1975), 128-45; and N. Falsafī, *Zindigānī-yi Shāh ʿAbbās-i avval*, 2nd ed., 5 vols bound in 3 and paginated as 1 (Tehran 1364/1985), pp. 75-80, 95-8, 109-11, 117-27, 141-54.
39. J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, Études turco-safavides, I. Notes sur le blocus du commerce iranien par Selim I, *Turcica* 6 (1975), pp. 75-6; idem, Notes sur une saisie de soies d'Iran en 1518, *Turcica* 8/ii (1976), 237-53; Membrè, *Mission*, p. 11.
40. Qāzī Aḥmad Qummī, *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, p. 833; Cartwright, *The preacher's travels*, p. 36.
41. P. della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, il pellegrino*, 2 vols (Brighton 1843-5), II, p. 215.
42. I am indebted to Mr S. Album for this information.
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The Dutch and the Persian Silk Trade

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INTRODUCTION

Silk was the major, in fact, the only important Persian export commodity for the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) (and for that matter for the English East India Company [EIC]) apart from the even more important export commodity of specie during the 17th century. In fact, Persian raw silk was the second most important European import from Asia during the period of 1626-31.[1] However, so far very few studies have been made of this important part of the Persian economy using data from those who traded in this commodity, most of which are not comprehensive.[2] That the study of the silk trade is still very incomplete is also clear from the relevant articles in the Encyclopaedia of Islam and the Encyclopaedia Iranica.[3] Prior to the studies by Ferrier, Steensgaard and Herzig, discussion about the subject has mostly relied on secondary sources, whose information is not necessarily based in fact.[4] The purpose of this study, therefore, is to shed some more light on the production of Persian raw silk and Dutch trade therein during the 17th century using primary, hitherto mostly unused, VOC data.[5]

PERSIAN SILK TRADE POLICY PRIOR TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE EUROPEAN COMPANIES

Until 1617, Persian silk had always been transported overland to the Levant for local consumption and shipment to Europe. However, the establishment the Shi^{c}i Safavid state in Persia in 1501 led to intermittent war between Persia and its Sunni neighbour, the Ottoman Empire, which disrupted normal trading activities. In 1516, Sultan Selim even decreed a ban on the import trade from Persia. This was aimed at damaging the

financial position of Persia (that is, it would prevent the export of specie from the Ottoman Empire), but it also hurt the silk industry in the Ottoman cities as well as the Ottoman government's own financial position due to a drop in revenues. When Suleiman I took power he lifted the ban. As a result of these and subsequent measures, however, Turkish and Persian Muslim merchants were gradually being replaced by Armenian merchants. Silk continued to be a toy in the games of politics and war that were played between the Ottomans and Safavids throughout the 16th century. It especially became an important weapon between the two countries during the period from 1589 to 1639. During this same period, the Ottoman Sultans also tried, by restricting the export of gold and silver to Persia, to weaken the Shahs' ability to wage war. This came especially clear, when in 1590 the Ottoman Empire was able to seize two of the silk producing districts of Persia, viz. Ganja and Shirvan. A year later, in 1591, the local ruler of Gilan, the most important silk producing area in Persia, even tried to secede from Persia and join the Ottoman Empire. These Ottoman successes led to a severe shortage of gold and silver in Persia. However, the young and energetic Shah ᶜAbbas I was able to suppress the rebellion in Gilan in 1592 and to regain the territory lost to the Ottomans.[6] The province of Gilan, moreover, was declared to be *mulk-i khāṣṣa*, that is, it was directly ruled from Isfahan, and its revenues flowed directly into the Shah's treasury. It is therefore not surprising to observe that Shah ᶜAbbas I started looking for other routes for the export of Persian silk.

In reaction to European feelers, catalysed by the arrival of the Sherley brothers in Persia, a number of Persian ambassadors visited the courts of Europe during the first decade of the 17th century. Although the mission of the ambassadors was first and foremost the conclusion of a political-military alliance against the Ottomans, the silk trade also played a role. In exchange for political and military support, Shah ᶜAbbas I intimated that he was willing to divert the silk trade that then ran west through the Ottoman Empire and exited at Turkish ports along the Mediterranean so that it would run south and exit at Persian ports along the Persian Gulf. In 1610, a small consignment of Persian silk was sent to Lisbon with the Shah's ambassador Jangiz Beg, although this produced no result.[7] Although the overture to the Spanish court failed, the Shah tried to interest other European powers in both alliance and silk trade.

BEGINNING OF DUTCH INTEREST IN PERSIAN SILK

Shah ᶜAbbas I also had targeted the Dutch, about whose growing power in Asia he had learned through the Catholic missionaries resident in Iran. Late in 1607, a courier reached ᶜAbbas with the news that "40 Dutch ships had arrived at Hurmuz... (and) the Shah exhibit(ed) delight at it. A few days later the Captain of Hormuz, Don Peter Coutinho, sent another courier to the Fr. Prior of the Augustinians with similar news."[8] Shah ᶜAbbas had reason to be delighted at the report of this new naval power in the Persian Gulf. He needed an ally for his plans to oust the Portuguese from their powerful toehold on the southern shores of his country. It is therefore not surprising that after the alleged appearance of the Dutch in the Persian Gulf in 1607 one of Shah's ambassadors went to the Netherlands.[9]

Shah ᶜAbbas's sixth ambassador to Europe, Zain al-ᶜAbidin Khan Beg, visited the Netherlands in 1608 after he had left the Habsburg court at Vienna. "On 12.6.1608 Zain-ul Khan Baig arrived in Holland: he was there 12 days, and dispatched a Dutch ensign, an engineer, with a letter for the Shah.... The letter which Zain-ul Khan Baig wrote to the Shah he wrote in the presence of the Count Maurice and the Senators of Holland."[10] In this letter he was very pessimistic about the European attitude toward an alliance with Iran. According to the Carmelite Mission in Persia, he "had written ill of the Emperor and the Christian princes, saying that all their professions of friendship were false, and that all they wanted was for the Turks and the Persians to destroy each other as well as the Muslim religion included. So the Shah, when reading this letter, said: 'You will see what a fire I shall set alight in Christendom within two years.' This year he is going to march to Tabriz: if he be victorious, next year they may look to see him in Hurmuz, because all the time his thoughts are on how to get hold of it."[11] Although Zain al-ᶜAbidin Khan Beg rightly gauged the Christian princes' attitude regarding Iran and Islam, he certainly did not need the Dutch to point this out to him as has been suggested by Steensgaard.[12] Zain al-ᶜAbidin Khan had been in Europe since 1604 and, because of his presence at the Imperial court in Prague, he knew very well how matters stood. Moreover, the Dutch did not want to jeopardise their commercial and political relations with the Ottoman Empire by concluding a military alliance with Iran. Such contradictions confirmed again and again the need to keep politics and economics separate. On the other hand, Zain al-ᶜAbidin Khan may have discussed an alliance with the Dutch against the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf, because the Dutch were already alert to the possibilities that Persia offered.

Prior to 1580, there was neither an important Dutch silk manufacturing industry, nor even Dutch trade in silk. However, the influx of refugee

artisans and Marrano merchants from the Southern Netherlands (present Belgium) changed this picture. In 1650, or thereabouts, according to a document drawn up by a group of Dutch merchants, hundreds of various silk processing manufactories existed in Amsterdam, where allegedly about 120,000 lbs of silk were being dyed.[13] The silk trade also experienced a stormy development and went hand in hand with the growth of the silk manufacturing industry. The establishment of Amsterdam as an important silk market started with the auction of 1200 bales of Chinese raw silk in August 1604. The silk had been part of the cargo of the *S.Catherina*, a Portuguese carrack seized by the Dutch near Johore.[14] This auction coincided with a failure of the silk crop in Italy and a war between Persia and the Ottoman Empire which caused a drop in the normal supplies of Persian silk.[15] The reaction to the holding of a public silk auction in Amsterdam was enormous and buyers gathered from all over Europe. It is an indication of the growing importance of the fledgling Dutch silk industry, that the Dutch silk merchants were able to invoke the financial assistance of the Amsterdam city government. Some of these merchants even went so far as to plead that measures be taken to prohibit completely the sale of silk to Italy. At first, the city council of Amsterdam had refused to grant these requests for financial support, but it soon gave in to the pressure and changed its policy. The city council put 120,000 Dutch guilders at the disposal of the burgomasters to buy raw silk for the silk industry. Not unexpectedly, the people who appear to have been urging the city council to support the silk industry seem to have been leading Amsterdam merchants with close ties to the VOC. When the VOC wanted to expand its office capacity, the city council, therefore, insisted that the silk to be bought would be stored in that building. On 10 January 1605 through the 'good offices' of the Amsterdam burgomasters, an agreement was concluded between the leading merchants and the VOC concerning the sale of part of the cargo of the *S.Catherina*. The group of merchants would get 215 bales of silk at 30 *schellingen* per pound with an easy payment schedule. This event may be considered the real establishment of the silk market and silk industry in the Netherlands.[16]

Given the growing importance of Amsterdam as a centre of the silk industry it was not surprising that the VOC had sent some staff knowledgeable about silk to the Indies already in 1603, one year after its creation. However, the sale of the cargo of the *S.Catherina* really whetted the company's appetite for the new commodity. Henceforth, similar experts were to be found on many VOC ships going East.[17] Instructions were given to increase the trade with China to obtain silk "which yields considerable profits, of which large quantities can be sold, and it also results in substantial economic activity among the population as well as

in greater welfare."[18] Not only Chinese silk drew the attention of the VOC, for only a short time before the arrival of ambassador Zain al-ᶜAbidin Khan Beg in the Netherlands, on 11 April 1608, the Directors of the VOC had also written to their admirals in the Indies that "we have understood that the king of Ormus has risen against the Portuguese and had taken up arms against them. If this be true, you will try to conclude an alliance with this king so that we may secure the trade of Persia. You will also try to get a substantial cargo of raw silk from Persia, if this is possible, as well as many other goods which may be profitable here."[19] This plan never materialised. But these first contacts between peoples at the ends of the earth had raised hopes on both sides. As the Shah remarked to a Carmelite missionary on 9 July 1609, "the ships of the Dutch continue to do much damage to the Portuguese."[20]

VOC INTERESTED IN PERSIAN SILK BUT UNABLE TO FOLLOW UP (1603-10)

However, neither Persian nor Chinese silk would play a considerable role in VOC trade for almost two decades thereafter, due to the Company's need to consolidate its position in Indonesia. Nevertheless, in the years to come, Dutch merchants acquired a leading role in the silk trade in Europe and were instrumental, together with the English, in getting the Venetians ousted from the Levant silk trade altogether by 1620.[21]

While the first proposal of Zain al-ᶜAbidin Khan Beg hung in the diplomatic limbo between economic advantage and political disadvantage, the Dutch were approached again. This time the channel of communication was more circuitous. Robert Sherley, the English adventurer, had come to Europe in 1608, and presented himself as an ambassador of the Shah. In 1610, he met a Dutch merchant, Gilles de la Faille, in Spain and discussed with him the possibility of an agreement to open trade between Persia and the Netherlands. The following year Gilles de la Faille laid a proposal before the States General of the Netherlands for the formation of a new company which would trade largely in Persian silk.[22] The proposal got a mixed response. While Prince Maurice favoured the proposal and the States General was not against it, the VOC marshalled opposition to the idea of a new company. Moreover, because it held a monopoly on trade with Asia, its permission was necessary before a new company could be created and the VOC had several objections to the creation of a new company. The company based its objections primarily on the question of the legitimacy of the proposal. Sherley and de la Faille, it suggested, were not really qualified to make such a proposal. They were mere "project makers" whose sole purpose was to get money out of

the company with these empty promises. But even if this were a legitimate proposal, the directors concluded, it was too late. They made reference to their orders of 11 April 1608, in which they had ordered their admirals to investigate the possibility of trade with Persia. Thus, they claimed, the VOC had already begun, "some two years ago," to move toward the same end and theirs was "a more secure undertaking."[23]

The XVII (the VOC directors) were really interested in the silk trade for "It is better," they theorised, "for the company to invest its money in raw, unworked silk than in pepper, because pepper is regularly brought to Europe by the Portuguese and that spoils the trade."[24] Although the Dutch succeeded in establishing a factory at Pattani (Thailand) and at other harbours where Chinese silk could be bought, they were ultimately wrong about the relative merits of the silk and pepper trades for several reasons. First, the silk from the Santa Maria had been a true windfall. By happy chance, it had arrived in the European markets when there was almost no other silk to compete with it and brought a very good price. Second, Chinese silk regularly brought up to twice the price of other silks, whether Asian or European. And finally, just as the company began to acquire Chinese silks, it gained access to the Japanese market in 1609 and virtually all of the Chinese silk it acquired was needed in the development of the Japanese trade.[25]

POSITION OF THE EIC IN THE PERSIAN SILK TRADE (1610-23)

The Dutch company was not alone in its interest in Chinese silk. The English company, too, had been interested in Chinese silk, but after two or three badly managed, and hence unprofitable, ventures in that direction, the EIC showed no interest in Chinese silk for over 50 years. The English turned their attention instead to Persian silk. Other Englishmen had been lured by that precious commodity in the 16th century and had attempted to establish a route across Russia. These attempts had failed and most of the Persian silk to reach Europe came through the export markets in the Ottoman Empire, which were long established in the international silk trade. Once Persian silk reached Europe, however, it had to compete with both native European and such Asian silks as found their way around Africa or across Russia and it did not always compete well. Before 1619, the English, like the Dutch, had been debating the possibilities of the Persian silk trade, but they were hampered in coming to a clear decision on the matter because the English directors themselves were at cross purposes. Some of the directors of the EIC also represented the Levant Company, which traded in Persian silk at the Eastern end of the Mediterranean and they were little inclined to

compete with themselves. The dynamic behind the English move into Persian silk therefore is not to be found in Europe, but in India. The English had established a factory at Surat in 1612, but they had trouble selling their cloth in India. It was too warm, too heavy and too expensive. There was a better market for English cloth in Persia, however, where it was regularly taken as part of the goods exchanged for Persian silk at Aleppo. The Surat council therefore decided to investigate the possibilities of trade with Persia from India. English negotiations with the Persian government were successful and in 1618 Shah ʿAbbas I granted them a trading post at Jask on the Persian Gulf. In 1620, the English company plunged in and for the following three years bought substantial quantities of silk for export to Europe via India. Predictably, the project began with high hopes and the company's factors projected no less than a diversion of the entire Persian silk trade through their new factory. Just as predictably, they were disappointed. They did not have enough cash or resources to take full advantage of the agreement their agent, Edward Connock, had negotiated with the Persians. Moreover, the broadcloths, kersies, tin and lead, which they had counted on to compensate for the lack of ready cash, did not move as rapidly as they had hoped. In fact, the whole enterprise seems to have suffered from bad planning and poor management. Their goods arrived "almost without fail at the wrong times and failed to show up when they were most needed."[26]

By the time the Dutch arrived in Persia (partly at the urging of the English) they found the trade to be considerably less profitable than they had expected. Right at the beginning, in 1619, the Shah had set his own price for silk at an "auction", apparently staged for the purpose. The price set was 50 tumans a load and was at least 5 tumans, and probably more, above the market price. In short, the Shah had established what might be called an administered price and the Shah, it turned out, did not intend to take less. The English factors could find no supplier other than the Shah's officials from whom to buy silk in quantity and, by 1622 the English company had had time to assess its first go at the Persian silk trade. It decided that, at the Shah's price of 50 tumans a load, the terms did not allow sufficient profit and on 23 January 1622, the court in London decided to suspend trade with Persia until better terms could be reached. It was just at the time of the arrival of the Dutch in Persia that the English factor at Isfahan received word from the company that, if he could not secure better terms of trade, he was to close down the factory.[27]

DUTCH PROJECT MAKERS AND THE RUSSIAN OVERLAND ROUTE (1610-20)

Although the English venture in the Russian route to Persia had folded and the VOC had been able to stop other Dutch merchants from trading where the company had a monopoly, the VOC made no significant moves to develop the Persian silk trade itself. As a result, other Dutch merchants took the initiative and attempted to get around the VOC monopoly. In 1613, merchants from Amsterdam urged the States General to extend a friendly welcome to the Russian ambassador Ushakov. The States General complied and asked the ambassador to support a request to the Czar which would open trade across Russia to the Dutch.[28] In the following year, 1614, the States General authorised Isaac Abrahamszoon Massa, who was promoting the scheme, to carry letters from themselves and from Prince Maurice to the Czar. These letters contained requests that the Czar allow the Amsterdam merchants, Reiner Pauw, his two sons, and Gerrit Jacobszoon Witsen and his two sons to travel freely to Armenia, Bukhara and Iran via the Dvina, the Volga and the Caspian Sea.[29]

Although these orders from the States General to Isaac Massa about the trade route through Russia were repeated twice, in 1615 and 1617, the gentleman in question had been busy enough. On 4 August 1614, he wrote that prospects for the opening of an overland silk route with Iran looked good and that the Czar was willing to grant the Dutch what they requested. Permission had not been easily granted. It had taken 22 meetings with the Czar to get him to agree to the Dutch request and it was contingent on the States General's agreement to send an ambassador plenipotentiary to negotiate both a political and commercial agreement with him. Although the situation had not clarified much over the next few years, and indeed the scheme never materialised, it was largely the positive tone of Massa's letters that induced Gerrit Witsen, who was one of the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, to urge the States General to present armaments to the Czar in 1618, during the visit of yet another Russian ambassador to the Netherlands. This present seems to have had the desired effect and the Dutch merchants in Russia reported an improvement in their treatment at the Russian court. They fared better, they thought, than the English. Witsen and his group of Amsterdam merchants were not able to persuade the States General to send an ambassador to Russia, however.[30] Opponents of the Russian scheme maintained that it was both too expensive and too risky, considering the chaotic internal politics of Russia. But those who touted the Russian adventure pressed on and in the following year, they received support from another quarter. In November 1619, Cornelis van Ostayen, assistant to Cornelius Haga, the first Dutch consul in Istanbul, presented a report to the States General

which further advocated the advantages of developing the Persian silk trade via the Russian route.[31]

The States General did not act directly on van Ostayen's report, but it served as further ammunition for Gerrit Witsen and the Amsterdam merchants when they renewed their petition to the States General in 1620. On 14 May 1620, they urged the States General to send an embassy to the Czar. After all, they observed, he had several times requested such an embassy and had sent three ambassadors of his own to the States General. Witsen and his group stressed the willingness of the Czar to grant the Dutch requests and foresaw great advantages to the Dutch from the Persian silk trade through Russia. It could result in no less than a monopoly of the sale of raw silk at Amsterdam. "In a few years, the Venetians and the merchants from Marseille, Lyons, Tours, Spain and all of Italy, was well as from other countries, will have to obtain their silk here, because without it they will have only the silk which they produce themselves and which does not represent one percent of that which is manufactured."[32] Witsen underscored his argument by comparing it to developments in the spice trade. Formerly spices had to be obtained from Spain and Portugal, he observed, and now they could only be bought from the Dutch. He proposed, therefore, that the States General establish a "General Persia Company" to develop this trade.[33]

This thrust through the North which Witsen and the Amsterdam merchants had been actively promoting for nearly a decade was now met by a serious challenge from the VOC. Before 1620, the VOC had done little more than probe the edges of the Persian market and its potential silk trade. In fact, these probes were part of the slow extension of the company's activities into the west Asian region.

VOC DECIDES TO EMBARK ON THE PERSIAN SILK TRADE (1620-23)

One reason for the slow development of VOC trade in the western Indian Ocean was that the Portuguese were still a power to be reckoned with, although their strength was indeed dwindling in the East. Moreover, at the outset, the Dutch had only a small force in the Indies to protect their newly established outposts. Thus the history of the companies in the East was, with regard to their use of force, always something of a mixed bag and during their first 30 years the companies' very existence in the East depended upon upon their ability to defend themselves aggressively.[34] It was not until after 1631 that either the Dutch or the English could sail unchallenged into the Persian Gulf, and in their efforts to combat the Portuguese attacks, they tended, despite their sharp competition elsewhere, to combine their strengths in the Persian Gulf. From the

Moluccas and Bantam, in what is today Indonesia, where both the VOC and the EIC had settled, they gradually extended their spheres of influence and trade relations to the north and west. The establishment of other factories in the remote corners of south Asia soon followed, until their reach extended from Japan at the one extreme to the Red Sea at the other.

Because the English, who had preceded the Dutch in opening trade relations with Persia, were struggling with what a modern manager might call 'start up' problems in their Persian trade, they believed that they might more easily overcome these by joining forces with one their competitors. In 1620, the EIC offered to join the Dutch company and participate in the Persian silk trade; this came about as a result of Shah ᶜAbbas's continuing concern with the position of the Portuguese in his country. On 24 March 1620, the directors of the VOC in Amsterdam wrote to the Governor-General in Batavia that "we have been requested by the English Company to join with them in an agreement which they have with the king of Persia concerning the silk trade in his country. Since we are not well informed about its condition and because we know for certain that the English have not been able to buy and export more than 72 bales in [the last] three years, we have not been able to decide whether to accept this proposal or not."[35] The Governor-General was therefore to instruct the senior merchant at Surat to supply them with information about the silk trade so that they would be able to decide where the best interests of the VOC lay. These same orders were repeated in a letter that went directly to Surat on 13 May 1620.[36] In that letter the directors added that the English offer was to share the silk trade equally. They were clearly suspicious of the deal. The senior merchant at Surat was therefore instructed to investigate the way in which the English carried on the silk trade with Persia and especially to try to find out if there were not some way in which the VOC could carry on the trade more profitably alone. He was to send this information with the first available ship, either directly to the directors in Amsterdam or to the Governor-General in Batavia.[37]

The first response came directly from Batavia. The Governor-General, the formidable Jan Peterszoon Coen, wrote on 26 October 1620, that he had begun collecting information on the silk trade, but that he understood from the English in Batavia that considerable quantities of silk could be bought in Persia if one had cash.[38] The alleged goal of the Persian government was to divert the transit trade from the Ottoman Empire and thus, by eliminating the Turkish 'middleman,' return a greater profit directly to the Persian government. Obviously, the cooperation of the VOC would be useful in creating this Persian government monopoly. Thus, what was a political issue to the Persian government was presented to the companies as an opportunity to profit through a state sponsored monopoly.

Pieter van den Broecke, who was the senior merchant at Surat, wrote to the Governor-General on 2 April 1621. After the return of the British fleet from its successful encounter with the Portuguese at Jask, van den Broecke claimed that he had planned to send a ship or two to investigate what the English were doing in Persia "because many important Persians advise us to do so and offer to go in person with one of us to the court of Shah Abbas. They do not doubt that we will be more successful [than the English] and will be of more interest to the Shah."[39]

He had chosen the ship *Sampson.* It was given orders to collect information on the English trade at Jask and on the strength of Hurmuz. This decision was quickly abandoned, however, because differences arose with the English and because of the arrival of the *Weesp* at Surat. It was decided that it was too risky to leave the *Weesp* alone in the roadstead of Surat. The Portuguese were an immediate threat from their position at Diu less than 100 miles to the west across the mouth of the Bay of Cambay.[40]

Meanwhile, in Batavia a Dutch fleet of nine ships was assembled under the command of Admiral Jacob Dedel and on 2 September 1621, it was ordered to sail into the Indian Ocean, where it was to cooperate with the English already there against the Portuguese. Moreover, the admiral was instructed to promote the trade of the VOC in India, Surat and the Red Sea. In a private instruction the Governor-General, Coen, wrote to Dedel: "Since we are not well informed about the trade of the coast of Malabar, Surat, Iran, Arabia, Mocha, and all the other places as far as Mozambique and Suffala, you will visit these places in particular, together with the English or with some of our ships, and you will investigate what can be done to further the trade of the Company of the United Netherlands and how we may inflict losses on the enemy. The Directors have been invited insistently by the English to participate in the Iranian silk trade. Therefore, investigate what can be done in Jask and what has induced them to make this offer. The capital of this fleet is not sufficient for the purchase of textiles at Surat, let alone... to buy silk in Persia. Therefore, investigate everything and buy samples."[41] From these instructions it is clear that the VOC was uncertain about both the English invitation and the Persian silk trade. Moreover, it was not prepared to move into that trade without a full investigation of its potentials. Admiral Dedel was ordered to investigate its possibilities, not to open up the Persian market and, more or less to insure that, his capital was limited. Moreover, Coen clearly viewed the expedition as a probe of the entire Portuguese sphere of activity in the western Indian Ocean, where Dutch experience was at best spotty, and in order to help in the enterprise, he brought those few people who had had experience in trade along the western fringe of the Indian Ocean into the expedition. A month after the

fleet sailed, on 18 October 1621, he wrote to Coromandel with instructions to send Huybert Visnich to Surat to meet the fleet, "because we have understood that Huybert Visnich, senior Merchant, is experienced in the Persian silk trade, you are to send him to Surat so that he may go to Iran with the ships destined for that voyage."[42]

It is interesting that in the midst of all these preparations for what both Coen at Batavia and van den Broecke at Surat believed might be a considerable expansion of the VOC's trade and an opportunity for profit, there was a great difference of opinion within the VOC itself about the resources available to the company. On 16 November 1621, Coen wrote to the company in Amsterdam that the English had sent over 200,000 riyals in silver to Persia in the preceding two years. English documents show that they had in fact received 130,000 piasters from the fleet of 1619-20, although it is not altogether clear where the money came from. The English company itself was just as short of capital as the Dutch, but Coen did not know that. He did know that good information was hard to come by and he went on to say as much. His point, however, was that the VOC did have the money to engage in the Persian silk trade "for we all know that the Netherlands do not lack money and that most of the money the English have is acquired from the Netherlands." He could not understand why the directors appear to "deprive from us this profitable trade." In direct contrast to the sanguine, indeed, the expansionist views of Coen, the directors of the company had written on 4 March 1621, that the company did not have sufficient capital to buy Persian silk and that Coen was to make his purchases of Persian silk by barter with goods which had been destined for Surat—or that he was to deal with the English.[43]

Although one general mission of the defence fleet was to gather information, it had a more specific purpose. Neither company was prepared to go to the expense of mounting a major expedition merely to inform itself of possibilities. There was hope of profit. The combined fleet was to destroy the Portuguese carracks and galleons. More specifically they were to stand off the Malabar coast with the special intention of intercepting any Portuguese ships destined for Goa and then, in April 1622, they were to sail to Mozambique and the islands off southeast Africa. They were to be back at Goa in time to intercept the Portuguese fleet of 1622, which would arrive before the end of the year. The actions of the Dutch defence fleet thus complemented the action of the British fleet in the Persian Gulf, where on 23 April 1622, the English and the Persians joined forces to destroy the Portuguese fortress of Hurmuz. This was a spectacular event and has served, symbolically at least, as a pivot around which the restructured trade between east and west may be considered. The immediate reaction of the Dutch was the belief that the

English had got one up on them. In fact, the chief benefit to the English from their collaboration with the Persians during the conquest of Hurmuz was their right to retain control of half of the island fortress and to half of its customs. But there was a catch to that. Hurmuz had to exist as a fortress for their privilege to have any real meaning or produce any real revenues and it became clear in the aftermath of the conquest that the Shah had no intention of allowing the fort to become a significant installation again—certainly not one in the hands of foreigners. By the end of 1622, the city of Hurmuz, with the exception of a few troops in the fort, was completely deserted. Instead, the Persians created a new trading centre out of the old village of Gombroon (Gamron), which was renamed Bandar ᶜAbbas, and which had the advantage to the Persians of being on the shore of the mainland and not on an inaccessible island.[44]

It was Pieter van der Broecke in Surat who first reported to the VOC on the English victory at Hurmuz and, while his first reaction might have been regret that Dedel's fleet had not been present to give the Dutch equal footing with the English, he added that Shah ᶜAbbas was too sly to let the English move in where the Portuguese had moved out. And he was right.[45]

Dedel's fleet did not arrive at Surat until 4 October 1622, but when it got there, van den Broecke wanted to send a ship on to Persia as soon as possible. Van den Broecke believed that the development of trade with Persia and Arabia would supply the company with a source of gold and silver which could be used to fund its trade elsewhere in Asia. In this van den Broecke was one of the first to see what the company would eventually learn only through hard experience. When van den Broecke wrote on 1 January 1623, the ship had not yet gone, because Dedel claimed that he could not spare it from the fleet. There are hints that others at Surat doubted his claim, but in the meantime van den Broecke wrote to assure the directors that he had no doubt that the VOC would be able to do business with Shah ᶜAbbas. The result, he thought, would be a silk monopoly and "no other native will bring silk overland to Aleppo," although the English may share in the deal. In any event, he intended to send someone to Persia as soon as possible and before the end of January 1623, the expedition was on its way.[46]

The man who was sent to Persia to open trade was Huybert Visnich, who had been ordered to Surat by Coen in the autumn of 1621. He had apparently arrived at Surat from Coromandel in May, 1622, just in time to learn of the fall of Hurmuz. Until the situation cleared he seems to have remained in Surat, but before the end of the January 1623, he sailed to Persia on board the ship *Heusden* with instructions to collect information on what kind of business could be done and to get the Shah to agree to a formal treaty of trade. The articles of the proposed agreement were based

on the earlier English-Persian agreement of 1617 and included extensive rights of self-governance and an exemption from customs, although they did not include a silk monopoly. The *Heusden* sailed first to Mokha and then to Persia, where it arrived in November 1623.[47]

PERSIAN SILK: WHERE, WHAT AND HOW MUCH OF IT WAS PRODUCED

Some explanation of both the location of Persian silk producing areas and the kind and quantity of silk produced is necessary before the nature of the problem facing all the parties in the silk trade – government, native traders and international companies – is really clear. The silk was produced in several districts strung across northern Persia and it was produced in several varieties. Ardasse, also known as *volte corde, abblaco, kannekie*[48] and several other qualities referred to by names which seem to refer to a measure of quality or place of origin, were produced, according to Dutch sources in Shirvan, Sigan, Shamakhi, Ganja, Barda, and Aras.[49] This is also borne out by English sources, which have it that ardas was the best quality, ardaset the second quality, and kannari, the third quality.[50] Legi silk was cultivated in the Caspian provinces.[51] The best quality according to the Dutch was produced in Rasht. Other production centres mentioned were Qarabagh, Lahijan, Mazandaran, and Farahabad. In the latter two areas, a special variety of silk was produced, which was short of thread, coarse, and thin, and was known as "salvatika". The Farahabad produce was considered to be of better quality than that of Mazandaran.[52] Other, but less important centres of production were found in Khurasan, where an extraordinarily fine silk was cultivated. It was manufactured for use in Persia itself, although some of it was exported to India, and it was used to make silken textiles and carpets.[53] Finally, some small quantities of silk were produced throughout Persia, but mainly in Kirman, Tabas, and Yazd. Their production was entirely consumed by local industries,[54] which led to imports from the Caspian provinces to, for example, Yazd.[55] Raw silk was even produced in Khuzistan.[56]

The terms ardasse and legi were mainly used during the early period of European trade with Persia. In 1638, the Dutch for the first time refer to the silk varieties by other terms. In the first place *sha ᶜrbāfī* is mentioned as silk of the first quality. The second variety mentioned was *kadkhudā pasand*, which is the second best quality and is probably the same as ardasse silk. It was this kind of silk which the VOC preferred to have during the latter part of the 17th century. The third variety was *kharvārī* silk, which is the same as legi silk, and which was preferred by the VOC during the early part of the 17th century.[57]

There are many contemporary silk production figures in 17th-century

Persia, but they are full of contradictions, as shown by Herzig. The most often cited are those of Olearius and Chardin. The former estimated the silk production of Persia at 20,000 bales or 1900 tons, while Chardin estimated it at 2760 tons. These estimates are far too high. An English report in 1618 estimated the annual silk production of Persia at only 1082 tons (386,000 *mann-i shāh*) and in 1622 the EIC believed that Persia exported about 7500 bales or more than 1000 tons.[58] The year before, i.e. in 1621, the XVII had estimated that the silk export was about 6000 bales or 1,680,000 lbs, although this estimate was probably based on information they had received from English sources. They based their estimate on the amount of Persian silk sold annually in Europe, which, according to the information available to them, was as follows:

The Netherlands	500 bales
England	600 bales
Venice	1600 bales
Genoa, Lucia, Messina, Florence	400 bales
Marseilles	3000 bales

Other contemporary estimates were even lower. Sir John Wolstenhome put the total European import of Persian silk at 4000 bales or 1,120,000 lbs. Munn, a director of the EIC, was even more conservative and estimated the annual consumption of Persian silk in Europe to be only 1,000,000 lbs.[59]

On the basis of Venetian statistics, Steensgaard concluded that even the low estimate given by Munn must be too high, since the European market probably consumed only about 500,000 lbs of Asian silk per year at the beginning of the 17th century.[60] This figure corresponds with the export prospects which Shah ᶜAbbas seems to have implied in discussions in 1617, that is about 3000 bales.[61] These and many other data have been discussed in detail, per trade route, by Herzig, who concluded rightly that they are of little use to the historian.[62]

Given that Herzig only knew of one Dutch estimate for Persian silk production and that he agrees that these are probably more informed data than those from other sources, we will discuss here additional Dutch data that may shed more light on our subject. According to a Dutch report of 1636, and therefore written after more than ten years experience in the silk trade and field visits to the silk producing areas, the total amount of annual silk production in Persia amounted to the following:[63]

Gilan	2100 bales
Farahabad, Mazandaran	150 bales
Kirman	250 bales
Georgia, Qarabagh, Ganja	300 bales
Total production	2800 bales

Of this total, 150 bales were used in silk manufacturing in Gilan, 600 bales were used in Rasht and Kashan, and another 250 bales were used in Isfahan and Lar, the latter being particularly important. Thus, the Persian silk industry consumed a total of about 1000 bales. The Dutch concluded that only some 1500 bales of silk were exported each year. This estimate seems to be a bit on the low side, however, since it does not include silk produced in Khurasan, Tabas, Kirman and Yazd, most of which was consumed locally. Also, the author of the report played down the exports by Armenians via the Levant, which were much higher than he indicated. This may well have been occasioned by his desire to create the impression that he had been successful in securing the monopoly of the Persian silk trade. However, it is more likely that his sources of information on the production and trade of silk produced in the Caucasus (Shirvan, Qarabagh) and exported by Armenian merchants were much less reliable than those on other parts of Persia.[64]

Two Dutch reports from 1651 and 1653 indicate that the production was indeed higher, at least in those years (see Appendix 1).[65] The difference in estimates are possibly due to the fall and rise in output, a normal hazard for any agricultural crop.

Area	1651	1653
Gilan	2800	2680 bales
Mazandaran	80	200
Farahabad	160	--
Shirvan	500	--
Erevan	--	700
Qarabagh	80	600
Khurasan	80	80
Total	3700	4160 bales

A Dutch report of 1666 provides evidence that silk production in Persia had been considerably reduced. Unfortunately, the report gives no total output, but it would seem that production had been nearly halved:[66]

Gilan	200 bales
Shirvan, Shamakhi	
Gersia	large quantities
Mazandaran	130 bales
Khurasan & Kashan	60 bales

It would appear that somewhere around 4000 bales a year is a reasonable estimate of the annual production in a 'normal' year during the 17th century. According to the Governor-General of the VOC, writing from Batavia of course, Persian silk production was slightly more than 4000 bales per year. Leaving aside crop plague and the like, an annual production of nearer 2000 - 2500 bales seems more likely during bad years, as implied by available estimates of exports and local consumption.[67] During excellent years silk production may have reached a volume of some 7000 cargas or 15,750 bales, as is reported by Batavia in 1686.[68]

Although the foregoing accounts for the quantities of silk produced in Persia, it does not clarify the types or varieties preferred in local use. According to the 1638 report mentioned earlier, of the total estimated production of 2500 bales, some 1000 bales were consumed within Persia. The 1651 and 1653 reports present the following breakdown of the types of silk produced:

Type of silk	1651	1653
Shaᶜrbafi	1540	1000 bales
Kadkhuda pasand	860	1600
Kharvari	1300	1460
Total	3700	4160 bales

Because shaᶜrbafi was solely consumed within Persia, although some appears to have been exported to India as well,[69] the local silk industry probably consumed about 1000 to 1200 bales per year.[70] The rest of the silk production was mainly exported, although some of the lesser quality silks generally, as well as high quality silks produced near the silk weaving centres such as Kashan and Yazd, also were used for home consumption.

This seems to tally with what we know about the kinds of silk varieties that were exported. However, the picture changes somewhat at the end of the 1650s, when less silk was produced. The Dutch report of 1666 lists the following varieties:

Shaᶜrbafi	80-90 bales
Ardasse (Mazandaran)	130 bales
Ardasse	large quantities from the Caucasus
Legie	60-75 bales

The same report mentions also that shaᶜrbafi was mostly used in Persia, as was most of the Mazandaran ardasse and much of the other ardasse, of which 10% was legie silk. The legie was exported in its entirety to Turkey and Russia, as was a considerable quantity of ardasse.

The main export qualities were kadkhuda pasand or ardasse, which was mostly sent to the Levant. Kharvari or legie silk was mainly used by the Shah to meet his contractual obligations to the Dutch and English. In fact, during the period under discussion, the Dutch preferred kharvari silk. In 1632, the XVII had instructed its staff in Asia to buy only legie and no ardasse, because legie silk obtained a much better price.[71]

Statistics on the actual quantities of silk exported by both of the European companies are not readily available, due to lacunae in the remaining documents. Fortunately, Dirk Sarcerius, the VOC director at Gombroon (1649-55), made compilations of the quantities of silk exported during the period 1624-55. The data for the years 1655-66 have been taken from other similar compilated sources and form the basis for Table 1. The figures for the EIC may not be completely accurate because these are from Dutch sources.

Table 1 shows the advantage to the Shahs of having the VOC and EIC as trading partners. The European companies provided the Shahs with a floor price for a considerable quantity of silk, which gave them access to a substantial quantity of ready cash at the same time. For the variations in the quantities purchased by the VOC and EIC cannot just be explained by fluctuations in silk production, although that also played a role, of course. However, if the land route to the Levant offered higher prices the Shah could always claim that he was unable to supply the quantities of silk contracted for and sell more silk at windfall prices.[72] That the Shahs nevertheless appreciated their European silk connection is indicated by the fact that when no silk was bought (1645-51), or when silk purchases were reduced to insignificant quantities (after 1665), or when silk purchases stopped altogether (after 1704) the contracts with the VOC and EIC were not revoked.

TABLE 1 VOC AND EIC SILK EXPORTS FROM PERSIA 1624-66 (IN BALES)

Year	Payment in	Price (tumans/ carga)*	VOC	EIC	Total (bales)
1624	goods	50	370	160	530
1625	goods	50	311	105	416
1626	goods	48	352	60	
	cash	45	196	—	608
1627	goods	48	338	938	1276
1628	goods	48	614	93	
	cash	45	147	—	854
1629	cash	36	225	186	411
1630	cash	43	220	790	1010
1631			—	—	—
1632	cash	42.5	157	350	507
1633	cash	40	327	224	551
1634	cash	40	15	110	
	cash	42	310	—	435
1635	cash	45	200	371	571
1636			—	—	—
1637	cash	45	200	—	200
1638	cash	50	400	373	773
1639	cash	50	370	253	623
1640	cash	50	600	342	942
1641	cash	50	300	43	343
1642	cash	50	600	—	600
1643	cash	50	351	—	351
1644	cash	50	343	—	343
1645	no silk bought				0
1646	no silk bought				0
1647	no silk bought				0
1648	no silk bought				0
1649	no silk bought				0
1650	no silk bought				0
1651	no silk bought				0
1652	cash	48	590	—	590
1653	cash	48	400	—	400
1654	cash	48	400	—	400
1655	cash	48	216	—	216
1656	cash	48	167	—	167
1657	cash	48	201	—	201
1658	cash	48	30	—	30
1659	cash	48	230	—	230
1660	cash	48	182	—	182
1661	cash	48	256	—	256
1662	cash	48	209	—	209
1663	cash	48	190	—	190
1664	cash	48	233	—	233
1665	cash	48	210	—	210

TABLE 1 (continued)

Year	Payment in	Price (tumans/ carga)*	VOC	EIC	Total (bales)
1666	cash	48	58	—	58
1667	cash	48	397	—	397
1668	cash	48	212	—	212
1669	cash	48	470	—	470
1670	cash	48	502	—	502
1671	cash	48	419	—	419
1672	cash	48	545	—	545
1673	cash	48	340	—	340
1674	cash	48	329	—	329
1675	cash	48	546	—	546
1676	cash	48	532	—	532
1677	cash	48	600	—	600
1678	cash	48	590	—	590
1679	cash	48			
1680			?		
1681	cash	48	675	—	675
1682	cash	48	522	—	522
1683	cash	48	366	—	366
1684					
1685					
1686					
1687					
1688					
1689					
1690					
1691	cash	44	675	—	675
1692	no silk bought				
1693					
1694					
1695	cash	44	783		783
1696	cash	44	149		149
1697–1704	no silk bought				
1704	cash	44	80		80
1705–10			no silk		
1710					
1713	cash	44	75		75
1714	cash	44	252		252

Sources: ARA, KA 1213, May 1655, fols 691-2; VOC 1245, fol. 694v; van Dam, p. 313; Coolhaas, III, pp. 547, 571, 662, 703, 717, 747, 749, 775, 871, 891, 923; ibid., IV, pp. 18, 154, 204, 260, 397, 572, 581, 637, 669, 741; ibid., V, pp. 559, 604, 810, 858; ibid., VI, p. 727; KA 1710, fols 241v, 2682v, 2380.

*Note: Method of payment and prices refer only to VOC transactions.

The table further shows that the European companies never came even close to redirecting the silk trade via the Persian Gulf. If we accept that the annual silk production amounted to at least 4000 bales, then the companies only were able to capture 25% of the market in 1628, 1630 and 1640. After 1640, the EIC stopped buying Persian silk, although it bought small quantities once in a while.[73] Purchases by the VOC amounted to an average of 400 bales per year, which were reduced to an average of 200 bales per year after 1654. Although silk purchases increased during the late 1670s and once again reached the high levels (400 bales) of the earlier period, they diminished to insignificant quantities as of 1698, and stopped altogether after 1714.[74]

COLLECTION AND TRANSPORT OF RAW SILK

In the beginning the Dutch sent their own staff to Gilan to collect the silk they had bought. However, to avoid the cost of transportation, and the diseases endemic to Gilan, they preferred to have the silk delivered in Isfahan. After 1626, when delivery to Isfahan was contracted for, the Dutch did not visit Gilan anymore. They only resumed their travels to Gilan when silk had to be bought from private merchants in the period between 1632 and 1638. After that period all silk for the Dutch was delivered to Isfahan. It would also have been difficult for the Dutch to collect the silk themselves as had been suggested by the XVII. This was the result of an attempt to find a solution to the bad quality of the silk that was often delivered. During the period when the Shah was trying to maintain a silk export monopoly the Dutch only traded with the royal silk agents in Gilan, while in the 1630s they employed Armenian or Jewish merchants to collect the silk. To do it themselves would have been nearly impossible. They were simply not knowledgeable enough in the fine points of the local silk retail trade, nor did they have contacts in Gilan. Of course, they put it somewhat differently, blaming their own inadequacies on the wiles of the Gilaki peasants. According to Overschie, VOC director in Persia (1633-9), these peasants were "so false and villainous, that even experienced Moors [i.e. Muslim traders] are being hoodwinked by them, both with regard to the weight and the quality of the silk". In fact, all of this translated directly into economics. Overschie continued:

> To buy 100 loads of raw silk, one would need at least 20 Dutchmen, not counting other servants, because the silk is bought by the bundle from house to house, and from village to village. Moreover, an extraordinary number of people, who come to buy silk, die each year in Gilan.[75]

Some ten years later the situation had not changed. Carel Constant, VOC director in Persia (1642-5), reports that:

> In April or May the Jolphaline [Armenian] merchants who trade in silk depart usually for the province of Gilan. Here they stay for a while till the silk has been spun or "doubled", which is in the months of June or July. Then the silk is brought by rich and poor people in small lots for sale. The said Jolphalines are very clever in this trade. They buy this silk for 26 to 28 tomans per carga of 36 man-e shah. In addition they pay 2 to 3 tomans per carga for several small imposts. Having completed their purchases they leave for Aleppo, Smyrna and Constantinople, etc. Here they pay 10 to 12 tomans per carga for transportation costs, rahdari and the like. Thus, the silk will cost these merchants some 38 to 43 tomans, once they arrive. They sell the silk there at 900 to 920 reals or 58 to 60 tomans per carga, which yields a profit of 17 to 20 tomans per carga or 46%, which is very good. Sometimes they export their silk from Smyrna to Livorno and Genoa where they may find an even better market than in Smyrna. It also often happens that they cannot sell their silk for enough cash in Aleppo, in which case they barter it for cloth at good prices. They hope that they may sell this at a good profit in Persia, which hope is often dashed. In need of cash they are forced to sell their cloth at whatever price they can get, or else they are unable to buy silk again. ..... If in the future we are granted freedom of trade we should imitate the Jolphaline method of buying silk and send [staff] each year to Gilan and Shirvan. However, we should take into consideration that [the price of] silk would rise due to our large purchases.[76]

The silk was stored in warehouses after it had been collected, whether by the Shah's factors or private merchants. During the days of the export monopoly, the government had its own warehouses, which under the later Shahs also seems to have been the case. The largest concentration of storage facilities was in Qazvin, which was the distribution centre for the silk of the Caspian provinces. From there, the silk was sent to the Levant or to Isfahan, and Overschie therefore felt it necessary to keep a trusted person there to obtain the amount of silk the VOC wanted at the proper quality.[77] Quality was a continuing problem in the silk trade, although it appears to have been less of a problem during the period of Shah ᶜAbbas I, when the Dutch had better control over the quality of the silk they acquired. Whether this was due to the influence Visnich had with the Shah, or due to the nature of the silk monopoly itself

is not clear. It is a fact that there were fewer complaints about quality from the VOC and one suspects that the presence of government officials in the process of collection acted as a guarantee—if not a threat to those selling the silk.

The procedure for collecting the silk during that period was as follows. A Dutch merchant was sent to Rasht and presented himself to the governor to obtain the purchased quantities of silk. The silk was chosen from the royal stores and it was required that the bales be opened and allowed to dry in the sun for a day before the Dutch made their choice. The governor then allowed the Dutch representative to select the silk he wanted and the silk was weighed, preferably in the presence of the qadi.[78] Moreover, the VOC's representative had detailed instructions as to the quality of silk he was allowed to acquire. All inferior silk had to be refused, as well as "that which is too thin or woolly, or black and of bad colour". The kind of silk the Dutch wanted was "a robust lively thread, like the sample which you have with you, rather coarse than fine and it should not be mixed with thick threads. It should not be like a horse's tail either, nor like cow webs.... There are also strings of silks, which seem to be lusterless because of their flatness. However, in that case, you fiddle over it with your nails to see whether it splits into more threads or not, if not, and the colour is right and clear, and you cannot get better, you may accept it."[79]

Each bale was then packed in linen cloth, counted and prepared for the long, rough road to the Persian Gulf by camel. The bales weighed about 18 mann-i shah, or 36 mann-i Tabriz (i.e. about 240 lbs), and each camel carried two bales. Thus, what was referred to as a *carga* by the Dutch was a "load", and was little less than 500 lbs. Interestingly, the Dutch probably derived the term, which seems to be peculiar to them, from the Persian word *kharvār*, which is generally used to mean donkey load, although it is used to refer to a load of any beast of burden. Availability of those beasts of burden varied and, as a result, so did the rates of transportation – from 110 to 150 mahmudis per 100 mann-i shah. The expenses per caravan could thus vary considerably, depending on the amount of silk bought from private merchants and the price of the pack animals. An invoice for silk bought in 1635 shows that the expenses, including transportation, amounted to 8.4% of the total, while a similar invoice from 1637 paid only 2.6%. This was mainly due to the large amount of private silk bought in 1635 (about 70%), because the government was responsible for the shipment of the silk taken from its stores. Still, there were shipping expenses associated with even the silk shipped by the government – and of course also applicable to the private silk – such as presents to the tax receiver (*taḥvīldār*), the comptroller (*mustaufī*) and other local officials. For an example of the additional costs incurred in 1661, see Appendix 2.

Furthermore, commission (*dallālī*) had to be paid at the rate of 0.5% on private silk as well as an impost on privately bought silk of 14 *gazbegis* per mann-i shah of 13 lbs. There were a number of incidental expenses picked up along the way, such as a fee of 1 mahmudi per bale to caravansarai keepers, another charge at a toll bridge, and some presents to "avoid" *rāhdārī* at Abarquh, Lar, and Gombroon. Of course, the presents were really a form of rahdari – slightly reduced. Finally, there were the costs for the packing materials and the wages of the people who did the packing. None of these costs was very high, but unless watched carefully, any one of them could have added another percentage point to the cost of transportation.[80]

A good example of this was the packing, a constant source of complaint by merchants all along the line of shipment. Silk invoices give a standard reduction of 2.4% deduction of tarra (packing) on all silk cargos. Occasionally, this cost element is further disaggregated; allowing 400 *miṣqāl*s per bale of 18 mann-i shah, which works out to 2.2% and thus tallies with the standard overhead for packing. The cost for materials was not the problem, however. During the 1630s, the XVII sent one complaint after another to their factors in Persia about their supervision of the packing, because the bales were arriving underweight – sometimes as much as 10% underweight. Some of this loss could indeed have been avoided by closer supervision during the packing, because Persian merchants sometimes added rocks, old clothes and other cloth to the bales. But the supervision really had to be exercised all along the shipping route because sometimes the substitution was made after the inspection by slitting open a bale and then carefully sewing it up again. In sum, anyone from a quick witted muleteer to the servants of the VOC (who could blame such peculations on the wily Persians) might make such a substitution.[81]

There were some natural causes for the constant underweightage the VOC experienced in shipping silk from Persia, although the intermittent plagues which cropped up during certain periods are certainly suspect. The shift in climate from the humid rain forests of Gilan to the drier, semi-arid regions in central and south Persia were undoubtedly the cause of some of the weight loss. It was to the advantage of the Gilakis, both commercially and in handling the silk, to ship during the winter, that is, the damp months. When the bales were opened in Isfahan for inspection, they dried out, and then were closed up again and shipped to the Netherlands, where they arrived some pounds lighter than they had begun their journey.[82]

Another source of complaint from the XVII was a somewhat more exotic one. The XVII complained that excess camel sweat spoiled the quality of the silk. In Isfahan, Visnich denied it. Such a danger might exist

on the road from Gilan, or more precisely, on the road from Qazvin to Isfahan. But the bales were inspected in Isfahan and, after that, on the road to Gombroon, the silk was more likely to freeze than suffer from rivers of camel sweat. This was especially true when the silk was on the road during wintertime, arriving in Gombroon in December or January, which was the normal situation. For the silk harvest took place in July and August, and only arrived in Isfahan by October-November. Due to delays in the road and visits to and from royal officials, the inspection and weighing of the bales, it was not before the end of December or mid-January that the silk caravan would arrive in Gombroon.[83]

Camel sweat or no, the XVII drew up precise instructions for their staff in Persia to follow to avoid the whole problem of underweight bales. Chief merchants were to be appointed who were to be charged with supervising the delivery of the silk and who were to be present in person when the silk arrived. They had to inspect both the quality and the weight of the silk. Then, each bale had to be labelled as to weight and contents, and the same information copied onto a shipping bill that would list all bales in the shipment. The label itself was placed inside the packing, but also as a double check the number of the bale was then to be placed on the outside of the bale. Moreover, this task of checking the bales was never to be left to junior or lower grade personnel on pain of punishment to be decided by the VOC Governor-General in Batavia.[84]

The instructions of the XVII went beyond inventory checks to include detailed instructions about the process of wrapping the bales. These were to be put into "wasse cleeden", which was to be well wrapped in cotton cloth and the VOC's director in Persia clearly thought that this was going too far. Visnich, the first VOC director in Persia (1623-30), responded that it was not always possible, because neither "wasse cleeden" nor cotton cloth, nor even packaging material were available in Gilan – and even if they were available, there was not always time to carry out the instructions if the shipment was large. Although Visnich claimed he was doing his best and even ordered special cotton and gunny bags from Surat to pack the silk in, the problem continued and the XVII left no doubt as to whom they thought was to blame.[85] The problem did not clear up when Visnich left the post. A few years later, Overschie was also on the defensive on the same points. He admitted that everything had not been done precisely according to instructions. Labels had not been inserted inside the bales, but that was not through negligence. A silk delivery, he pointed out, just as Visnich had done before him, required a great deal of work. It demanded day and night attention in a very short time. Sometimes the senior staff just could not be present having other urgent business to attend to with the Chancellor or with the Armenian suppliers. Yet, he undercut his argument to a certain extent, because he

had also to admit that, even when he had tried to follow the instructions of the XVII, he had not done a very good job. It was due to lack of time, he claimed, but even when the labels were found in the bales, as noted in a report of January 1639, the weights listed did not at all correspond to the real weights of the bales.[86]

THE UPS AND DOWNS OF THE VOC's PERSIAN SILK TRADE (1623-1714)

The role of the Persian silk trade must be understood within the context of overall VOC commercial policy in Asia. It took the VOC two decades to start trading with Persia and thus in Persian silk. This was because its forces and finances were tied up in southeast Asia, during the fierce competition for commercial dominance in that region. Under the existing conditions it was, therefore, impossible for the VOC to start trading with Persia, without overextending itself. However, by the end of the second decade of the 17th century, the VOC had established itself securely, both in southeast and west Asia, while it also had firm control of some of the most important Asian commodities, viz. spices and pepper. The VOC did not make its decision to trade with a country or in a particular commodity based on the availability of one single commodity. This decision was rather made on how such trade would fit into the VOC's existing trading pattern, the opportunity cost of that particular trade, the activities of its competitors and the market, of course. By 1620, all these factors favoured the start of trade with Persia.

The backbone of VOC trade with Europe was pepper in particular, and spices, in general. Chinese silk, which was also in great demand in Europe, the VOC could sell profitably in Japan for silver. Having secured its shipping routes and logistical support, while trading capital also was available, prospects for the Persian silk trade looked bright. This development coincided with a slump in the spices market in Europe, resulting in falling prices and profits, due to higher cost in Asia. The VOC, therefore, needed other profitable Asian export commodities to boost its revenues. Silk was such a commodity, but the VOC needed its Chinese silk for export to Japan. The possibility of exporting Persian silk to Europe, therefore, was a welcome alternative. However, the Portuguese still controlled the Persian Gulf, the maritime gateway to Persia. The Portuguese had to be ousted from Hurmuz, their military and commercial stronghold in the Gulf. The EIC, which also wanted to have access to Persia and its silk, asked the VOC to join forces to get rid of the Portuguese and jointly secure the Persian silk trade. This prospect led to panic buying of silk by the Levant Company in Aleppo to preempt any such takeover of the Persian silk trade. However, neither the VOC nor the

EIC had sufficient funds to finance such a purchase, which according to their own calculation would require Dfl. 5,5 million, of which the Dutch would have to invest Dfl. 2,8 million.[87]

With the defeat of the Portuguese by the combined Persian-British forces and the fall of Hurmuz in 1622, the maritime silk road to Persia was open. The XVII were very pleased with this new commercial opportunity, because it meant that Chinese silk could be used exclusively for the Japanese market. Visnich, the VOC agent in Persia, was ordered to buy silk and pay for it with Asian commodities such as spices, pepper and metals. Payment in cash, which was in short supply, had to be avoided as much as possible. Not only would payment in cash whet the Shah's appetite, but it would not be profitable for the VOC.[88]

The Period under Shah ᶜAbbas I (1580-1629)

Before the arrival of the English in Persia the silk trade was mainly in the hands of Armenian merchants who exported silk via Bursa, Aleppo, or Focon. Shah ᶜAbbas had a fair control over the silk market through the payment of taxes by silk growing peasants in Gilan and Mazandaran, which were collected in kind, and through his general taxation on the movement of commercial goods, which was collected both internally and at the borders. Moreover, he occasionally also bought extra quantities of silk, or extended credit to silk merchants. Another very important factor in the market was the Shah's practice of storing large quantities of silk to meet European contractual obligations.[89] Especially important in the Shah's efforts to control the flow of silk – it would seem, the whole economy for that matter – was the fact that as mulk-i khassa, Gilan was administered directly by the Shah in contrast to the management of the state domains (*mulk-i mamālik*), from which only part of the revenues went to the Shah.

It would seem that until the arrival of the English in 1617, there was no state export monopoly of the silk trade such as existed during the last decade of Shah ᶜAbbas's reign. When the English indicated that they were interested in buying large quantities of silk, Shah ᶜAbbas created an export monopoly in September 1619 by decreeing "that all silks made throughout his whole dominion shall be brought into his treasury and there to receive money for the same.....".[90] At the same time, he also fixed a new price which was at least 10% higher than the previous market price. According to the Dutch, that price had been about 38 tumans per load of two bales.[91] There may be several reasons for the genesis of this export monopoly. The English wanted to do business on a large scale and were willing to purchase the entire quantity of exportable Persian silk to

redirect it through the Persian Gulf. To do this, they had to do business with the Shah. Not only was the silk trade in Persia penny ante business with little capital and a diffuse base, but the Shah was the biggest operator in the economy. It was impossible to trade without his permission. "This Kinge is a Marchant, here cummeth not aney Commodities to towne but hee by his Ministers hath the refusall; any profitt thereby, the marchant sall none of it, he knows his marchants, forceing his Subjectes to take it againe at his price."[92] It was for this reason that Shah ᶜAbbas had designated Isfahan as the main commercial centre of his kingdom in 1598. Shah ᶜAbbas welcomed the EIC interest in trading directly with him, because it seemed to offer the possibility of allowing him to use all British cash imports for his own needs.

Although redirecting the silk trade through the Persian Gulf did not head the Shah's priority list, he did nothing to make the English, or for that matter the Ottomans, who were greatly disturbed, believe the opposite.[93] On the contrary, he intimated that if the English were willing to clear all Persian silk via the Gulf, he would be willing to cooperate. Nevertheless, it was already clear to the English merchants in 1621 that Shah ᶜAbbas was not interested in an exclusive Gulf route as long as the Turkish route remained open, because he was first and foremost interested in selling his silk to the highest bidder. However, the companies' interest in redirecting the silk trade corresponded with the Shah's interest in selling large quantities of silk, preferably for cash.

To tighten the hold over the silk market the farmers in the silk producing regions had to sell their produce before harvest time at prices that were lower than the prices obtaining after the harvest. This system was known as *pīsh furūsh* or pre-harvest sale. Under the terms of this system, the peasants received payment prior to harvesting and were therefore obliged to deliver their silk to the buyer – in this case, the Shah's agents. Private merchants were allowed to operate as before on the condition either that they bought their silk only from the Shah's factor or from another source only with the knowledge and permission of the Shah's factor.[94] Nevertheless, clandestine sales took place, although these were forbidden on pain of confiscation of all silk. However, because of the low prices they received, peasants were prepared to sell silk in secret to private merchants. Even the VOC bought silk clandestinely during the period of the export monopoly. However, it only bought small quantities and then mainly from court favourites such as the governor of Fars and the royal painter, Jan van Hasselt. Private merchants were only allowed to buy so-called salvatika silk on the condition that they paid duty of 12 tumans per bale of 36 mann-i shah, if bought directly from the peasants, or at 50 tumans per bale from the Shah's factor. These private merchants suffered greatly from the royal export monopoly. Several times during

the 1620s they complained about it to Shah ᶜAbbas and asked him to fix a lower price. These merchants, mainly Armenians, had built an extensive network in the silk producing areas and had great experience and many business contacts in the trade from which the VOC greatly profited. Although Shah ᶜAbbas did not lower the silk price for them, it would appear that by 1628, and may be even before, he had changed this policy, since Visnich reports that the VOC paid higher prices than the Armenians, who paid in cash for silk. The Shah probably was obliged by the scarcity of cash and his growing need for it to give in to their urgent requests.[95]

The formula for Dutch trade in Persia was that in exchange for an annual purchase of silk from the Shah, at a price above the market price, the VOC was allowed freedom of trade and exemption of customs duties. In 1623, the Dutch concluded an agreement with Shah ᶜAbbas to buy silk at 50 tumans per carga. In return, the VOC received exemption of customs duties. The success of the Persia trade, where silk was partly paid for in barter, was such that, in January 1626, the XVII wrote "Until now we had considered pepper the mainstay of our trade, and rightly so. But, henceforth, it will be necessary to promote another important commodity, if possible, which we think is the trade in Chinese and Persian silk."[96] In that same year the XVII welcomed Visnich's report that he would send 600 to 800 bales of Persian silk, provided these would be paid mainly with commodities.[97] They were pleased with the 900 bales that Visnich promised to send in 1628, and ordered 1200 bales for the year thereafter.[98] In view of the high profits that were made by the VOC on the sale of spices in Persia, which made up about 50% of the payment for silk, it is not surprising that the XVII were enthusiastic about the Persian silk trade.

The Period of Shah Safi I (1629-42)

Under Safi I the royal silk export monopoly had been rescinded in 1629, although the VOC's contractual arrangements basically remained the same. However, with this major difference that, henceforth, silk had to be paid for in cash. This negative development was offset by lower silk prices in the free market. The XVII continued to order large quantities of silk. Towards the end of the 1620s, the standing order was to buy 1200 bales of silk. However, in 1633 this order was reduced to 800 bales, while orders for Chinese silk were also reduced. In 1634, there was a slight increase in orders for silk (1000 bales), while in the following years this target was not to be exceeded. However, the VOC agents in Persia were unable to supply the required quantities of silk. Actual deliveries were far

below what had been ordered (see Table 1). In 1633, the XVII therefore allowed its agent in Persia even to borrow money to buy silk, if he would not have enough capital to purchase silk to the level of the ordered quantities.[99] In September 1635, the XVII instructed Overschie (VOC director in Persia) to buy as much silk as he could, irrespective of its price, as long as the EIC also bought silk. If others could make a profit the XVII preferred that these profits were made by the VOC rather than by somebody else. However, they restricted Overschie to buy only with the capital, both in cash and kind, that had been put at his disposal.[100] However, Overschie started on a buying spree, borrowing money to finance this effort, and driving up the price of silk. Meanwhile, the VOC was confronted with falling prices in Europe, and consequently with dwindling profits. It was therefore decided to reduce orders for Persian silk. The XVII were also upset by the fact that, despite Overschie's assurances to the contrary, and despite the very high price obtaining in Persia, large quantities of Persian silk continued to be exported via Aleppo. The XVII thought that either Overschie had paid too much for the silk, or that it was not Persian silk that was marketed in Aleppo. Of one thing they were sure: no merchant could make a profit and survive the high price of Persian silk. However, the XVII saw that these merchants survived and even tried to export silk via Russia.[101] The latter statement, inter alia, referred to the attempt by the Holstein embassy in 1637 to acquire the export monopoly of Persian silk.[102] How could these merchants think that it was profitable to export silk via the Caspian and Russia, while the VOC had trouble making a profit on silk purchases, the XVII wanted to know.

The order to reduce silk purchases in Persia coincided with an order to increase purchases for Chinese silk in 1637. Not only did the VOC increase its orders for Chinese silk, but it also opened up new sources of silk supply. Already in 1631, samples of raw silk from Bengal had been received in Batavia, which had been sent to the Netherlands. The Governor-General wrote that Bengal could supply about 1000 bales of silk per year.[103] The XVII, in view of the lower price of Bengal silk, ordered a large quantity in 1636.[104] However, due to start up problems in India, Bengal silk was only exported to the Netherlands in sizable quantities in 1640.[105]

In Persia, the VOC was confronted with the fact that it was forced to buy 300 bales of silk at the very high price of 50 tumans per bale as of 1638. Batavia had received orders not to send any Persian silk to the Netherlands until August 1641, as a result of a promise made to the buyers of the last VOC shipment. However, by December 1641, there were 1135 bales of silk in Batavia, of which the Governor-General decided to send 300 bales to Japan to strengthen the Indies Fund.[106] The

Governor-General did not expect any profit on this sale, because earlier trial sales of Persian silk to the Japanese market had been disappointing. In 1629, it had been hardly possible to sell some samples of Persian silk at cost-price,[107] while 300 bales sent in 1638 had resulted in a loss of Dfl. 25,000.[108] It was only in 1644, because of reduced supply of Chinese silk, that Persian silk yielded a profit of 50% in Nagasaki.[109]

The Period of Shah ᶜAbbas II (1642-66)

The problems that had bedevilled the VOC's silk trade in Persia as of 1638 were not resolved by the accession of the new Shah. The same team of government remained in place which meant that it insisted that the VOC respected the terms of the commercial agreement. The fact that there was no alternative profitable market for Persian silk, while cheaper and better silk resources were available, was one of the reasons why the Governor-General decided to go to war with Persia in 1644. In addition, the Shah refused to reduce the quantity of silk that the VOC had to buy according to the existing contract. Because of that war and its aftermath the VOC bought no Persian silk from 1645 to 1652. The gap was filled by silk from Bengal that became a regular item on the VOC order list.[110] After the conclusion of the new commercial treaty with Shah ᶜAbbas II in 1652 the VOC was contractually obliged to buy 300 cargas of silk at 48 tumans per bale per year. However, the VOC preferred to buy as little Persian silk as possible.[111] Moreover, sale of Persian silk in Japan continued to yield a loss.[112] This treaty nevertheless provided a good basis for VOC trade under ᶜAbbas II (1642-66).

In 1657, the XVII were very pleased to observe that the Shah was unable to supply the VOC with the contractual 300 cargas of silk. They ordered their agent in Persia to try and keep silk purchases low, and if need be to hand out presents to bring this about.[113] Silk deliveries continued to decrease, much to the liking of the XVII. Occasionally, when the price was right, the XVII would have liked to have more silk, but in general the XVII were very pleased with this development. Trade with Persia had become so profitable that the XVII, in 1664, instructed the Governor-General to show consideration, in case of silk deliveries, and to make no trouble about the quantity as long as the quality was good. One hundred bales more or less did not make that much difference, and if need be presents could be given to smooth any ruffled relations.[114] Nevertheless, the XVII wrote three years later, they would prefer that as little Persian silk as possible would be bought.[115]

Other entrepreneurs, however, took a more optimistic view of the profitability of Persian silk. For example, in 1664 there was yet another

attempt by Amsterdam merchants to acquire the export monopoly of Persian silk via the Caspian and through Russia. The Czar again turned down this proposal as not being in the interest of Russian merchants engaged in this trade with Persia.[116] In 1666, the French East Indies Company tried to acquire a share of the Persian silk trade to which end a special embassy was sent to Shah ᶜAbbas II. This embassy also failed to achieve its objective.[117]

The Period of Shah Sulaiman (1666-94)

Under Shah Sulaiman problems, once again, arose. The Dutch, who had been pleased that the Shah did not insist that they bought 300 cargas of silk per year, were less pleased that after 1670 the Shah insisted that they did so. In addition, treatment of VOC staff became less courteous, while as of 1679, road duties were being levied. The Shah claimed the Dutch were not exempt from these imposts. Because the trade with Iran became less profitable the VOC only wanted to accept 150 cargas of silk per year, which the Shah refused. The VOC did not mind this too much as long as the profitability of the Persian trade was good. In fact, Batavia remarked in 1673, that "only once during the last 23 years did we have to buy the maximum quantity of 300 cargas".[118] Therefore, Batavia wrote on 24 November 1677, that it preferred to continue to put up with the obligation to buy 300 cargas of silk rather than to lose its right of exemption of payment of customs duties.[119]

However, Batavia changed its tune when the profits of the Persian trade took a bad turn. On 13 February 1679, the Governor-General wrote that he and his council "considered to pay customs duties and to get rid of the obligation of silk purchases."[120] When road duties were taken by force from the Dutch the VOC therefore wanted to go to war in 1680, but was too militarily occupied elsewhere at that time. The worsening situation, reinforced by haughty Persian behaviour towards the Dutch, and the fact that the Persians forced the VOC to buy large quantities of silk (see Table 1) meant that silk once again was one of the reasons for a new military conflict between the VOC and Persia in 1685.[121] After the capture of the island of Qishm and its return, lengthy negotiations led to nothing, although the VOC's Persian silk trade resumed in 1687. In 1690, a Dutch embassy finally reached agreement with Shah Sulaiman. The VOC received exemption of road and customs duties to a maximum of 20,000 tumans in exchange for the obligation to buy 300 cargas of silk per year, at a price of 44 tumans per carga. It was only in 1694, however, that the Dutch actually received the royal decrees confirming the agreement.

The Period of Shah Sultan Husain (1696-1722)

Shah Sultan Husain confirmed these contractual terms in 1696. Because the Shah was unable to deliver silk in that year a new commercial agreement was proposed, which was concluded in 1701. However, it was clear during the negotiations that the Persian court preferred not to commit itself to the delivery of fixed quantities of silk due to scarcity of that commodity.[122] The VOC, keeping the exemption of payment of all duties to 20,000 tumans, would buy 100 cargas of silk per year at 44 tumans per carga. In addition, the VOC had to supply the Shah with an annual gift of goods (of fixed composition), but only if the Shah supplied it with silk. As of 1702, silk deliveries did not take place regularly. In 1704, only 40 cargas were supplied, and thereafter no silk at all for a number of years. As of 1710, again some silk was supplied and for the last time in 1714. The court informed the VOC in 1714 that the Shah would not deliver any silk anymore, because he lost money on each pound delivered to the Dutch.[123] During the Dutch embassy of 1717, silk was not discussed.[124] Although the VOC did not engage anymore in the trade of Persian silk after 1714, its servants sometimes report on the Persian silk after that date. For example, in 1721, they report that the price of kadkhuda pasand silk in Gilan amounted to 200 mahmudis (220 mahmudis in Isfahan) per mann-i shah, or 72 tumans per carga of 36 mann-i shah. Kharvari silk cost 160 mahmudis in Gilan (180 mahmudis in Isfahan) per mann-i shah or per carga respectively 57 ⅗ tumans and 64 ⅘ tumans per carga.[125] Also, just prior to the fall of Isfahan, Shah Sultan Husain had granted the Dutch a new commercial contract. This agreement, inter alia, included a decree permitting the Dutch to buy 100 cargas of silk in exchange for tax exemption on imports and exports to an amount of 20,000 tumans per year. However, this agreement remained a dead letter due to the Afghan occupation of Iran (1722-30).

NO VOC SILK TRADE UNDER NADIR SHAH AND KARIM KHAN ZAND (1736-60)

In the late 1730s there was talk again that the VOC would resume trade in Persian silk, both by Persian and VOC representatives. The main cause of this resurgence of the topic of trade in Persian silk in VOC correspondence was the discussion about the legal basis of the VOC trade and its privileges in Iran, which had been ongoing since 1732. In particular, the VOC's right to trade in silk, as granted by Shah Sultan Husain in 1722, which had been annulled by Nadir Shah, drove the discussion. However, it was just talk that, though market information was gathered, never led to anything (see Appendix 3).

Van Leijpsigh, the VOC agent in Isfahan, reported on 29 April 1739 that he could buy 2000 lbs of shaᶜrbafi silk, the best quality, via a Banyan strawman, in which case road duties would have had to be paid. "If we do this we can test whether it is profitable to trade in Persian silk."[126] Van Leijpsigh's successor, Aalmis, reported on 8 December 1740 that silk had been bought in Gilan at 340 mahmudis, exclusive of *galaty* [*khilᶜatī*?] of one mahmudi per package, which would arrive in 45 days. He added that the silk had been secretly bought by Banyans, for the merchants did not sell lots of 6 lbs, but only standard sized packages, on which the royal tax had been paid. The Banyan had paid this tax at a rate of 12 mahmudis per mann [-i shah]. Aalmis concluded this section of his letter by stating that the trade in Persian silk was of no use to the VOC unless the Shah granted toll-freedom.[127] On 31 March 1741 the VOC sent 10 lbs of raw silk to Batavia. Nadir Shah had stated that he would like the VOC to resume the trade in Persian silk, but the VOC director had informed him that he left this decision to the Governor-General. At that time the price of shaᶜrbafi silk was 237 mahmudis per 12 lbs (exclusive of overhead) and kadkhuda pasand silk 227 mahmudis per 12 lbs.[128] The VOC decided not to pursue the resumption of the Persian silk trade.

The last time Persian silk briefly drew the interest of the VOC was in 1765. The VOC's last trading station in the Persian Gulf, the island of Khark, was losing money.[129] The VOC, therefore, wanted to determine whether Persian silk offered a more profitable option as an export commodity than the ones that were available to the VOC at that time. The VOC director in Persia, Buschman, had been unable to buy any silk at all, at whatever price he had offered. He had been told that large shipments of silk were being exported via Russia, because the roads thither were open and safe. The Governor-General therefore instructed Buschman to keep him informed about the development of Persian silk prices.[130] Nothing came of this endeavour due to the fact that the VOC withdrew from the Persian Gulf area altogether after the fall of Khark, which was taken by Mir Muhanna of Rig on 1 January 1766.

THE PROFITABILITY OF THE PERSIAN SILK TRADE

We have seen that the XVII, at the end of the 1630s, decided to reduce the role of Persian silk in VOC exports. This had nothing to do with the failure of the VOC to redirect the export route of Persian silk or it not having captured the monopoly of the silk trade. Persian silk was still considered to be a profitable commodity, and not only by the VOC.

The VOC decision to reduce the role of Persian silk was decided by the opportunity cost of investment in Persian silk. The cost-price of

Persian silk had risen considerably since 1638, while its profitability in the Netherlands also dwindled due to falling silk prices, underweight, and inferior quality of the silk. In 1638, the price of silk was back again at its 1623 level, viz. 50 tumans per carga. From 1626 till 1638 the price had been lower, ranging from 40 to 48 tumans with a record low of 36 tumans in 1629 (see Table 1). The higher price for silk in the 1620s had been acceptable to the VOC, because the silk was partly paid for with spices and other Asian commodities which yielded very high profits. As of 1629, silk had to be paid for with cash which had high opportunity cost. Between 1636 and 1643, part of this money even had to be borrowed locally at high rates of interest. In 1647, for example, Batavia wrote that cash invested in Coromandel fabrics would yield twice the profit that Persian silk would yield in the Netherlands.[131]

Nevertheless, the sale of Persian silk yielded high gross profits. When, in 1620, the EIC approached the VOC to jointly redirect the Persian silk trade, the English intimated that a profit of 400% could be made. Actually, the level of profits was much lower and varied from 170% to 220%. However, these profits did not include the transportation cost to Europe, the cost of insurance, loss of interest and other similar costs. Therefore, net profits were much lower than simply the difference between the purchase price and the sales price. In 1629, Persian silk only yielded a net profit of 60%,[132] whilst in 1637, the XVII wrote that Persian silk only yielded a profit of 25%, excluding transportation and insurance cost. According to the XVII the total cost of one ship amounted to some Dfl. 67,000 per year. A profit of 25% on, for example, 200 cargas of Persian silk at 45 tumans, which each represented a value of Dfl. 90,000, left only an amount of Dfl. 23,000 in profit, or about 6%, which was not much. Moreover, the silk shipments suffered from as much as 5% underweight. In addition, inferior quality silk was found under the bales of good quality. The former had to be sold at a price that was 4 schellingen lower that the going market rate, or a loss of 16%. Finally, there was the fact that Persian silk was less profitable than other kinds of silk.[133]

Gross profits on the sale of Persian raw silk

year	cost-price	market price	profit
	in schellingen		%
1621	8	30-32	400
1624	17	32	188
1625	18	33	177
1626	17	36	211
1634	13 4 stuivers	30	218
1653	13 4 stuivers	25	184

Source: Dunlop, pp. 29, 132, 202.

Persian silk is the least profitable of four Asian silks in 1644

Silk type	cost-price	market price	profit
	schellingen/stuivers		%
Persian silk	5 sch. 1 st.	25,5 sch.	150
Chinese silk	4 sch. 1 st.	36,5 sch.	267
Tonkin silk	62,5 st.	31,75 sch.	307
Bengal silk	40,5 st.	21,5 sch.	322

Source: Coolhaas, I, p. 232.

These low profits were not only obtained in the Amsterdam market, but also in Japan. There, Tonkin silk yielded 200%, Bengal silk 100% and Persian silk only 20% in 1648.[134] These low profit rates of Persian silk persisted throughout the 17th century with occasional exceptions which, however, did not change the picture.[135] Towards the end the VOC was only interested in silk because it was an easy way for Shah Sultan Husain to pay off a debt he owed to the VOC.[136]

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing we have discussed the trade and production of Persian raw silk during the 17th century. From the available evidence we may draw the conclusion that Persian government trade policy was successfully aimed to maximise its profits from the raw silk trade, whether it maintained an export monopoly (1617-29) or favoured a free market economy. Shah ᶜAbbas I successfully created a maritime route as an alternative to the land route via Turkey for the export of Persian raw silk without becoming dependent on either route. In fact, having two export routes gave the Shahs the opportunity to sell their silk to whatever route offered the highest profit. Further, that estimates on silk production by Chardin and Olearius are grossly exaggerated. Also, that trading in and transporting of Persian raw silk was no easy matter, which required constant supervision. The VOC and EIC soon lost interest in Persian raw silk after cheaper and more profitable silk producers entered the world market. However, the decision to start the Persian silk trade as well as to reduce its role was not simply made on the basis of the silk trade's financial rate of return, but rather on the profitability of the entire Persian trade and the role of the Persian trade within the intra-Asian VOC trade framework. Finally, Persian raw silk continued to attract European project makers, despite the disappointing profits for the major European trading companies.

NOTES

1. Niels Steensgaard, *Carracks, caravans and companies* (Copenhagen 1973), p. 396.
2. The only three studies so far are those by Steensgaard, Ferrier and Herzig. See R.W. Ferrier, *British-Persian relations during the 17th century*, unpub. thesis (Cambridge University 1971). The most comprehensive study on the quantitive aspects of the Persian silk trade is by Edmund Herzig, The volume of Iranian raw silk exports in the Safavid period, *Iranian Studies* 25(1992), 61-80. Linda K. Steinmann, *Shah ᶜAbbas and the royal silk trade 1599-1629*, unpub. thesis (New York University 1986) does not add to these studies. See also various articles by Ferrier that touch on the same subject: idem, The Armenians and the East India Company in Persia, *Economic History Review* 2nd series 1 (1973), 38-62; idem, The Economic dimension of the policy of Shah ᶜAbbas I, *Iran Moderne* 1 (1976), 66-72; idem, An English view of Persian trade in 1618, *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient* 19 (1976), 182-214, and in particular, The terms and conditions under which English trade was transacted with Safavid Persia, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 44 (1986), 48-66.
3. Respectively the articles "Ḥarīr" and "Abrīšam", which are very general in nature.
4. See a discussion of these type of studies by Steinmann, chapter 2.
5. On the VOC and Persia see M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, The earliest relations between Persia and the Netherlands, *Persica* 6 (1974), 1-50, which also offers the best description of the silk trade market chain; and Willem Floor, *Avvalīn sufarā-yi Huland va Īrān* (Tehran 1357/1978); also idem, "Dutch-Persian Relations", *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (in press).
6. Halil Inalcik, Economic mind and aspects of the Ottoman economy, in M.A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East* (Oxford 1978), pp. 213-14; Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, 8 vols (London 1927), II, p. 44; see also "Observations of Master John Cartwright", *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow 1905), VIII, p. 504; Steensgaard, pp. 176-82.
7. Steensgaard, p. 158.
8. *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Missions of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries*, 2 vols (London 1939), p. 130.
9. Ferrier, *British-Persian relations*, pp. 75-92.
10. Carmelites, I, p. 170.
11. Ibid., I, p. 169.
12. Steensgaard, p. 286.
13. L. van Nierop, De zijdenijverheid van Amsterdam historisch geschetst, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 45 (1930), p. 169.
14. H. Terpstra, *De Factorij der Oostindische Compagnie te Patani* ('s-Gravenhage 1938), p. 119.
15. Van Nierop, p. 151.
16. Ibid., pp. 153-5.
17. Terpstra, p. 127.
18. Kristof Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic trade 1620-1740* (Copenhagen - The Hague 1958), p. 112.
19. Algemeen Rijksarchief (General State Archives, The Hague, hereafter ARA), VOC 478 (Amsterdam 11 April 1608) unfoliated.
20. *Carmelites*, I, p. 182.
21. Ralph Davis, English Imports from the Middle East, in Cook (ed.), pp. 202-3.
22. On Sherley see D.W. Davies, *Elizabethans Errant* (New York 1967); on Robert Sherley's relationship with Gilles de la Faille and their plans see ibid., pp. 234-6.

23. H. Dunlop, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Oostindische Compagnie in Perzie*, Vol. I, *1611-1638* (The Hague 1930) [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatien, vol. 72], pp. 1-4.
24. Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic trade*, p. 112.
25. Terpstra, *Factorij*, p. 126.
26. Steensgaard, p. 367.
27. Ferrier, *British-Persian relations*, p. 54.
28. Nicolaas Witsen, Moscovische Reyse 1664-1665, ed. Th. J. Locher and P. de Buck, *Linschoten Vereniging* 66 (The Hague 1968) p. XLVI.
29. C.C. Uhlenbeck, *Verslag aengaende een onderzoek in de archieven van Rusland* ('s-Gravenhage 1891), p. 19.
30. Isaac Massa, *Histoires des Guerres de la Moscovie (1601-1610) par Isaac Massa*, ed. Michel Oblinsky and A. van der Linde (Brussels 1866), I, pp. 227, 229, 235, 254; Witsen, p. XLVI; J.J. Smit (ed.), *Resolutien der Staten-Generaal (1617-18)* (The Hague 1975 - RGP vol. 152), p. 425 (26/6/1618).
31. ARA, Archief Staten-Generaal, Lias 4936 II (January 1620), fol. 1991 (6/11/1619), fol. 2319 (13/1/1620).
32. Massa, I, pp. 252-63, in particular p. 257. See also ARA, Archief Staten-Generaal, Lias 4936 II (1620), Remonstrantie aan de Staten-Generaal.
33. See previous note, in particular Massa, I, p. 260.
34. The problem of this mixture of policies has most recently been studied with great insight by Steensgaard, *Carracks*.
35. Dunlop, p. 6; Ferrier, *British-Persian relations*, p. 53 n. 131.
36. Ibid., p. 52 n. 130.
37. Dunlop, p. 9.
38. Ibid., p. 10.
39. H. Terpstra, *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de VOC* ('s-Gravenhage 1918), p. 238 (7/8/1622). Van den Broecke indeed had already been interested in developing the Persian trade in 1619, ibid., p. 210.
40. Ibid., pp. 237-8.
41. H.T. Colenbrander and W.Ph. Coolhaas (eds), *Bescheiden Jan Pietersz. Coen*, 7 vols ('s-Gravenhage 1919-52), III, p. 90.
42. Terpstra, *Westerkwartieren*, pp. 147-8.
43. Dunlop, pp. 13, 11; Steensgaard, p. 335.
44. Ferrier, *British-Persian relations*, p. 51.
45. Dunlop, p. 14.
46. Ibid., p. 16, Colenbrander, I, p. 760.
47. These documents, both English and Dutch, are printed in Dunlop, pp. 765ff. and have been extensively analysed by Steensgaard, pp. 329-31. For the text of Visnich's instructions see Terpstra, *Westerkwartieren* pp. 288-90.
48. Kannekie is a term derived from the Turkish word qonaq, see Cl. Huart, "Ḳonaḳ", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[1], II, p. 1057, meaning caravansarai, palace, and thus also seat of the provincial governor. See for a glossary of the various terms, W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, 2 vols (Leipzig 1923).
49. Dunlop, p. 198.
50. Ferrier, "An English View", p. 198 n. 58. Ardas may have been derived from Artash in Georgia, now known as Ganja. The term cannari probably refers to Zacami in Georgia, near Shirvan.
51. The term legie may not have been derived from Lahijan, as is usually assumed, but rather from Lahij, a town near Shamakhi, or from the words 'las' or 'lal, lalas', meaning uncleaned silk.

52. Dunlop, p. 198; see also Ferrier, "An English View", p. 199. Salvatika silk may be the same as the 'stravai' silk or silk from Astarabad.
53. Ferrier, "An English View", p. 199.
54. Ibid., p. 199.
55. Muḥammad Mufīd Mustaufī Bāfqī, *Jāmiᶜ-yi Mufīdī*, 3 vols, ed. Īraj Afshār (Tehran 1340-1/1961-2), p. 619; *Travels to Tana and Persia by J. Barbaro and A. Contarini*, ed. Lord Stanley, Hakluyt no. 49, 2 vols in 1 (London 1873), I, p. 73.
56. David Stewart, The Humor of the Scholars: The Autobiography of Niᶜmat Allah al-Jazairi (d. 1112/1701), *Iranian Studies* 22 (1991), p. 57, "after the hay season came the silk-worm season".
57. Dunlop, p. 665.
58. Ferrier, "An English View", p. 199; Steensgaard, p. 159. Du Mans already remarked in the 1680s that "silk, is transported from here to Aleppo, but not at all in the large quantities that one would have us believe; for, if in Persia silk dresses were as common as in the West, it would have to import silk from other countries." Raphael du Mans, *Estat de la Perse* (Paris 1890), p. 12.
59. Steensgaard, pp. 155, 159; Dunlop, p. 11.
60. Steensgaard, p. 189.
61. Ferrier, "An English View", p. 189.
62. Herzig, p. 79.
63. Dunlop, p. 612.
64. See Herzig's comments, pp. 77-8. Overschie of course knew that the VOC directors would have better data on imports from the Levant and that it would futile to doctor those data.
65. ARA, KA 1086, 27/11/1651, fol. 778; KA 1092, 5/4/1653, fol. 810.
66. ARA, VOC 1258, Memorandum for Lairesse, fol. 3392.
67. Dunlop, p. 499.
68. W. Ph. Coolhaas (ed.), *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (The Hague 1960-80), IV, p. 63.
69. Ferrier, "An English View", p. 199, "Corroson Silke .... is all wrought in the Persians owne Countrye into Sylke Stuffes .... or carried in to India (in quantitie) of this sorte of Silke there is yearely made maens 34000."
70. See also Adam Olearius, *Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung der Muskowitischen und Persischen Reise* (Schleswig 1656; repr. Tübingen 1971), p. 241.
71. Dunlop, pp. 380, 454.
72. See for example Coolhaas, IV, p. 360 and V, p. 859.
73. See for details Ferrier, *British-Persian relations*.
74. See for example, Coolhaas, IV, pp. 124, 204, 582, 740; ibid., V, pp. 559, 858; and Willem Floor, *Commercial conflict between Persia and the Netherlands 1712-1718*, Durham Occasional paper Series no. 37 (1988), p. 5; idem, *Ikhtilāf-i tujjārī-yi Īrān va Huland*, tr. Abu'l-Qāsim Sirrī (Tehran 1371/1992), p. 24.
75. Dunlop, p. 670.
76. ARA, KA 1057, Constant to Governor-General, Gamron 11 March 1645, fols 82-3.
77. Dunlop, p. 524, see also pp. 388 and 221; Pieter van Dam, *Beschrijvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed. F. W. Stapel, 6 vols ('s-Gravenhage 1927-43), III, p. 283 (RGP vol. 83); Meilink, "Earliest Relations", is wrong in attributing silk production to Qazvin, p. 38.
78. Dunlop, p. 46.
79. Ibid., pp. 46-7.
80. Ibid., pp. 543-5, 629.
81. Ibid., pp. 226, 292-3, 454, 543, 629, 668.

82. Ibid., pp. 505, 668.
83. Ibid., pp. 267, 306.
84. Ibid., pp. 267, 293.
85. Ibid., pp. 306, 40, 636-7.
86. Ibid., pp. 639, 671.
87. Ibid., p. 11; Glamann, p. 115.
88. Dunlop, pp. 202, 172, 124.
89. Ibid., p. 65.
90. Steensgaard, p. 334.
91. Dunlop, p. 197.
92. Ferrier, "An English View", p. 194.
93. A.H. de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic*, unpub. thesis (Leiden 1978), p. 153; Steensgaard, p. 335.
94. Dunlop, p. 199.
95. Ibid., pp. 198, 234.
96. Ibid., p. 172.
97. Ibid., p. 202.
98. Ibid., p. 266.
99. Ibid., p. 454.
100. Ibid., p. 541.
101. Coolhaas, I, p. 132. See Herzig, p. 72 (table 2) on available data on silk exports via Russia.
102. The Holstein embassy was preceded by an effort by the Dutch merchant, Ernestus Philips, and his partners to obtain to the right of transit trade through Russia to Persia, in 1630. His case was argued by the Dutch ambassadors Albert Burgh and Johan van Veltdriel in 1630. The Czar turned the Dutch down as he did with a similar British proposal, because this would hurt Russian trading interests. N. Scheltema, *Rusland en de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam 1874), p. 146, see also pp. 169, 394, 486.
103. Coolhaas, I, p. 283.
104. Ibid., p. 267.
105. Ibid., p. 627; II, p. 117.
106. Ibid., II, p. 142.
107. Ibid., I, p. 184.
108. Ibid., pp. 676, 737.
109. Ibid., II, p. 243.
110. Ibid., II, pp. 327, 350, 386, 394, 400, 412, 447, 715, 756; see for more details Glamann, p. 121 ff.
111. ARA, KA 455, 8/10/1654, fol. 355.
112. Coolhaas, II, pp. 298, 364.
113. ARA, KA 455, 9/10/1657, fol. 555v.
114. ARA, KA 456, 30/10/1664, fol. 702.
115. ARA, KA 457, 1/5/1667, unfoliated.
116. Nicolaas Witsen, *Moscovische Reyse 1664-65*, p. XLIII.
117. Anne Kroell, Louis XIV, la Perse et Mascate, *Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam* 4 (1976-7), pp. 4-6.
118. Coolhaas, III, p. 871.
119. Ibid., IV, p. 167.
120. Ibid., p. 299.
121. Van Dam, pp. 318-19.
122. KA 1559, fol. 291.
123. KA 1710, fol. 2365r-v (13/4/1715).

124. On the entire period from 1701 to 1718 see Floor, *Commercial conflict*, pp. 1-5.
125. ARA, VOC 1875, fol. 261 (15/10/1721).
126. ARA, VOC 2477, fols 433-6.
127. ARA, VOC 2546, fols 1220-5.
128. ARA, VOC 2593, Extract Resolutie Gamron, 31 May 1742, fol. 1903v.
129. On this episode see Willem Floor, The Dutch on Khark Island: a commercial mishap, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24 (1992), 441-60, and idem, The Dutch on Khark island: the end of an era. The Baron von Kniphausen's adventures, *Moyen Orient & Océan Indien* 8 (1994), 157-202.
130. VOC 1017, Buschman to Governor-General (15/6/1764), fol. 43; VOC 1019, Governor-General to Buschman (27/3/1765), fol. 265.
131. Coolhaas, II, p. 317.
132. Dunlop, p. 303.
133. Ibid., pp. 635, 363-5.
134. Coolhaas, II, p. 364.
135. Ibid., III, pp. 571, 587 (little profit in Japan in 1666); p. 867 (9.25% loss in Japan in 1672); p. 716 (14% profit in Amsterdam in 1669); p. 809 (9.5% profit in Amsterdam in 1671); ibid. IV, p. 4 (no profit in Japan in 1674).
136. KA 1710, fols 2364v - 2365.

APPENDIX 1
PRODUCTION AND COST OF PERSIAN SILK IN 1651 AND 1653

Cultivated and sold in Gilan
450 cargas garrewary }
350 dos. ketgoda passant } at 76 mahm. per manchah average
600 dos. serbaffy at 100 to 140 mahm. per same man.

In Seruwan [Shirvan]
140 cargas charrewary at 100 mahm. per 14 lbs.
110 dos. serbaffy at 120 mahm.

In Pherrabath [Farahabad]
80 cargas, several qualities at 90 to 100 mahm. per mancha

In Carraba [Qarabagh]
40 cargas, several qualities at 90 to 115 mahm. per mancha

In Gorason [Khorasan]
40 cargas, several qualities at 160 to 200 mahm. per mancha

In Masandran
40 cargas at 60 mahm. per mancha

1850 cargas of raw silk were grown in these parts this year, of which the king obtained 300 camel loads, to wit:

1100 at 50 mahm. per mancha in lieu for the advance that he had given last year;
200 dos. purchased for cash at little less than the market rate,
the rest has been bought by Armenian, Turkish and Persian merchants, who will transport it via Aleppo to Christendom.

Source: ARA, KA 1086, 27/11/1651, fol. 778.

Silk produced in Persia
In the province of Gilan
400 cargas Zerbaffy
200 dos. ketgoda passant, and
690 dos. legia

1290 cargas

In the parts of Masandran
100 cargas in the same three kinds aforementioned.

In Gorasan
40 dos. of excellent zerbaffy

In Seruwan
350 dos., to wit
50 carga zerbaffy and
300 dos. ardassa

---

350 cargas

In Carraba
300 cargas, to wit:
40 cargas zerbaffy and
260 dos. ardassa

---

300 cargas

2080 cargas of raw silk in different qualities, which have been purchased at the following prices and transported to Turkey, to wit:

zerbaffy	from 80 to 120 mahm. per mancha
ketgoda passant	from 60 to 63, and
ardassa	from 50 to 54 [mahm. per mancha]

Because these are very low prices it would have been desirable if the Company could also have particpated in that private commerce to compensate the [price of her] expensive royal silk somewhat.

Source: ARA, KA 1092, 5/4/1653, fol. 810.

APPENDIX 2
SILK INVOICE FOR THE SHIP "OOIEVAAR", GAMRON, 3 SEPTEMBER 1661.

Details	mahmudis	guilders
Purchase price		
46202½ lbs of legie silk, per carga 408 lbs which makes a total of 113$^{139}/_{576}$ cargas which costs:	543,558$^{5}/_{16}$	190,245:08:03
Expenses		
3459 gaz of doty at ⅖ mahm. per gaz used for shirts, covers and scarfs	1380	
2217 gaz of wax cloth at 1 mahm. per gaz	2217	
107½ mann-i shah of cotton at 8 mahm. per mann	860	
288 piece of hairy covers at 3¼ mahm. per piece	1080	
93 mann of hairy ropes at 5 mahm. per mann	465	
11½ mann of hairy yarn at 8 mahm. per mann	92	
3 mann of soap used in packing at 5 mahm. per mann	15	
- red earth to mark [the bales]	2	
- paid to the Moorish weigh-master for the weighing of 246 bales at 1 mahm. per bale	246	
- paid to the Moorish weigh-master so that he would weigh the VOC goods properly and correctly	100	
- given to Berchordar beecq, a servant of the Etemad al-Douleh at whose orders he delivered the silk, as a kind of fee for the receipt of the money, for his trouble, but mainly because of the return of 19 bales which contained inferior silk and only [accepted] after his polite insistence	150	
- to the secretary of the seal, Salam, without whose supervision it would have been impossible to return the inferior silk	100	
- wages for packing 268 bales of silk at 4 mahm. per bale	1072	

APPENDIX 2 continued

Details	mahmudis	guilders
- present to the silk packers, in accordance with the annual custom as an incentive for good packing, instead of cloth	100	
- food and drinks for the silk packers	150	
- wages for the hammals (porters) for carrying the silk to and from the weigh-bridge and for opening and re-packing the bales	130	
- candy, coffee and tobacco offered to the courtiers who were in Isfahan, the royal secretaries and other important persons who were present when the silk was delivered	60	
- the chief of the camel drivers for making the contract concerning the transportation [of silk]	40	
- transportation costs from Isfahan to Gamron being 8852 mann-i Tabriz which is the gross weight of the silk at 72 mahm. per 100 mann	6,373½	
- according to custom one meal offered to the camel driver	20	
- 1% of 543,558$^{5}/_{16}$ mahm. the purchase price of the silk was paid to the money-changers, who check the money after payment, because the Shah's agent will accept it only after their examination	543½	
- travel expenses for the assistant Anthony Hooftman	1300	
- wages for the hammals (porters) who carry the bales of silk from the camels into the factory and from the factory into the boats	82	
- cost of renting boats which carry the silk to the ships	100	
- the opening of some bales, reweighing, and repacking for which 4 pieces of dungarees were used	21	
Total	16,649	196,072:11:03

Source: ARA, VOC 1243, fol. 210.
mann = mann-i shah; mahm. = mahmudi.

APPENDIX 3
PRODUCTION LOCATIONS AND PRICES OF PERSIAN SILK IN 1737

The silk of Resd, Lajoen [Resht, Lahejan], first quality, obtains here, being at the end of the year [i.e. the silk season], 210 mahmudis per man-e shah of 12 Dutch lbs. This price is exclusive of expenditures such as freight. The kadkhodapesand silk of Resht and Lahejan, the second quality, obtains 200 mahmudis per man-e shah. This is the variety that the Persian court supplied the VOC with in the past at a price of 44 tomans per carga of 36 man-e shah or 408 lbs, which resulted in a price of 122⅔ mahmudis per man-e shah. Therefore, if the Persian court would now supply us with silk in accordance with the commercial agreement it would loose 2,400 tomans per 100 cargas. The third quality [kharvari] of silk is now already being sold at 190 mahmudis per man-e shah. The silk with the finest thread is specifically selected for the silk weaving industry of Kashan as much as is available. If we would need this type of silk it would cost us 230 mahmudis per man-e shah. The silk of Chierwoen [Shirvan] and Sjamachij [Shamakhi], of which one can only obtain one quality, costs 170 mahmudis per man-e shah. The silk of Jesd [Yazd] can hardly be obtained, because whatever is produced is used locally. It obtains sometimes 310 mahmudis, and also 290 mahmudis per man-e shah, because it is softer and has more lustre. The silk of Gesker [Gaskar], a town in the province of Gilan, has a coarser thread than that of Resht and Lahejan, and obtains 180 mahmudis per man-e shah. Silk of Ardestoen [Ardestan], situated at 19-20 miles from this town [Isfahan], and closer than Kashan, is of good quality. However, it cannot be bought, but for use [in limited quantities]. This kind is called Spahans [Isfahani] and cost 260 mahmudis per man-e shah. The silk of Kashan can only be had as the quantity that is being consumed there. Its price is 290-320 mahmudis [per man-e shah]. As to the price of kadkhodapesand, paid by the royal servants in Resht and Lahejan, we have not been able to obtain any definite information. We will try to get more exact information in the future and report this, so that can be decided whether it be profitable to renew the annulled commercial contract. We also inform you that the silk of some of the packages that were submitted previously was of better quality than the samples indicate. The foregoing information has been very carefully collected by the Banyan Nagha Wissendas, brother of the [VOC] broker, Heemraads Ietmelanie, in the city [of Isfahan] which he has reported to us.

Source: ARA, VOC 2448, fols 525-7 (11/6/1737).

Pembroke Papers 4 (1996), 369-88

The Character of the Urbanisation of Isfahan in the Later Safavid Period

Masashi Haneda

The topography of pre-modern Iranian cities has not been as actively studied as that of cities of the Arab and the Turkish worlds for several reasons. Iran never had great cities like Arab Damascus and Cairo or Turkish Istanbul. No one city ever retained for long its position as the political, economic and cultural centre of the Iranian world, for the centre tended to move from one city to another. As a result, there is only a limited number of sources available for studying a particular city. Only scant information is available about local extant documents (waqf documents, shari^{c}a court documents, etc.) and no systematic field work was carried out in Iranian cities by well-trained scholars in the period before the 1950s, when cities in the Middle East still more or less preserved the urban pattern of the pre-modern period.

Given these difficulties, the situation for the topographical study of Safavid Isfahan is exceptional. Many sources are readily available, including detailed descriptions of the city by Western travellers (Chardin in particular), a collection of epigraphy, waqf documents, reports emanating from reliable field work concerning the actual state of the bazaar, and old maps as well.[1] The primary aim of the present study is to reconsider the topography of Safavid Isfahan in the latter half of the 17th century using these rich materials, based on which I will outline several characteristics of the city's urbanisation at that time.

When considering the plan of a city, a good quality map is indispensable. The original of the map used in this study (Fig. I) was drawn by Sayyid Riza Khan in 1923-4 and includes the names of many roads, gardens, caravansarais, mosques, madrasas and imamzadas. Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth used it in their study of the Isfahan bazaar.[2] On it, I have traced only the roads, and erased the names and signs of

buildings. This, it must be made clear, is a map of Isfahan at the beginning of this century, and not one of the city under the Safavids.

Nevertheless, I believe there was no great change in the urban pattern of the city since the Safavid period. After the fall of the Safavids in 1722, the city experienced a serious decline. Its population decreased and there occurred no systematic enlargement of the city area.[3] The original map of Sayyid Riza Khan indicates farmland or gardens in most of the areas surrounding the city which were populated during the Safavid period. However, the original Safavid road pattern remains, which means, fortunately for us, that the basic pattern of roads has been preserved since the 18th century. Furthermore, when the map was produced, Riza Shah's modernisation policy had yet to begin, so that roads have neither been enlarged nor extended. It is not inappropriate, therefore, to regard this map as the basis for reconstructing the topography of Isfahan at the height of its prosperity in the 17th century.

I. CITY WALL, CITY AREA AND CITY GATES

The location of the city wall must be the first question for any discussion of the topography of a pre-modern city. Chardin has left a valuable description of the city wall of Safavid Isfahan:

> Les murs de la ville d'Ispahan ont environ vingt mille pas de tour; ils sont de terre, assez mal entretenus; et ils sont tellement couverts par les maisons et par les jardins qui y touchent, tant au dedans qu'au dehors, qu'il faut en plusieurs endroits les chercher pour les apercevoir.[4]

This short but important sentence tells of the expansion of the city area beyond the old city wall due to population increase. It is clear that the city wall had lost its original role, that of the defence of the inner city against enemies. It does not mean, though, that the significance of the city wall had been lost. Chardin divided his description of the city into two parts: intra-muros (l'enceinte de la ville, l'enclos d'Ispahan) and extra-muros (dehors, faubourg). The two mullas who gave information about the city to Chardin, and perhaps the people of Isfahan in general, were conscious of the city wall as the boundary between the inner city and the suburban area.

Two conflicting opinions exist concerning the location of the city wall in the later half of the 17th century. According to Pascal Coste, a 19th-century French architect, Safavid Isfahan was surrounded by a great wall.[5] Iranian scholars, like Shafaqi, followed this opinion.[6] The German geographers, Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, on the other hand,

2. Masjid-i Shāh neighbourhood
3. Maidān-i Shāh and Qaiṣāriyya
4. Northwest of Maidān-i Shāh
5. Northeast of Maidān-i Shāh
6. Kahrān
7. Aḥmadābād
8. Yazdābād
9. Dār al-Biṭṭīkh
10. Maqṣūd Beg
11. Latfar
12. Sayyid Aḥmadiyān
13. Takhtgāh
14. Nīmāvard
15. Darb-i Lunbān
16. Dardasht

102. Khwājū
103. ʿAbbāsāb
104. Shamsābā
105. Shaikh Sa
106. Saʿādat-i
107. Julfā
108. Kahrān
109. Sayyid Al
110. Ṭūqchī
111. Fulfuchī
112. Dardasht
113. Bīdābād

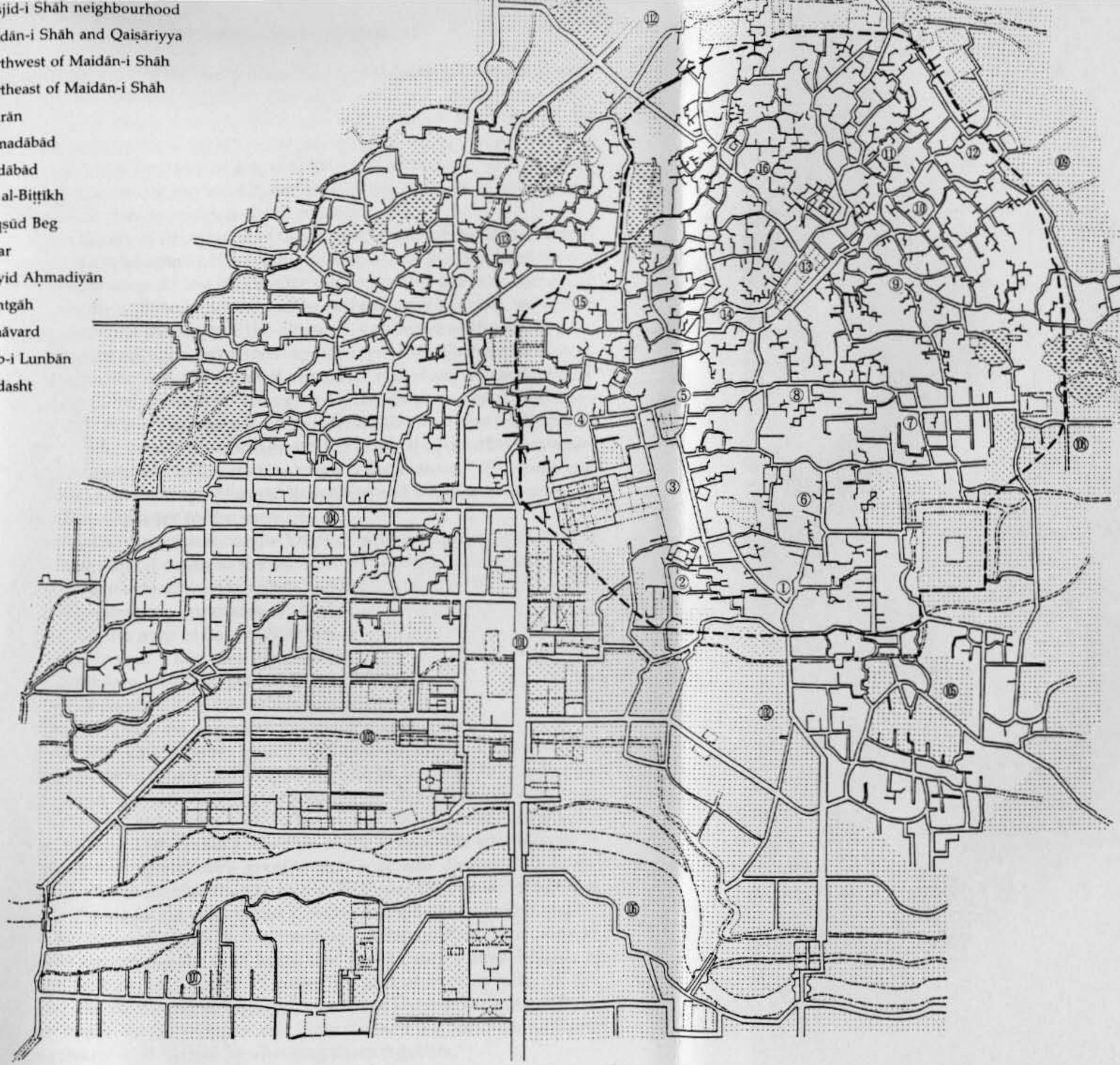


Figure 1. A plan of Isfahan, based on a map drawn by Sayyid Riza Khan in 1923–4. Superimposed on this is the outline of the walls of the Safavid city. The numbers refer to the approximate locations of the quarters in the inner city and suburbs.

assumed the scale of the city wall to be considerably less than did Coste.[7] The area of contention is the location of the southern and western walls. According to Coste, the southern wall extended to the bank of the Zayanda-rud and the western wall went far beyond Chaharbagh avenue. By contrast, the city wall reconstructed by Gaube and Wirth is very modest and does not include Chaharbagh avenue and its surroundings. Which of the two opinions is more reliable?

The accuracy of the opinion of Gaube and Wirth can be demonstrated by a careful examination of Chardin's description of the city gates. Of the eight he enumerated,[8] the one facing the south and the one facing the west are the keys. If the location of those two gates can be fixed, we will be able to determine the scale of the city wall. The name of the south gate, Darb-i Hasanabad, appears on the map of Sayyid Riza Khan and the same name appears today as the name of a quarter.[9] It is situated exactly where Gaube and Wirth indicated. Though no gate remains, some buildings mentioned by Chardin still exist. Darb-i Daulat, the west gate of the city, is thought to have been at the north end of the original Chaharbagh avenue. ᶜAbbas I designated it as the starting point of the avenue.[10] The name can also be found on the map of Sayyid Riza Khan and it has been retained as the name of a quarter to the present.

There is no question about the location of the two gates. Thus the city wall did not extend south to the bank of the Zayanda-rud as shown by Coste nor did it extend west beyond Chaharbagh avenue. The dotted line on the map shows the approximate location of the city wall at the time of Chardin. On the map of Sayyid Riza Khan, canals flow just outside the supposed city wall. They may have had the role of a kind of moat. It is certain, therefore, that the opinion of Gaube and Wirth is more reliable, so far as we depend on Chardin's description.

How then can we interpret the greater wall of Coste? A Persian source of the 19th century states that the city wall of Isfahan was constructed three times: first before the Islamic period, then under the Buwaihids in the 10th century, and finally by the Afghan Ashraf, who brought Safavid rule to an end.[11] This means that the semi-ruined city wall of the later 17th century was that of the Buwaihids, which leads to the assumption that Coste's great wall is a simple illusion. We know Ashraf's wall was smaller than the Buwaihid one. However it is not that easy, for almost all the gate names Coste recorded can be found exactly where he stated them to be, on the map of Sayyid Riza Khan. Let us therefore assume for the time being that when Coste visited Isfahan in the 19th century, there were 13 gates, not part of any city wall, on the highway outside the city of Isfahan. Since Coste knew of the prosperity of the city under the Safavids, he may have reached the conclusions about the supposed wall merely by chaining them together.

What is certain is that no Safavid sovereign constructed a city wall, though they made Isfahan their capital, for they did not need a wall as a symbol of their authority. This does not mean, however, that they did not build other things. Indeed, they were eager to construct mosques, caravansarais, bridges, gardens, etc. This is an important point to consider when we analyse the relations between Safavid power and the city. It is all the more interesting for our knowledge of the contrary example of Timur, who placed emphasis on rebuilding the wall of Samarqand, in addition to his construction of religious institutions and gardens.

II. THE INNER CITY AND THE SUBURBAN AREA

1. Inner city

Having fixed the location of the city wall under the Safavids, we will examine a feature of Isfahan at the time, namely the existence of an inner city and a suburban area. Figure 1 is marked with numbers 1 to 16 and 101 to 113. These numbers correspond roughly to the location of the quarters of the Safavid city. The quarters numbered 1 to 16 were the inner city, while numbers 101 to 113 belonged to the suburban area. In principle, I have followed Chardin's division of the city quarter by quarter. Where he does not give the names of the quarters (*maḥalla*) in the strict sense of the term, I have indicated them simply by the location of the quarter, such as "Northwest of the Maidan-i Shah."

Chardin divided the inner city into two parts: Jubara (eastern half according to Chardin) and Dardasht (western half). Jubara includes nos. 1 to 15, while Dardasht is limited to no. 16. In extent, though, the two areas are almost the same. The division of the inner city in this way relates to the famous confrontation between the Niᶜmati and Haidari sects, a familiar division in Iranian cities during the Safavid period. Jubara belonged to the Niᶜmati, while Dardasht belonged to the Haidari.[12] It is interesting and significant that Chardin described the Jubara area in far more detail and with greater accuracy than he did the Dardasht area. His reports on Dardasht, the old city of Isfahan, are confused and lacking in essential information.

> Ce quartier est ce qu'on appelle la vieille ville. Il n'y a rien de beau ni de fort remarquable. Les maisons en sont petites, basses entassés l'une sur l'autre, n'y a point de jardins comme aux autres quartiers de la ville; les ruelles sombres et petites, l'air étouffé, le peuple pauvre et de la plus basse condition; c'est aussi un vrai labyrinthe où on a besoin de guides.[13]

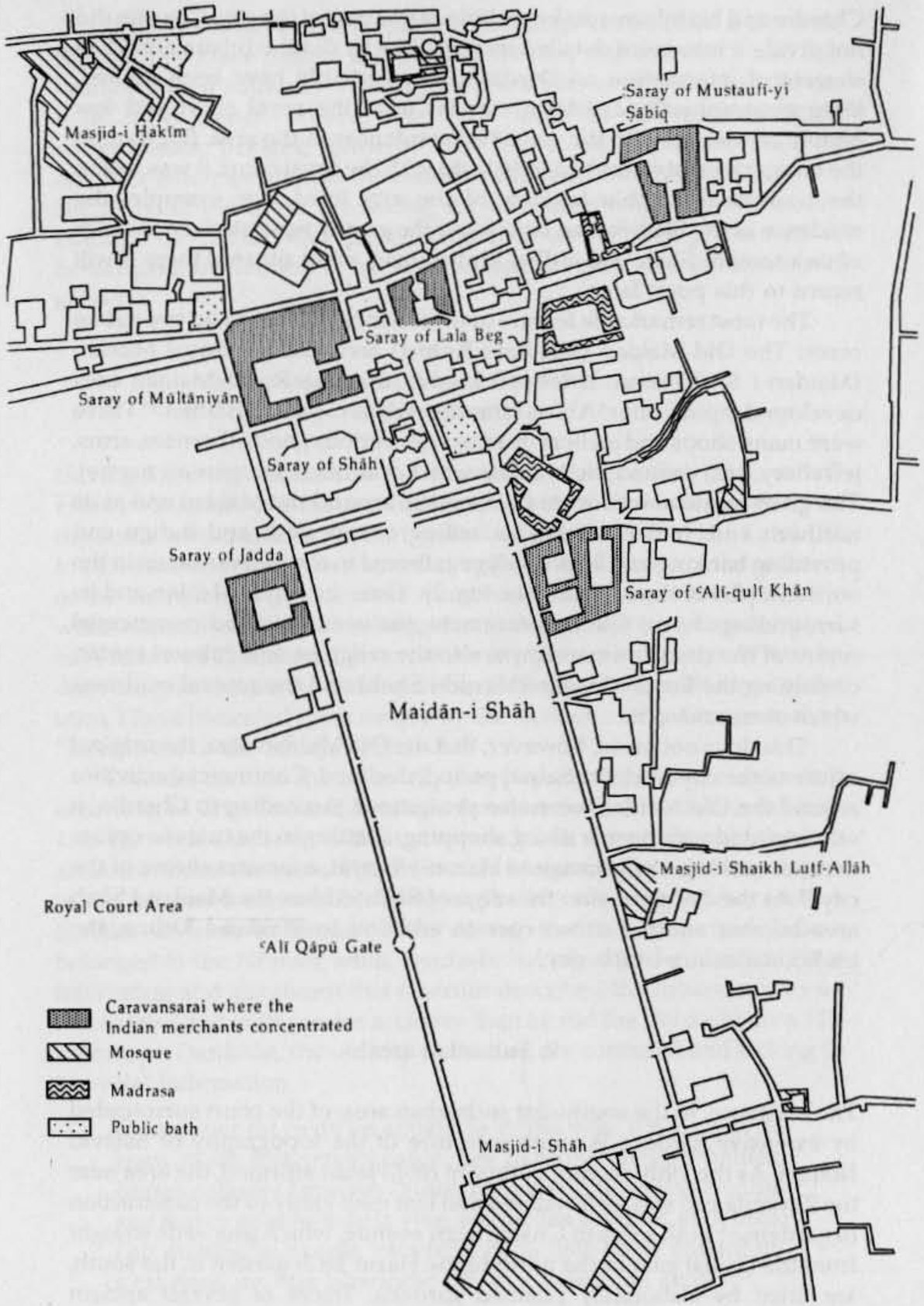
Chardin and his informants knew little of this part of the city. Chardin did not divide it into more detailed quarters like he did the Jubara area. The sources of information on Dardasht may certainly have been limited, since geographically Dardasht was far from the royal court and few people connected with the court had residences in the area. But though the quarter's inhabitants had little to do with the royal court, it was where the traditional notable families of the city lived. For example, the residence of the Shahshahan family and the greatly venerated mausoleum of its ancestor, Shah ᶜAla al-Din Muhammad, were situated there. I will return to this point later.

The most remarkable feature of the inner city is that it had two urban cores: The Old Maidan (Maidan-i Kuhna) area and the Royal Maidan (Maidan-i Shah) area. It is well known that the Royal Maidan area developed rapidly after ᶜAbbas I transferred his capital to Isfahan.[14] There were many shops and ateliers dealing with various goods (harness, arms, jewellery, etc.) around the Maidan, which was often an open-air market. The great caravansarais were built mostly around the Maidan and at its northern end. Indian merchants selling cotton cloth and indigo and providing banking and loan services gathered in the caravansarais in the northern part of the Maidan (see Fig. 2). Thus the Royal Maidan and its surroundings were, first and foremost, the economic and commercial centre of the city. However it was also the religious and cultural centre, containing the Royal Mosque (Masjid-i Shah) and the several madrasas which surrounded it.

This does not mean, however, that the Old Maidan area, the original centre of the city since the Saljuq period, declined. Commercial activities around the Old Maidan were also prosperous. According to Chardin, it was crowded with people doing shopping, chatting in the cafes or opium dens, or making a pilgrimage to Harun-i Vilayat, a famous shrine of the city.[15] As the city grew after the reign of Shah ᶜAbbas, the Maidan-i Shah area became another urban core in addition to Maidan-i Kuhna, the traditional centre of the city.

2. Suburban area

The existence, in the southwest surburban area, of the court surrounded by extensive gardens is another feature of the topography of Safavid Isfahan. As the 19th-century author of *Niṣf-i jahān* affirmed, the area near the Zayanda-rud was well-watered and lent itself easily to the construction of gardens.[16] Both sides of Chaharbagh avenue, which proceeds straight from the Daulat gate in the north to the Hazar Jarib garden in the south, are lined by elaborately planned gardens. Traces of several ancient



gardens remain on the map of Sayyid Riza Khan. Chaharbagh avenue had been planned, and its construction begun, prior to Shah ᶜAbbas's transfer of the capital in 1006/1598. This fact demonstrates the importance to Shah ᶜAbbas of the arrangement of the garden area when he was still considering transferring the capital.[17] The Shahs following Shah ᶜAbbas also planned other gardens. For example, The Saᶜadat-i ᶜAbbas area, on the south bank of the Zayanda-rud, was a garden belt constructed by ᶜAbbas II.[18]

Cities with beautiful gardens in their suburbs had been developed at least as early as the 13th century in the eastern Islamic world where tribal people held political power. Ghazaniyya and Sultaniyya under the Mongols, Timurid Samarqand and Herat, Tabriz under the Aq Qoyunlu and early Safavids, and Qazvin under the reign of Shah Tahmasb can all be considered examples of a "garden city", as Terry Allen, Monika Gronke and myself have already pointed out.[19] Isfahan stands, without doubt, as the pinnacle of these "garden cities".

It must be noted that what was important for tribal people was not the city in the strict sense of the word, but the city with its gardens around it. In principle, when they came to a city, they lived in a garden in the suburb and never entered the inner city. They detested the closed, narrow and dusty city space and loved the garden with its greenery and water. That is one of the reasons Isfahan's wall was never repaired even after Isfahan became the capital. For the Safavid sovereigns, retaining as they did their tribal mentality, the wall surrounding the inner city had no importance. They would have enclosed the gardens within the city area, if possible. We have such an example in Tabriz in the 16th century.[20]

The southwest suburb of Isfahan developed greatly after the transfer of the capital by Shah ᶜAbbas. The difference in the number of houses in each quarter of the suburb demonstrates this clearly; according to Chardin, there were more than 2000 houses in ᶜAbbasabad and 1111 in Khwaju, whereas there were 207 in Shaikh Sabana (Shabana), 158 in Ahmadiyan and 85 in Dardasht (see Table 1). Mansions of men of influence with large gardens were situated mainly in ᶜAbbasabad in the west and Khwaju in the south, both being fashionable residential districts.

Figure 2 (opposite)

Royal Maidan and the Indian merchants. This map is based on the map of 1923–4 and, as a result, it includes some buildings that did not exist in the Safavid period. The location of some caravansarais that no longer exist, such as that of Lala Beg and ᶜAli-quli Khan, is approximate. References to the caravansarais of the Indian merchants are found in Chardin, VII, pp. 360, 364, 366-7, 403, as well as in Gaube and Wirth, *Der Bazar von Isfahan*, pp. 262-3, 264-5, 276-7, 282-3.

Most of the population of ᶜAbbasabad and Julfa, the two quarters newly built by Shah ᶜAbbas I, had been forced to move from their native places, Tabriz in Azarbaijan and Julfa in Armenia. Not circumscribed by the city as it already existed, the Safavid sovereigns created a "New Isfahan" outside it. This is another point when we consider the urbanisation of Isfahan.

By the beginning of this century, quarters newly developed in the suburban area after the time of Shah ᶜAbbas had fallen into ruin and became cultivated land. The tracks of the ancient roads, however, remain clearly visible, being wide and straight on the whole. Chardin also comments on the characteristics of the new quarters.[21] It is interesting that the winding narrow streets and cul-de-sacs which are often cited as characteristic of the so-called "Islamic city" are to be seen in the old walled city.

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF HOUSES AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

Name of quarter	Houses	Mosques	Madrasas	Caravan-sarais	Bazaars	Hammams
Chahārbāgh	—	—	—	—	—	—
Khwājū	1111	12	8	15	12	21
ᶜAbbāsābād	2000	12	5	24	—	19
Shamsābād	611	—	—	—	—	—
Sabanā	207	2	2	3	2	2
Saᶜādat-i ᶜAbbās	—	1	—	—	—	—
Julfā	3400-3500	—	—	—	—	—
Kahrān	28	2	—	2	—	—
Sayyid Aḥmadiyān	158	2	—	—	4	—
Ṭūqchī	80	—	—	—	4	—
Fulfuchī	150	2	—	—	4	—
Dardasht	85	2	—	—	4	—
Bīdābād	883	8	—	11	5	4

Source: Chardin, VIII, pp. 21-134.

III. ISFAHAN AND ITS ARCHITECTURE

This section analyses the relationship between the city and political power, using tables concerning the religious buildings in Isfahan. Table 2 is the list of religious buildings in Isfahan till the fall of the Safavid dynasty, classified by location. The number in the second column of the list corresponds to the number of the quarter on Fig. 1. The type of building, the year of construction and the name of the builder are then given. If there is a description in Chardin or in the two local histories of the 19th century – *Niṣf-i jahān* and *Jughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān* – it is indicated by means of a circle in the relevant column. A dash in Chardin's column indicates that the building did not exist in his day. Table 3 lists these buildings in chronological order. Those buildings whose year of construction is not certain are placed at the end of the list. A careful examination of these tables suggests a number of interesting facts concerning the relationship between political power and the development of the city of Isfahan.

First, building activities in Isfahan developed not only under Shah ᶜAbbas I, but also during the period after him, as Table 3 shows. It has often been said that the period after Shah ᶜAbbas I is, from a political point of view, a period of decline for the Safavids. As far as building activity is concerned, however, this is not necessarily so. The superior architectural quality of Madrasa-yi Chaharbagh, which dates from the beginning of the 18th century, indicates clearly that building activity continued in the capital even at the end of the Safavid period.

Second, attention should be given to the builders of religious buildings. Other than Shah ᶜAbbas I, no rulers appear on the list as builders, almost all of whom were either women and eunuchs at the court, or merchants and artisans in the city. Among the famous people mentioned in chronicles, the only name to be found as a builder is Saru Taqi, vizier of ᶜAbbas II. Neither the Turkish nor Caucasian *ghulām* military elite donated their property systematically to religious institutions in Isfahan, in complete contrast to the situation in Timurid Herat, as shown in the studies of Allen and O'Kane, which highlight, through field work and an examination of documents, the intimate connections between the military aristocracy (*umarā*) and the religious elite (*ᶜulamā*) by means of the construction of religious institutions.[22] This fact poses the interesting question of why there was such a great difference in attitude towards urban religious buildings between the Timurid and Safavid military aristocracies.

Third, the year of construction of each building is significant (see Table 3). Buildings constructed in the early days, that is, the period before the transfer of the capital, concentrate on the old city (13, 16), which is

TABLE 2
PRINCIPAL SAFAVID RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS IN ISFAHAN, ARRANGED BY QUARTER

Nr	Qtr	Name of building	Type	Year of Construction	Builder	C	19	References
1	1	Sārū Taqī (big)	M	1053/1644	Sārū Taqī (Grand vizir)	○	○	H:547-52, G:146-7, M:640-1
2	1	ʿArabān	Mr	?	?	○	×	M:481-2
3	1	Aḥmad	I	?	?	○	×	M:742-50, G:27-9
4	3	Shāh (Imām)	M	begun in 1020/1611	ʿAbbas I	○	○	H:427-64, G:107-16, M:659-93
5	3	Shaikh Luṭf-Allāh	M	begun in 1012/1603-4	ʿAbbas I	○	○	H:401-15, G:96-9, M:40
6	3	Khwāja Malik Mustaufī*	Mr	(pre Safavid?)	?	○	×	H:657, M:38
7	3	Mullā ʿAbd-Allāh	Mr	1007/1599	ʿAbbas I	○	○	H:470-5, G:123, M:494-9
8	4	Qarachaqāy Beg*	Mr	1075/1665	Ḥājī Qarachaqāy Beg (dyer)	×	×	M:45
9	4	Sufrachī (Surkhī)	M	1014/1605	Khalaf (sufrachī of ʿAbbas I)	×	×	H:475-7, G:102, M:643-5
10	5	Sārū Taqī (small)	M	1056/1646	Sārū Taqī	□	×	M:641-2
11	5	Jadda-yi Buzurg	Mr	1058/1648	Dilārām Khānum (grandmother of ʿAbbas II)	□	○	H:553-4, M:441-2
12	5	Jadda-yi Kūchik	Mr	1057/1647	Dilārām Khānum	□	○	H:555-6, M:442-4
13	6	Sārū Taqī*	Mr	2nd quarter of 17c.	Sārū Taqī	×	×	M:39
14	6	Ṣafaviyya*	Mr	End of 16c. or early 17c.	?	○	×	M:44
15	7	Īlchī	M	1097/1686	Ṣāḥib Sulṭān Begum bt. Ḥākim al-Mulk Īlchī	—	○	H:643-5, M:518-23, G:154-5

TABLE 2 continued

Nr	Qtr	Name of building	Type	Year of Construction	Builder	C	19	References
16	7	Aḥmadābād	Mr	1114/1702	Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (doctor of harem)	—	×	M:432-3
17	8	Maqṣūd Beg	M	1011/1602	Maqṣūd Beg (nāẓir of ʿAbbas I)	○	×	H:467-8, G:99-101, M:728-30
18	8	Ismāʿīl	I	1043/1633-4	?	○	○	H:522-40, G:131-42, M:750-62
19	8	Jaʿfar	I	8c. A.H. (Muzaffarid)	?	×	×	H:300-2, G:36, M:763-5
20	8	Jaʿfariyya	Mr	?	?	×	×	M:38
21	9	Āqā Kāfūr*	Mr	1069/1659	Ḥājī Āqā Kāfūr	○	×	H:605-8, M:29-30
22	10 or 11	Jūbāra (Pīr Pīnadūz)	M	repair in 955/1548	Muḥammad ʿAlī (rikābdār of Bahrām Mīrzā)	×	×	H:386-7, G:77-80, M:590-2
23	11	Miṣrī	M	1061/1651	Ḥājī Mīrzākhān (merchant)	×	○	H:585-8, G:152 M:724-8
24	13	Āqasī*	M	pre-Safavid	?	×	×	H:731, M:48
25	13	ʿAlī	M	Saljuq, repaired in early 16c.	?, Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain (vizier)	○	×	H:369-79, G:69-72, M:712-17
26	13	Ḥāj Ḥasan	Mr	Saljuq	Sulṭān Muḥammad	×	×	H:379
27	13	Hārūniyya	Mr	Early 16c.	Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain	×	×	M:508-10
28	13	Naqqāshān*	Mr	?	?	×	×	M:40
29	13	Hārūn-i vilāyat	I	918/1512	Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain	○	○	H:360-9, G:63-9, M:777-85
30	14	Jārchī	M	1019/1610	Malik Sulṭān Jārchībāshī	×	×	H:477-9, M:524-7
31	14	Ḥakīm	M	1073/1663	Ḥakīm Dāud Iṣfahānī (court doctor of the Mughal Empire)	○	○	H:612-20, G:152-4, M:604-10

TABLE 2 continued

Nr	Qtr	Name of building	Type	Year of Construction	Builder	C	19	References
32	14	Ẕu'l Faqar	M	950/1543	Shaikh Muḥammad Ṣafī	○	○	H:384-6, M:615-18
33	14	Ẕu'l Faqar	Mr	repair in 950/1543	?	×	×	H:384, M:470-1
34	14	Mīrzā Taqī	Mr	1071/1661	Mīrzā Taqī	×	×	H:608-10, G:149, M:41-2
35	14	Nīmāvard	Mr	after 1105/1694	Zainab Begum	—	○	M:504-8
36	15	Bāgh-i Khājī	M	1033/1624	Khwāja Rūḥ-Allāh Farāhānī (eunuch)	×	×	M:523-4, G:122
37	15	Sulaimān Beg	M	1072/1662	Sulaimān Beg (royal tile artisan)	×	×	H:611, M:645
38	15	Turkhā	Mr	1081/1670	Ṣafī-qulī	×	×	H:859, M:440-1
39	16	Bābā Sūkhta*	M	8cA.H./ 14c.A.D.	Abū Saᶜīd	×	×	H:293-5, G:44-6, M:50
40	16	Jumᶜa	M	11c.A.D.	Malikshāh	○	○	H:67-168, G:20-6, M:527-90
41	16	Darb-i Ṭūqchī*	M	1044/1634	Ḥājī Yār Beg Ṣabbāgh (dyer)	×	×	H:541-3, M:51-3
42	16	Ḥusainiyya-yi Shahshahān	M	850/1446	Shāh ᶜAlā al-Dīn Muḥammad	○	×	H:333-41, M:54
43	16	Āqā Nūr	M	1034/1625	Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Iṣfahānī (weaver)	○	○	H:501-4, M:513-16
44	16	Ḥājī Yūnus	M	1073/1663	Ḥājī Yūnus (eunuch)	×	×	H:611-12, M:602-4
45	16	Fatḥ	M	987/1579	Abu'l-Futūḥ Muḥammad	×	×	H:612, M:719-20
46	16	Bābā Qāsim	Mr	725/1325	Sulaimān Abu'l-Ḥasan Dāmghānī	□	○	H:302-10, G:37, M:433-40

TABLE 2 continued

Nr	Qtr	Name of building	Type	Year of Construction	Builder	C	19	References
47	16	Shafᶜiyya	Mr	1067/1657	Muḥammad Shafīᶜ Khūzānī	×	×	H:589-92, M:472-5
48	16	Shahshahān*	Mr	before 850/1446	Shāh ᶜAlā al-Dīn Muḥammad	×	×	G:150-1, M:45
49	16	Dardasht*	Mr	pre Safavid	?	×	×	H:318-19, M:45
50	16	Darb-i Imām	I	857/1453	Lala Ṣafarshāh (dārūgha)	×	×	H:341-53, G:47-57, M:765-72
51	16	Shūrī	I	before 919/1513	?	×	×	H:862-3, M:776
52	16	Kāsa Girān	Mr	1105/1694	Amīr Muḥammad Mahdī Ḥakīm al-Mulk Ardistānī	—	○	H:602-5, M:482-93
53	16	Nūriyya	Mr	1064/1654	Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Jābirī Anṣārī	○	×	H:860, M:503-4, S:74-110
54	101	Chahār Bāgh (Mādar-i Shāh)	Mr	1126/1714	Sulṭān Ḥusain	—	○	H:685-722, M:444-69, G:155-9, S:117-37
55	102	Mustaufī*	M	981/1573	Mīrzā Shukr-Allāh Mustaufī	×	×	M:54
56	102	Ḥājī Manūchihr	M	before 1072/1662	?	×	×	H:730, M:599-600
57	102	Shāh Zaid	I	994/1586	?	○	×	M:773-5
58	102	Khān	M	1090/1679	Shaikh ᶜAlīkhān Zangana (vizier)	—	○	M:610-12
59	102	Almāsiyya	Mr	1104/1693	Ḥājī al-Mās (ghulām)	—	×	M:46
60	102	Maryam Begum*	Mr	1115/1703	Maryam Begum (royal princess)	—	○	H:662-7, M:30-4, S:298-316
61	103	Quṭbiyya	M	950/1543	Quṭb al-Dīn ᶜAlī Bāb al-Dashtī	×	×	H:380-3, M:720-2
62	103	Lunbān	M	pre-Safavid, repaired 1080/1669	?	○	○	H:626-30, M:720-2
63	103	Ibrāhīm	I	?	?	×	×	M:741

TABLE 2 continued

Nr	Qtr	Name of building	Type	Year of Construction	Builder	C	19	References
.64	103	Jāmiᶜ-i ᶜAbbāsābād	M	11c.A.H./ end 16c. or early 17c.	?	×	×	M:56
65	103	Sittī Fāṭima	I	?	?	○	×	G:129-31, M:772-3
66	103	Āqā Kamāl Khāzin	Mr	1108/1697	Āqā Kamāl (treasurer of harem)	—	×	M:28-9
67	104	Shamsābād	Mr	1125/1713	Mīrzā Muḥammad Mahdī (merchant in ᶜAbbāsābād)	—	×	H:684, M:475
68	113	Mīrzā Ḥusain	Mr	1099/1688	Mīrzā Ḥusain b.Mīrzā ᶜAlī Riżā	—	○	M:500-2
69	?	Āqā Mubārak	Mr	1105/1694	Āqā Mubārak (eunuch)	—	×	M:28
70	?	Najaf-qulī Beg	Mr	1104/1693	Najaf-qulī Beg (nāẓir)	—	×	M:40

KEY

* after the name of building means that the building concerned does not exist any more.

Type:

M = masjid (mosque); Mr = madrasa (school); I = imāmzāda (shrine).

C: mentioned by Chardin. A – in this column means the building did not exist in Chardin's day.

19: mentioned by one of the 19th-century histories of Isfahan, Mirza Husain Khan or Muhammad Mihdi.

Symbols:

○ = building mentioned.

× = building not mentioned.

□ = similar building described but the identification is not certain.

References

H = Honarfar, L., *Ganjīna-yi āṣār-i tārīkhī-yi Iṣfahān* (Isfahan 1344/1965).

M = Mihrābādī, A., *Āṣār-i millī-yi Iṣfahān* (Tehran 1352/1973).

G = Godard, A., "Iṣfahān", *Athār-ė Īrān* 2 (1937).

S = Sipantā, A., *Tārīkhcha-yi auqāf-i Iṣfahān* (Isfahan 1346/1967).

very understandable considering it was after the transfer of the capital that the area around the Royal Maidan developed. At the same time, however, we cannot overlook the fact that even after the construction of the new quarters, building activities in the old city continued.

Of additional interest is that we find the name of members of several notable families among the builders of quarter 16. Madrasa-yi Nuriyya was built in the Dardasht quarter by a member of the Jabiri Ansaris, which remains a notable family even today. Madrasa-yi Shafiᶜiyya, also situated in quarter 16, was the work of a member of the Khuzani, another notable family I once studied myself. Also in quarter 16 was the mausoleum of Shah ᶜAla al-Din Muhammad, revered by Isfahan's inhabitants as a kind of saint's tomb, adjacent to the residence of the Shahshahans, his descendants.[23]

It is supposed that most of the notable families in Isfahan continued to live in the old, traditional area even after the construction of the new area near the royal court. According to Chardin, Shah ᶜAbbas, fearing the strong influence in Isfahan of the Shahshahan family, believed to be descended from Imam Husain, tried to execute the head of the family, but abandoned the idea in face of strong opposition from the ᶜulama. The next ruler, Shah Safi, gave his daughter in marriage to the family,[24] illustrating the delicate relationship that existed between the Shah, representing the new zone, and the notable families, representing the old zone of the city. Clearly, the Shah was not free to do as he liked vis-à-vis the city.

Another point worth mentioning is the location of the residences of state dignitaries. Chardin makes frequent mention of such residences, which were concentrated around the Royal Maidan and the Khwaju and ᶜAbbasabad quarters: that is, in the southwest area of greater Isfahan. This was evidently related to the location of the royal court.

The newly developed area was in principle for the royal court and the people who had some connection with it, while the old traditional area around the Old Maidan was for the local inhabitants. In the course of the 19th century, the city area of Isfahan was considerably reduced, and it is curious that the area that fell into ruin was precisely that which had developed during the Safavid period. This should not be so surprising, though, when we take into account the urban structure of Isfahan in the Safavid period, with its dual cores, each with a separate character. Obviously, the new area fell into ruin after the disappearance of the royal court and the state dignitaries who had created it.

TABLE 3
PRINCIPAL RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS IN ISFAHAN, ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY

Quarter	Name of building	Type	Year of construction	Ruler
16	Jumᶜa	M	11c.A.D.	Malikshah (Saljuq)
13	ᶜAlī	M	Saljuq, repaired early 16c.	?, Ismaᶜil I
13	Ḥāj Ḥasan	Mr	Saljuq	Sultan Muhammad (Saljuq)
16	Bābā Qāsim	Mr	725/1325	Abu Saᶜid (Ilkhanid)
16	Bābā Sūkhta	M	8c.A.H./14c.A.D.	Abu Saᶜid (Ilkhanid)
8	Jaᶜfar	I	8c.A.H. (Muzaffarid)	?
16	Husainiyya-yi Shahshahān	M	850/1446	Shahrukh (Timurid)
16	Shahshahān*	Mr	before 850/1446	?
16	Darb-i Imām	I	857/1453	Jahanshah Qara Qoyunlu
13	Āqāsī*	M	pre-Safavid	?
16	Dardasht*	Mr	pre-Safavid	?
103	Lunbān	M	pre-Safavid, repaired in 1080/1669	?
3	Khwāja Malik Mustaufī*	Mr	(pre-Safavid)	?
13	Hārūniyya	Mr	Early 16c.	Ismaᶜil I
13	Hārūn-i vilāyat	I	918/1512	Ismaᶜil I
16	Shūrī.	I	before 919/1513	?
14	Ẕu'l-Faqar	M	950/1543	Tahmasb
14	Ẕu'l-Faqar	Mr	repair in 950/1543	Tahmasb
103	Quṭbiyya	M	950/1543	Tahmasb
10 or 11	Jūbāra (Pīr Pīnadūz)	M	repair in 955/1548	Tahmasb
102	Mustaufī*	M	981/1573	Tahmasb
16	Fatḥ	M	987/1579	Muhammad
102	Shāh Zaid	I	994/1586	Muhammad
6	Ṣafaviyya*	Mr	End 16c./early 17c.	ᶜAbbas I
3	Mullā ᶜAbd-Allāh	Mr	1007/1599	ᶜAbbas I
103	Jāmiᶜ-i ᶜAbbāsābād	M	11c.A.H./end 16c. - early 17c.	ᶜAbbas I
8	Maqṣūd Beg	M	1011/1602	ᶜAbbas I
3	Shaikh Luṭf-Allāh	M	begun in 1012/1604	ᶜAbbas I
4	Sufrachī (Surkhī)	M	1014/1605	ᶜAbbas I
14	Jārchī	M	1019/1610	ᶜAbbas I
3	Shāh (Imām)	M	begun in 1020/1612	ᶜAbbas I
15	Bagh-i Khājī	M	1033/1624	ᶜAbbas I
16	Āqā Nūr	M	1034/1625	ᶜAbbas I
8	Ismāᶜīl	I	1043/1634	Safi
16	Darb-i Ṭūqchī*	M	1044/1634	Safi
6	Sārū Taqī*	Mr	Second quarter of 17c.	Safi or ᶜAbbas II
1	Sārū Taqī (big)	M	1053/1644	ᶜAbbas II
5	Sārū Taqī (small)	M	1056/1646	ᶜAbbas II

TABLE 3 continued

Quarter	Name of building	Type	Year of construction	Ruler
5	Jadda-yi Kūchik	Mr	1057/1647	ᶜAbbas II
5	Jadda-yi Buzurg	Mr	1058/1648	ᶜAbbas II
11	Miṣrī	M	1061/1651	ᶜAbbas II
16	Nūriyya	Mr	1964/1654	ᶜAbbas II
16	Shāfiᶜiyya	Mr	1067/1657	ᶜAbbas II
9	Āqā Kāfur*	Mr	1069/1659	ᶜAbbas II
14	Mīrzā Taqī	Mr	1071/1661	ᶜAbbas II
15	Sulaimān Beg	M	1072/1662	ᶜAbbas II
14	Ḥakīm	M	1073/1663	ᶜAbbas II
16	Ḥājī Yūnus	M	1073/1663	ᶜAbbas II
4	Qarachaqāy Beg*	Mr	1075/1665	ᶜAbbas II
15	Turkhā	Mr	1081/1670	Sulaiman
102	Khān	M	1090/1679	Sulaiman
7	Īlchī	M	1097/1686	Sulaiman
113	Mīrzā Ḥusain	Mr	1099/1688	Sulaiman
102	Almāsiyya	Mr	1104/1693	Sulaiman
?	Najaf-quli Beg	Mr	1104/1693	Sulaiman
?	Āqā Mubārak	Mr	1105/1694	Sulaiman
16	Kāsa Girān	Mr	1105/1694	Sulaiman
14	Nīmāvard	Mr	after 1105/1694	Sultan Husain
103	Āqā Kamāl Khāzin	Mr	1108/1697	Sultan Husain
7	Aḥmadābād	Mr	1114/1702	Sultan Husain
102	Maryam Begum*	Mr	1115/1703	Sultan Husain
104	Shamsābād	Mr	1125/1713	Sultan Husain
101	Chahār Bāgh (Mādar-i Shāh)	Mr	1126/1714	Sultan Husain
1	ᶜArabān	Mr	?	?
1	Aḥmad	I	?	?
102	Ḥājī Manūchihr	M	before 1072/1662	?
103	Ibrāhīm	I	?	?
8	Jaᶜfariyya	Mr	?	?
13	Naqqāshān*	Mr	?	?
103	Sittī Fāṭima	I	?	?

KEY: See table 2.

In this article I have identified the location of the city wall and the quarters of the inner city and suburban area. I have also indicated, taking the location of religious buildings and the identity of their builder into account, the dual structure of urban society in Safavid Isfahan. However, it is difficult to apply the same criteria to a study of the relation of commerce to the urban pattern. Buildings associated with commerce, like

caravansarais and bazaars, have changed greatly when compared with religious institutions, many of which have survived till today. It is therefore difficult to ascertain the location of such buildings as reported by Chardin. Nevertheless it is not impossible, if we collate the remaining historical materials, such as the list of caravansarais introduced by Gaube and Wirth, maps, and the travel records of Europeans. Information concerning Armenian and Indian merchants would also be of use. Another question for further study is that of racial segregation. Julfa is very famous as the Armenian quarter, but whether there were special quarters for Jews and Indians is not always clear. Did they perhaps live in various locations in the city, like the Christian missionaries whose monasteries are scattered throughout the city? I should be happy if this article serves as an introduction to a variety of themes awaiting study.

NOTES

1. On the present state of the study of the topography of Isfahan, see Masashi Haneda and Toru Miura (eds), *Islamic urban studies: historical review and perspectives* (London 1994), p. 246.
2. Heinz Gaube und Eugen Wirth, *Der Bazar von Isfahan* (Wiesbaden 1978) (cited hereafter as Gaube-Wirth).
3. There is no reliable study of the topography of Isfahan after the Safavids. As Dr. Floor pointed out at the occasion of the round table in Cambridge, it is true that some new building programmes were realised after the fall of the Safavids. But from the demographic point of view, it is clear that the population decreased considerably in the course of the 18th century and several quarters of the Safavid period changed to farms. On the reduction of the urban area in the second half of the 19th century, see Mīrzā Ḥusain Khān, *Jughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān* (Tehran 1342/1963), p. 17.
4. J. Chardin, *Voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, ed. L. Langlès (Paris 1811) (cited hereafter as Chardin), VII, p. 284.
5. Pascal Coste, *Monument moderne de la Perse* (Paris 1867), Pl. III. Coste's argument seems to be contradictory. Though he supposes, on one hand, that the city wall of Isfahan at his time is the same as the one built by a Buwaihid sovereign (p. 11), he affirms, on the other hand, that the city wall encircles the greater Isfahan including the area newly built during the Safavid time (p. 20).
6. S. Shafaqī, *Jughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān* (Isfahan 1353/1974), p. 210.
7. Gaube-Wirth, p. 46.
8. Chardin, VII, p. 290.
9. S. Schafaghi, Buildung von Stadtvierteln in Eṣfahān, in G. Schweizer (ed.), *Interdisziplinäre Iran-Forschung: Beiträge aus Kulturgeographie, Ethnologie, Soziologie und Neuerer Geschichte* (Wiesbaden 1979), pp. 172-3. In Schafaghi's article, called Husainabad. The reason is not clear.
10. Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ed. Ī. Afshār (Tehran 1350/1971), p. 544; Masashi Haneda, Maydān et Bāġ: Reflexion à propos de l'urbanisme du Šāh ʿAbbās, in A. Haneda (ed.), *Documents et archives provenant de l'Asie Centrale* (Kyoto 1990), p. 90.
11. Mīrzā Ḥusain Khān, p. 31.

12. Chardin, VII, pp. 289-93. On the confrontation of the two sects, see Haneda & Miura, p. 258.
13. Chardin, VII, p. 482.
14. R. Quiring-Zoche, *Isfahan im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg 1980), pp. 91-106 and Haneda, "Maydān et Bāġ".
15. Chardin, VII, pp. 449-60.
16. Muḥammad Mihdī b. Muḥammad Riżā, *Niṣf-i jahān* (2nd ed., Tehran 1368/1989), p. 22.
17. Haneda, "Maydān et Bāġ", p 93.
18. Chardin, VIII, p. 101.
19. Terry Allen, *Timurid Herat* (Wiesbaden 1983), p. 55; Monika Gronke, The Persian court between palace and tent: From Timur to ʿAbbas I, in Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny (eds), *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden 1992), 18-22; Masashi Haneda, Ġazaniyya in Tabriz, in *Urbanism in Islam: The Proceedings of the International Conference on Urbanism in Islam (ICUIT), Oct. 22-28, 1989* (Tokyo 1989), II, 284-99.
20. See the picture of the city of Tabriz in Naṣūḥū's-Silāḥī (Maṭrāḳçī), *Beyān-i Menāzil-i Sefer-i ʿIrāḳeyn*, ed. H.G. Uyrdaydın (Ankara 1976), 27b-28a.
21. Chardin, VIII, pp. 67, 103.
22. T. Allen, *Timurid Herat*, pp. 36-45; Bernard O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan* (Costa Mesa 1987), pp. 79-99.
23. On the notable families in Isfahan, see Quiring-Zoche, *Isfahan im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, pp. 210-49; Masashi Haneda, La famille Ḫūzānī d'Isfahan (15e-17e Siècles), *Studia Iranica* 18/i (1989), 77-92.
24. Chardin, VIII, pp. 8-10.

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Unwalled Cities and Restless Nomads: Firearms and Artillery in Safavid Iran

Rudi Matthee*

"Di fortezze artificiali è questo Re molto sfornito"
Giovan Battista Vecchietti (1587)

Ever since Marshal Hodgson introduced the term "gunpowder empires" for the Ottoman, Safavid, Mughal and Sa'did states, there has been a quiet consensus that these states owed, if not their origins, at least their staying power in part to their monopoly of firearms, and thus resembled western states in the early modern period. Further explorations of the meaning and the implications of the term have been largely confined to elaborations on the caveat that its corollary, the "militarist theory of the state," is a totalising one which erroneously implies that gunpowder was what defined and characterised these states.[1] Actual investigations of the links between the introduction and spread of firearms, on the one hand, and social and political change, on the other, along the lines of what Richard Hellie has done for Muscovite Russia, have been few in number since David Ayalon's pioneering work on Mamluk Egypt and until Westin Cook's recent study of the military revolution in Morocco.[2]

No part of the early modern Middle East has fared as poorly as Iran in this regard. The study of the development and organisation of the military in Safavid Iran has received little attention since the exploratory studies of Jamil Quzanlu, Vladimir Minorsky, Laurence Lockhart, and Roger Savory.[3] With the exception of the recent work of Masashi Haneda, who has examined the relationship between changes in military structure

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and political organisation, no studies have so far been devoted to the Safavid army.[4] No attention whatsoever has been paid to questions of strategy and tactics in the incessant wars Iran fought with its Ottoman neighbour and its repeated confrontations with the Mughals and the Uzbeks. Nor, finally, has there been any effort to view Safavid Iran from a comparative perspective, either regionally or in a wider Eurasian context.

This essay intends to address the important question of the role of the military in Iranian history and society by focusing on the relationship between changes in military organisation and techniques of warfare, on the one hand, and political and social structures as well as environmental conditions, on the other, during the so-called military revolution. The military revolution refers primarily to the profound changes that took place in European warfare in the 16th and 17th centuries, but its effects are equally observable in simultaneous developments that occurred in Asian states involved in military confrontation with Europe, above all the Ottoman Empire and early Romanov Russia. Warfare in this period underwent radical changes in terms of hardware, involving equipment and ordnance, as well as in terms of army formation, training, maintenance and logistics. Surely the most important change in this regard was the introduction of regularised firepower, used by newly-formed infantry regiments. The second development was a new type of fortification. The third, which flowed in part from the second, was an increase in army size as well as in recruitment and mobilisation, all of which ultimately led to the formation of a standing army. The result was longer wars that were more exhausting both in terms of casualties and of required expenditure, leading to increased taxation and greater power for the state, as well as a transformation in the physical appearance of cities.[5]

This entire process is observable in western Europe and, to a lesser extent, in Russia and the Ottoman Empire. In Iran, in turn, a number of analogous developments took place. Among the most notable are new forms of recruitment. The turn of the 17th century witnessed attempts by Safavid rulers to break the power of the unruly Turcoman tribes known as Qizilbash, and the formation of an army subordinated to the bureaucracy in the form of *ghulām*s, Georgian and Armenian slave soldiers.

Developments in Iran did not entirely parallel those elsewhere, however. The ghulams, for instance, never developed into a corps comparable with the Ottoman Janissaries or the Russian Strel'tsy, both army formations which reflected and embodied important political and social changes that extended far beyond the battlefield. As importantly, the age of the gunpowder revolution did not see notable changes in the construction and fortification of Iranian cities, let alone the introduction

of the so-called *trace italienne,* which was Europe's response to the employment of heavy siege artillery in the Renaissance. Indeed, Iran underwent a process that seems to be the exact opposite of what happened in Europe, where existing urban centres turned into garrisons, surrounded by ever thicker walls and fortifications. If anything, many of the Iranian cities that did have walls in the centuries before the advent of firearms appear to have undergone a process of decastellation.

It is my intent here to elaborate on this phenomenon in conjunction with the noted lack of the use of artillery in the Safavid army and the nature of the country's adversaries, in an attempt to construct a link between military strategy and tactic adopted and employed, on the one hand, and the impact of the physical environment and historical contingency, on the other. By way of introduction, I would first like to discuss the general Safavid response to firearms and gunpowder.

I. THE SAFAVIDS AND FIREARMS

That Iran took to firearms with the same eagerness exhibited by the Ottomans, the Mughals and the Russians, is no longer in any doubt. Roger Savory long ago established that the use of firearms in Iran goes back as far as the late 15th century, in other words shortly after the use of gunpowder is first recorded in India and the Ottoman Empire. Thanks to Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, who has examined 16th-century Ottoman archives pertaining to Iran, we know, moreover, that cannon was used by the Safavid tribal cavalry, the Qizilbash, from the early days of their formation, that is, in the first years of the 16th century, when they used it to besiege eastern Anatolian cities. Shah Ismaʿil I requested cannon and military experts from Venice as early as 1502, and again in 1509,[6] and was especially keen to adopt and incorporate firearms in his army immediately following the battle of Chaldiran in 1514. The humiliating outcome of that encounter with the Ottomans had made it painfully clear that firepower could not be resisted with traditional means.[7] Lockhart's surprise at Shah Ismaʿil's apparent failure to use the cannon that he owned, and his assertion that the Iranians basically remained ignorant of the value of these arms, are refuted in the clear documentation about the formation of a small corps of artillerymen and arquebusiers in 1516.[8] The same period may also have seen the creation of the post of riflemen commander, or *tufangchī-bāshī* in the Safavid army.[9] It is known, moreover, that the Iranian army employed foreign, mostly Venetian and Portuguese, mercenaries—as did the neighbouring Mughal state—and used firearms in subsequent wars, even if the 16th-century Persian chronicles report this use only sparingly.[10] Thus the perennial Ottoman

threat prompted Shah Khudabanda to continue the Safavid quest for arms and expertise as part of an attempt to find anti-Ottoman allies among European states. The envoy Czar Ivan IV sent to Qazvin with 100 pieces of cannon and 500 firearms serves as an example of this.[11] Another is the request the Shah made through Italian envoys for artillery instructors from the Grand Duke of Tuscany as well as the Pope—who offered him cannon in 1583.[12]

Shah ᶜAbbas I, who used arquebus in his conquest of Mazandaran in the 1590s,[13] was no less eager to obtain firearms from the countries and rulers he dealt with. As early as 1595 one of the embassies he sent to Moscow purchased armaments from the Russians.[14] The Shah was also interested in Russia as a supplier of chain armour, the export of which from the Czar's realm was officially restricted.[15] Invariably, missions sent north continued to return with arms.[16] The Safavid ruler also received arquebus from Venice and in 1613 sought to obtain weapons of any kind from the same source.[17] In addition, he requested guns from England after the East India Company had established relations with the Safavid court in the 1610s, and is said to have received no less than 1500 arquebus through this channel.[18]

The Safavids continued to be interested in firearms following the reign of Shah ᶜAbbas and, more importantly, continued to use them. Thus in 1629, 2000 *tufangchī*s were sent to the northeastern borders to protect Khurasan against invading and raiding nomads.[19] The chief minister Muhammad Beg (r. 1654-61), who was known for his inquisitive nature and his technical designs, appears to have had an interest in arquebus.[20] The Iranians at this point also frequently solicited and made use of European gunners, most notably during hostilities with their adversaries to the east who possessed and used firearms, the Mughals, over the frontier city of Qandahar.[21]

Iranian receptiveness of and experimentation with firearms and gunpowder is thus relatively well documented and incontrovertible. Can the same thing be said about their success in integrating the innovation? It should not come as a surprise that the incorporation of firearms was anything but a smooth affair. Armies tend to be conservative and, to paraphrase Geoffrey Parker, the local war machine had to adapt to them as well as adapt them to the local circumstances.[22] Innovations, in other words, took a long time to take hold, competing as they did with methods of warfare that had a venerable tradition and that, moreover, were bound up with traditional notions of honour and valiance. Lest we ascribe this to a innate Muslim or Asian resistance to innovation, let us remind ourselves that even in Europe change was slow to take root and generally came much later than the introduction of new equipment and techniques. After all, it was only in the mid-16th century that England

dropped longbows in favour of handguns, which had been around for a century or so.[23]

The Iranian reluctance to adopt muskets and arquebus both had practical reasons and involved matters of professional pride. Firearms were clumsy in weight and size, were therefore cumbersome to handle and, aside from their psychological 'noise factor,' often contributed little to the outcome of wars. From the perspective of any horseman looking for an effective weapon they must have seemed a regressive form of technology.

In addition to this, perceptions of honour among the traditional warrior aristocracy who fought on horseback did play an important role in their reluctance to take to firearms. It was noted long ago that in Middle Eastern and Asian societies the traditional cavalry deemed the use of firearms—which could not be operated from horseback until the invention of the flintlock—beneath its dignity. This was as true for the Mamluk army, for which this phenomenon was first noted by David Ayalon, as it was for Russian noblemen and Japanese feudal warriors. It equally applied to the Qizilbash, whose idea of manliness (*javānmardī*) was ill at ease with firearms that forced the rider to dismount and get down to the level of the inferior infantry soldier.[24] Any serious adoption of firearms would have required the formation of large infantry battalions and thus have come at the expense of the mobility and speed of the traditional steppe warfare that was the mainstay of the Qizilbash tradition of warfare. It would also have undermined a warrior pride in riding and archery skills that were intimately bound to a millennia-old warrior ethos. Firearms would thus have required a restructuring of society, involving an undermining of existing hierarchical and organisational patterns, which was something the ruling elite was unwilling or unable to accomplish. In few cases did this refusal or inability lead to the phenomenon of "intermittent duration" witnessed in Japan, where the traditional sword eventually reemerged after being discarded with the first introduction of firearms.[25] Most often it considerably slowed down the introduction of the new technology. Thus in Iran infantry using firearms never gained the social status associated with cavalry. Riflemen were recruited from the peasantry and the labouring classes, and were generally held in low esteem by the cavalry troops who were said to despise them as "cannon fodder."[26] The persistence of prejudice against the army regiments fitted for the use of firearms is reflected in an observation by the French officer and military adviser Trezel in 1808, who noted that the infantry had been "despised until today."[27]

It thus happened that firearms were not made into an integral part of a changing military formation in 17th-century Iran. The demise of the Qizilbash and the emergence of the ghulams as an alternative military

corps must be seen as the counterpart of the formation of the Ottoman Janissaries and the Russian Strel'tsy. All were attempts to diminish a traditional dependence on tribal forces and/or to break the connection between land and service. But unlike the Ottoman and Russian examples, the formation of the new forces in Iran was not used as an opportunity to introduce the professional and systematic use of firearms. While it is true that some ghulams fought with firearms, they mostly continued to adhere to traditional weaponry.[28] At this point we can only speculate why this should have been the case. Factors include the ingrained ways of the steppe, the nature of Iran's enemies, the peace that Iran concluded with the Ottomans in 1639, and possibly fears that the new troops might become too powerful if equipped with firepower.

One way of pursuing the question of the Safavid reception of firearms is to look into a possible relationship between the nature of the overall reception of firearms and the reported relative lack of Iranian attention to artillery. The Safavids do not seem to have taken to the use of field artillery, and siege artillery, if not unknown, remained heavily under-used. Unlike the neighbouring Mughals, who in the 16th century employed numerous Ottoman military advisors, widely reputed as expert gunners and musketeers, Safavid-Ottoman hostilities long prevented the Iranians from benefiting from similar training and advice. This may have caused the Safavids to incur a crucial lag in military preparedness in general, and in matters of artillery in particular.[29] Cannon had been used in Iran from the time of the Aq Qoyunlu in the late 15th century,[30] were cast during Safavid campaigns in Azarbaijan in the 16th century, and later continued to be used in wars that involved strongholds, such as Erevan in the 1630s and Qandahar in the late 1640s.[31] Yet several observers testify to the relative paucity of cannon in the Safavid arsenal, the low skills the Iranians displayed in handling them, and their tendency to neglect the pieces that were available. The papal envoy Giovanni Battista Vecchietti, an eyewitness to the battles around Tabriz in 1585-6, noted in his description of the Iranian campaign to drive the Turks out of the city fortress that the former had great difficulty doing so because they were "very inexperienced in this kind of combat." Observing that most of the army consisted of cavalry, Vechietti noted the bravery and skill of Iranian soldiers, who were expert in fighting with sword, lance and bow, and in fact were greatly superior to the Turks in this. They made, however, little use of the arquebus, not so much for lack of these weapons as for their lack of care (*non lo curano*). With regard to artillery, Vechietti added that the Iranians, "although they had two very large pieces of artillery, which fired big stone balls [...] did not know how to handle them." Relatively good use of them was only made when "an Indian appeared," according to the author, who thereby suggested that

the Iranians used foreign experts for the operation of their artillery. Yet the Turks still managed to rebuff their adversaries. Artillery, Vechietti concluded, the Iranians neither had nor knew how to use, and in its application they were greatly outdone by the Ottomans.[32]

Vechietti was not the only or the last foreigner to comment on the lack of Iranian attention to artillery. Much later, in the 1660s, the Frenchman Jean de Thévenot noted that only two pieces of cannon filled the five or six portholes in the fort on the waterfront of Bandar ᶜAbbas.[33] Other foreign visitors observed that the Iranian army lacked bombs and grenades (which were used to undermine walls).[34] Engelbert Kæmpfer claimed that movable artillery was hardly available in the Safavid army and that this weaponry was not used in the open battlefield. The same observer also noted that the cannon which the Portuguese had left upon leaving Hurmuz, Kung and Lar now adorned the frontal halls of the local palaces. Similarly, the ordnance sent by Frederick, Duke of Holstein, in 1637, a generation later graced the entrance to the royal garden in Qazvin.[35]

The minimal importance of artillery is equally reflected in the observations of Tavernier, who commented on the light work load of the cannon master, the *tūpchī-bāshī*, explaining that this was related to the existence of only a few redoubtable pieces in some of the country's border areas, while "all those that were in Isfahan were covered with sand."[36] The very function, moreover, was (temporarily) abolished with the death of the incumbent Husain-quli Khan, in 1655, reflecting financial difficulties as much as the existence of peaceful relations with surrounding states.[37] Most fundamentally, however, this course of events bespeaks a lack of priority given to matters of artillery.

The final days of Safavid rule provide a last example of the relative weakness of their artillery forces. During the battle of Gulnabad in 1721, the Safavid artillery, led by the tupchi-bashi and supervised by a French master-gunner, was unable to win the day against the Afghan army. The siege of Isfahan the following year did not show a clear advantage for the Iranian artillery either.[38]

How do we explain this phenomenon, aside from a general reluctance to integrate firearms fully into the army? The beginning of an explanation is perhaps given by Thomas Herbert, who asserted that the Iranians detested the "trouble of cannon and such pieces as require carriage."[39] Various impediments are suggested here. The first concerns problems with wheeled transportation, the general absence of which in Safavid Iran is attested by various sources. The second involves the Iranian physical environment, which did not lend itself to the transportation of heavy pieces of artillery. Unlike Russia, where Muscovy held sway wherever navigable rivers enabled the transportation of artillery, or even

the Ottoman Empire, whose rulers were able to use the Tigris and Euphrates for the movement of big guns to cities like Mosul and Baghdad, Iran lacked waterways that facilitated the transportation of this kind of heavy equipment.[40] The difficult terrain that separated the Persian Gulf from the main urban centres of the interior also made Iran effectively much more landlocked than either the Ottoman Empire or Mughal India, thus impeding the importation of heavy equipment and raw materials.

An additional factor was the availability of the components needed for the manufacture of cannon and gunpowder. Of these sulphur, saltpetre, charcoal and various metals, such as iron, copper and tin, were not necessarily unavailable in the country, but deposits were located in remote areas, their exploitation was extremely difficult and thus was undertaken only haphazardly.[41] The importance of these resources is seen in the fact that the exportation of sulphur was prohibited in the early 17th century.[42] It is further reflected in the existence, in the 17th and 18th centuries, of gunpowder manufacturing and a cannon foundry in Lar, a town in the vicinity of which sulphur was found in abundant quantities.[43]

Yet another factor that accounts for the lack of field artillery is the Iranian military strategy, which was based on the avoidance of open warfare. Rather than confronting the enemy in the open field, the Safavid army preferred the ambush and invariably engaged in a scorched earth policy.[44] In neither was heavy artillery of any use.

II. CITIES AND WALLS

Considerations of strategy, physical circumstances, and sociocultural factors led the Safavid army to make limited use of field artillery. As for siege artillery, the relative lack of its use in the Iranian army—which continued into the 19th century as well, as Trezel and others attest[45]—is likely to have been related to similar factors, of which the incompatibility between a nomadic warrior ethos that centred on the swift and impulsive attack, and the methodical approach and stamina necessary for a successful siege, is perhaps most important. Conversely, the low appreciation of siege techniques appears to be reflected in the construction of Iranian cities in Safavid times. Many Europeans visiting the east in the early modern period observed that Asian towns, unlike European ones, were mostly unwalled. A number of Iranian towns were walled in the period prior to the rise of the Safavids and in the 16th century. Indeed, some cities apparently underwent little or no change in the more than 200 years spanned by the Safavid era. That Darband was walled was noted in the late 15th century by the Italian traveller Contarini,[46] is confirmed in the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* for 954/1547,[47] and

restated in the late 17th century by Nicolaes Witsen.[48] Herat and Qandahar are other examples of cities with walls that stood the test of time.[49] Our information about the state of Mashhad, finally, is limited, but the high and strong walls that surrounded the city in the late 17th century may have been constructed in the early 1500s.[50]

Some ambiguity arises over the likelihood that in the course of time city walls were rebuilt after their destruction by warfare or the elements, only to disappear again at a later time. The example of Tabriz illustrates this point. Contarini claimed that Tabriz was surrounded by "dismal looking earthen walls."[51] The Portuguese traveller Antonio Tenreiro in 1525 claimed that the city had no walls.[52] Fourteen years later Michele Membré noted that all around Tabriz there was a wall "one part in stone, another of thick earth."[53] Herbert, some 75 years after Membré, confirmed this by claiming that Tabriz did have a "mud wall five miles about."[54] La Boullaye le Gouz in 1657 again noted an absence of walls.[55] This situation seems to have continued, for almost a century later John Bell noted about Tabriz that it was "quite open, having no castle, or fortification to defend it."[56]

Contrary examples and ambiguous cases aside, the Safavid period seems to have witnessed a gradual decrease in the number of towns that were surrounded by walls, to the point where the Italian Vincentio d'Alessandri could say, with more than a little exaggeration, that "there is not one in the whole kingdom which is walled, but all are open."[57] Barbaro noted that Qum and Kashan, as well as Yazd, were walled.[58] Membré in 1539 noted the existence of earthen walls around Kashan, Isfahan and Shiraz, while he said of Lar that it had a stone wall.[59] Tenreiro in the same period confirmed the existence of a strong wall surrounding the city of Lar, while he mentioned one "destroyed in many parts" around Shiraz, and walls surrounding Isfahan and Kashan.[60] Shortly thereafter the afore-mentioned Vecchietti, remarking on the relative absence of fortified towns in Iran, claimed that he had seen no towns other than Kashan and Isfahan that were walled. The walls of those cities, he added, were so weak and low that they could easily be taken without artillery, and Iranian cities would be able to withstand the attack of an army in formation as much as dust is able to withstand the wind.[61]

This verdict certainly held true for places like Qum, Shiraz, Ardabil, Qazvin and Zanjan, and in the course of time would also apply to Kashan and Isfahan. Qum was said to be "now unwalled" by Herbert, who noted the same thing about Lar, adding, however, that "art is needless, seeing the lofty rocks which are to the East and North so naturally defend her."[62] Chardin said of Qum that it had a moat and a wall with half-ruined towers, while Kæmpfer in the 1680s found the city surrounded by dilapidated walls.[63] Nothing had changed when the Dutch visitor

Cornelis de Bruin visited Qum in 1703.[64] Chardin gave Kashan a double wall with towers and five gates, and Sava badly-maintained walls.[65] The French missionary de la Maze, who visited Kashan in the 1690s, confirmed the double wall around the city, noting that the outer one was half ruined.[66] This was confirmed a decade later by de Bruin.[67] The walls of Isfahan, which were still in place in the 1620s, though "of no force against cannon,"[68] had lost their effectiveness by the mid-17th century.[69] Constructed from dirt rather than stone, they were said by Tavernier to lack battlements, bastions, and other defence mechanisms. The same author added that existing moats were small and shallow and always dry, and that the inhabitants had torn down the walls in various places to provide short-cuts in and out of the city.[70] About Shiraz, Herbert said that "some walls it shows, which were raised by Usun Cassan."[71] Cornelis Speelman, who accompanied a Dutch mission to Iran in 1652, described Shiraz as unwalled and without a moat. The town, he said, would have no other protection in case of war than the resistance of its people.[72] This observation was shared, a generation later, by John Fryer, who said of the city that it "had neither fortification nor walls, neither ditch nor mounds, nor other guard, save its own soldiers, which are the only bulworks."[73] In the early 17th century Pietro della Valle noted that neither Ardabil nor Qazvin nor Zanjan had walls.[74] The absence of walls surrounding Ardabil was confirmed by Olearius, who said about Sultaniyya that its walls were mostly ruined.[75] Thomas Herbert, a decade after della Valle, contradicted the latter in the case of Qazvin, though he added that the wall would be of "little force against an adversary."[76] Chardin in the 1660s noted that Qazvin had formerly been walled and that the ruins were still visible, while the town was now "open on all sides."[77] Rasht and Farahabad in the north did not have walls either, a fact which apparently greatly contributed to the success of Cossack raids in 1636 and 1668.[78] Bandar ᶜAbbas on the Persian Gulf did have a fort, and the town was further strengthened in the aftermath of Dutch aggression in 1645,[79] but by the turn of the 17th century the fortifications had fallen in disrepair.[80] This information is summarised in Table 1.

The evidence is thus less than comprehensive and in part ambiguous. A lack of precision and occasional contradictions in observations by European travellers should caution us against extrapolating from remarks by visitors who generally passed through only a limited number of cities, leaving the entire eastern part of the country virtually undocumented. Matters are, moreover, complicated because of the different purposes served by walls. It is important to note that the term 'wall' is a flexible one that is open to various interpretations, ranging from fortified ramparts to feeble clay enclosures of urban quarters or gardens and plots of agricultural land. An additional problem is the distinction

TABLE I
IRANIAN CITIES AND WALLS, 15TH–17TH CENTURIES

City	late 15th	early 16th	late 16th	early 17th	later 17th
Tabriz	yes (dismal looking)	yes/no			yes/no
Shamakhi			yes	partly ruined	partly ruined
Darband	yes	yes			yes
Ardabil				no	
Rasht					no
Farahabad				no	
Zanjan				no	
Tehran				yes	
Qazvin				no	ruined
Sava					badly maintained
Qum	yes			no	ruined
Kashan	yes	yes	yes (weak)		partly ruined
Isfahan		yes	yes (weak)		yes (weak)
Shiraz		(partial)		no	no
Yazd	yes				
Lar		yes		no	no
Mashhad	yes				yes
Herat	yes				
Balkh		yes			
Qandahar		yes		yes	

between regular walls, *ḥiṣār*, surrounding cities, and fortresses, *qalᶜa*, inside urban areas, which is not always clear (more will be said about this later). Nevertheless, there is no doubt that fortified towns existed and continued to exist, especially in areas where Iran bordered on states with formidable firepower. Darband, the northern frontier town on the Caspian Sea, and Qandahar in the area where Safavid and Mughal claims clashed, are cases in point. The existence of fortified villages is similarly beyond dispute. They antedated the Safavid era, were ubiquitous in the 17th century,[81] and continued to exist long after the fall of the dynasty,

especially in Khuzistan and the eastern half of the country, extending into Central Asia and present-day Afghanistan.[82] These hilltop fortresses, however, mostly served as refuges, and were primarily designed against sudden and short attacks by marauding nomads and wild animals. Many of the (smaller) Safavid cities that were surrounded by walls similarly may have served as refuges rather than as strongholds.[83]

With these caveats in mind, it is possible to discern a variegated picture with regard to real strongholds and the state of the country's major urban centres in the late Safavid period. While the walls of some towns were periodically rebuilt, the overall tendency seems to have been for the neglect of existing walls, the dilapidation of fortifications due to the ravages of war and the elements coupled with a lack of subsequent repairs, and in some cases a deliberate decastellation.

What accounts for this? Material used for the construction of walls and climatological conditions certainly were contributing factors. A combination of prolonged heat and occasional torrential rains causes the rapid erosion of any mud walls. As Herbert observed about the area north of Ab-i Garm: "For albeit the King [...] has raised at every three miles' end a wall or castle, yet by the unstable foundation, in March and September, in despite of their best props, it is piecemeal torn asunder, that little or no remains appear of their late standing."[84]

Yet climate and building material do not suffice to explain either the general absence of walls or the decrease in their number and strength over time. The scarcity of fortifications and the tendency toward decastellation seem to reflect the combined effect of the insulating quality of Iran's physical environment, the absence of a centralised defence policy and the weakness of municipal organisation in this regard, and the gradual extension of Safavid internal control and authority accompanying and following the expanding size of the country at the turn of the 17th century. The first circumstance was a given that must have imparted a perennial sense of relative security to Safavid rulers. The 17th-century visitor Gabriel de Chinon expressed this succinctly when he remarked that "this country has a unique advantage with regard to its power and defence in having mountains surround it on all sides as well as having abundant deserts which are almost waterless."[85] In the absence of a centrally organised apparatus charged with the upkeep of fortifications, the task of maintaining walls fell on local city administrations. Provincial cities, however, seem to have lacked the level of municipal organisation required for this expensive and ongoing task.[86] City defences tended to be strengthened in an *ad-hoc* fashion, typically in the face of imminent danger, and with the help of *corveé* labour. An example is the hasty attempt to reinforce the defenses of Bandar ᶜAbbas in 1695 in anticipation of a naval attack by Omani Arabs following a similar raid on Kung.[87]

While a weakly developed municipal organisation was inherent in the Safavid political and social structures, it was no doubt reinforced by the effects of the third process, which was begun under Shah ᶜAbbas I and culminated under the reign of his great-grandson ᶜAbbas II (1642-66). During his reconquest of Iran, Shah ᶜAbbas I subdued many local rulers, and in the process demolished the fortifications that served as their strongholds and symbols of power. Fortresses which he thus razed to the ground include those of Istakhr, Kirman, Abivard, Nisa, and Marv.[88] ᶜAbbas's pacification not only established a form of central authority but also ushered in a growing internal stability, the effect of which must have been a heightened sensation of immunity against outside invaders that lasted well beyond the time when the first signs of territorial disintegration became apparent. As Gaube and Wirth noted, the Safavids in the late 16th and the 17th century did not defend their realm from the city gates but from the remote border lands.[89] The peace that Iran concluded with the Ottoman state in 1639 no doubt enhanced the feeling that the country's interior was not seriously threatened by outsiders. The result of this process is seen in the observation by Duri Efendi, an Ottoman ambassador visiting Iran in 1720, who echoed d'Alessandri's earlier remark when he noted that the "Persians have only three fortresses in their entire realm: Qandahar on the confines of India, Darband on the side of the kingdom of Astrakhan, and Erevan near Erzurum. All other towns are open like Scutary."[90]

Even these factors do not suffice as an explanation, however, as experience must have taught the Iranians that military stability was at best a temporary state of affairs, and as one might reasonably expect the Safavids to have fortified rather than neglected their cities with the advent and increasing employment of siege artillery. Yet it is precisely in combining siege artillery with strongholds that the Safavids rulers showed a remarkable weakness. The Iranian reliance on artillery in beleaguering cities, appears to have been much less than that of the Ottomans, even at a time when wars were still raging and the Ottomans posed a vital threat to Iranian security. Vecchietti in 1585 observed how the city of Tabriz was in the hands of the Iranians, while the Turks held the city fortress, from where they sowed terror among the population with artillery and arquebus, which eventually enabled them to capture the entire city. Upon seizing the city, they immediately proceeded to erect a huge fortress in less than 40 days, where they left 3000 Janissaries.[91] The Ottoman attack on Baghdad in 1630 similarly was accompanied by heavy artillery bombardment.[92] Similar Iranian practices are not unknown—the attack on Erevan in 1635 being a case in point—yet they are recorded with much less frequency.[93] In the case of the battle for Baghdad the terminology used in the *Khulāṣat al-siyar* is perhaps instructive. No

mention is made of firearms in the description of Iranian fighting; instead the author speaks of lances (*nīza*), bows (*tīr*), arrows (*kamand*), and swords (*shamshīr*).[94]

Indeed, the memory of the Turkish practice and their success in using fortresses to their advantage may have been the cause of the willful destruction of fortified places by the Iranians after recapturing them. Shamakhi in the northern province of Shirvan is an example. The German traveller Adam Olearius, who passed through Shamakhi in 1636, gives specific information about the destruction of the city walls. Shamakhi, he noted, which was formerly large, was badly affected by the wars between Shah ᶜAbbas I and the Ottomans. Realising that the Turks were prone to attack cities that were fortified, and convinced that as long as they were not situated right on the borders or at mountain passes, walled cities did more harm than good, the Shah decided to dismantle one part of the town by demolishing the southern wall. He had done the same with Tabriz, Nakhjavan and Ganja.[95] Only the northern wall was indeed extant when, a generation after Olearius, the Dutch traveller Jan Struys visited Shamakhi in 1670. By that time, however, even this wall was so badly deteriorated that it had lost its function.[96]

Furthermore, as the above concerned cities in the northwest that were exposed to the dangers of Ottoman assault and siege, one is tempted to conclude it was not the cities that were deemed vital as much as the citadel within the city, the *qalᶜa*. The example of Tabriz demonstrates precisely that, as do reports about the building of fortresses in Shirvan by Shah ᶜAbbas in 1018/1609.[97] The garrisons which, as the Turkish traveller Evliya Celebi mentioned, the Iranians maintained on the borders with the Ottoman Empire, similarly did not involve fortified cities as much as the citadels, which were strongholds manned by military contingents.[98] From Dutch reports we learn that the town of Bandar ᶜAbbas had a fort rather than a series of walls surrounding the entire city.[99] The strength of the citadel of Qishm, the town on the island of the same name, was such that an attacking Dutch force was unable to breach its walls in 1645.[100] Surrounded by mountains, Lar lacked proper walls, but did have a "castle of good stone," with walls that were "furnished with useful battlements."[101] The town of Huvaiza in Khuzistan was endowed with a citadel against the Arab tribes that inhabited the region.[102] The best example, however, may well be Isfahan, as observed by de Bruin. In his description of the city's outer wall with its

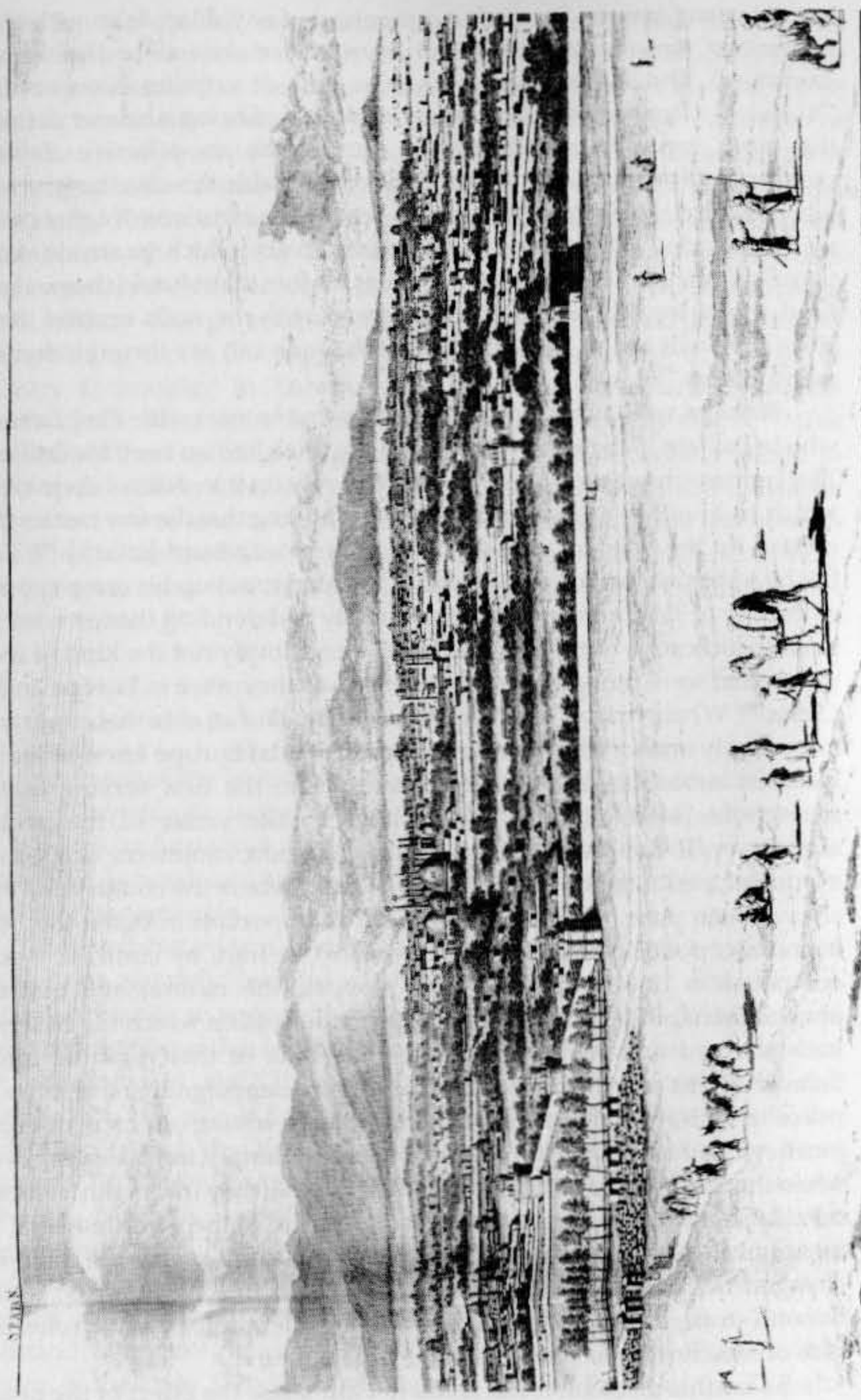

Figure 1 (opposite)

The outer walls of Isfahan, *ca* 1700 (detail), as drawn by Cornelis de Bruin, and published in his *Reizen over Moskovie, door Perzie en Indie* (2nd ed., Amsterdam 1714).

ten gates and towers, he made no mention of any dilapidation (thereby suggesting that some repairs had been undertaken since the time of Tavernier). The engraving accompanying the description, however (no. 74) shows a low wall that gives the impression of being a barrier defining the city's perimeters rather than serving as an effective defence mechanism (see Fig. 1). Describing the castle inside the city, the *ṭabarak*—which is also visible in the drawing—de Bruin mentions "high earthen walls provided with many squat towers, from which protrude some pieces of cannon." He goes on to express his fear that, should they ever be fired, "they would certainly tumble down with the walls around them, since the walls are so thin and ruined that one can see through them in many places."[103]

Perhaps we have no choice but to agree in part with Père Sanson, who in the late 17th century noted that the Shah had no need for artillery. The Iranians, he asserted, did not have to rely on it to defend their cities, which had neither walls nor fortifications, adding that the few castles that existed on the borders would not be able to withstand [attack].[104] That Shah ᶜAbbas, according to della Valle, decided to set up his camp outside of the city of Tabriz because of the difficulty of defending the town seems equally indicative of the fact that cities were simply not the kind of focal places that were thought crucial to defend, as they were in Europe and in China.[105] What is more, it betrays the set of mind of an elite that continued to be firmly anchored in its nomadic past. Feudal Europe knew a duality between urban centres and the countryside, the first serving as the strongholds of the monarchs, the latter as the venue of the landed aristocracy. Towns were centres of administration, commerce and, above all, power, real as much as symbolic. In China, where the countryside had always been poor, towns were even more important in being the only economic, political and military centres.[106] In Iran, by contrast, towns competed in importance with the steppes, the natural and original environment of the Turcoman tribal formations from which the Safavids had emerged and which constituted the bulk of their fighting force. Safavid Shahs were perpetually engaged in campaigning, and even in peace time they tended to be peripatetic, often setting out on prolonged journeys, to hunt, to perform pilgrimages, or simply for pleasure. Even when the Shah and his troops were in the capital, they frequently camped outside the walls, enjoying the pleasures of life in the so-called *bāgh*, or extramural garden. Nor is it accidental in this context that the Safavids changed their capital three times in the course of one hundred years. Beyond strategic and perhaps economic considerations, this too reflects a lack of attachment to one particular urban centre.

So far this discussion has failed to emphasise the effect of the peace of Zuhab, which was concluded between the Safavids and Ottomans in

1639. As this accord ended more than a century of near-continuous hostilities and warfare between the Safavids and Ottomans, it must be seen as a watershed in Iranian military history. Insofar as the practice of warfare is the *sine qua non* of military innovation, the cessation of hostilities inaugurated by the treaty in part accounts for the subsequent weakening of the Iranian military spirit. Most particularly, it may be held responsible for the absence of any potential evolution in the employment of artillery by the Safavids. Yet—and this is the reason why no emphasis has been placed on the accord—its decisiveness in terms of real and long-term military change seems debatable. Instead, I would hypothesise, extrapolating from Geoffrey Parker's observation that a change in military technology in Europe came with the construction of new fortifications that could only be reduced through lengthy sieges,[107] that late Safavid Iran exhibits a dialectical relationship between a failure to build up an artillery machinery, on the one hand, and the relative absence of fortified towns and the total lack of new fortifications on the other, a situation synthesised in a lack of development in this form of warfare. The peace agreement of 1639 certainly facilitated this process, but did not set it in motion.

III. WALLS AND NOMADS

No discussion of the Iranian reaction to gunpowder and firearms would be complete without paying attention to Iran's most persistent adversaries, the nomads on horseback, and examining their role in the lack of military change, in general, and the failure to adopt artillery on the part of the Safavids, in particular.

The available information on the nature and quality of weaponry of the various nomadic peoples surrounding Iran is spotty. But there is enough evidence to suggest that the situation to the west of the Safavid realm differed from that in the north and the east. On the western border the proximity of the Ottoman Empire must have accelerated the introduction and use of firepower among non-sedentary people. In the mid-17th century the Kurds on the western borders seem to have disposed of firearms. According to Tavernier, the mountain people between Nineveh and Isfahan would not sell anything but for gunpowder and bullets.[108] Even so, firearms were incorporated neither wholesale nor wholeheartedly among the Kurds, apparently for the same reasons that hindered their acceptance in Iran proper. In a Persian statistical overview of tribes dating from the period of Shah Sultan Husain in the early 18th century, it is said that the Kurds of the Zaᶜfarlu tribe refused to carry the *tufang*, because they considered it unmanly to do

so, as a result of which most continued to fight with lance and sword, and some with arrow and bow.[109]

To the east and north developments were slower than in the western border areas. Quite a few contemporary reports suggest that the nomads on Iran's northeastern periphery did not possess the same firepower as the Safavids, if they disposed of firearms at all. The Uzbeks apparently did not possess much firepower other than guns of inferior quality for much of the 16th century.[110] They are reported to have employed cannon during the siege of Herat in 1587,[111] and received military assistance from the Ottomans when tensions between the Ottomans and the Safavids erupted into war in 1603.[112] However, none of this led to a quick penetration of firearms into Central Asia, much less did it change the balance of power in favour of the nomads. If we have to believe della Valle, in the early part of the 17th century the people from Balkh and Bukhara still did not have firearms and were consequently weak against the Safavid army.[113]

Elsewhere on Iran's northern and eastern borders things were hardly different. The Nogay Tatars in 1569 were said to be armed only with swords, spears, bows and arrows.[114] It was moreover claimed that they were afraid of cannon and musket fire, something which caused them to suffer heavy losses in the first half of the 17th century. In time, having learned how ineffective firearms really were, they seem to have overcome their fear.[115] In the 1670s Jan Struys reported that the Tatars of Daghestan for the most part used bows and arrows, although some of them had snaphances.[116] Even in the late 17th century the armies of the Kalmyks, another nomadic people from the south Russian steppes, were said to fight almost exclusively with bow and arrow.[117] Of the Baluchis also it was said in the 17th century that they continued to fight with bow and arrow.[118]

The Lezgis, Uzbeks and Baluchis posed a continual threat to Iran's northern and eastern borders in the Safavid period. Yet, as the above overview suggests, none of these nomadic neighbours provided a compelling incentive for the Safavid army to change its ways and means. Just as it made sense for Poland to strengthen her cavalry rather than her infantry and artillery against the horsemen of the Ukrainian steppes, and to concentrate on armies that could win battles rather than conduct sieges, so it made sense for the Safavids to concentrate on strengthening their cavalry and its traditional warfare.[119] In battles with swift-moving horsemen the use of field artillery was of little use, indeed could only be counterproductive. The same was true for the interplay between the development of fortifications and that of siege technology. The Tatars are said to have rarely besieged towns, indeed to have been rather helpless before a town.[120] The same is likely to have been the case for the other

nomadic peoples from the east and northeast who continually raided the Safavid border lands. Most of these raids were conducted by bands of marauding rebels, the only attacking force Iran's lightly fortified towns might be able to resist, according to Vecchietti.[121]

Over time change was inevitable. The observations of Struys about the people of Daghestan foreshadowed an inexorable process. A number of observations suggest that at the turn of the 18th century a wider diffusion of firearms among larger groups of people prepared the way for a change in the balance of power between the state and the peripheral nomads. In 1711 a French missionary, describing the traditional Haidari-Niᶜmati conflict in the town of Shamakhi, noted that until recently the parties would fight each other with batons and slings, but that the last few years they had taken to firearms, as a result of which the battle no longer ended before blood had flowed.[122] A similar change is reported by another French missionary about the Lezgis, the wild Caucasian mountain tribes that had always been a scourge for the sedentary population of the lowlands. Formerly, he noted in 1720, the Lezgis had only employed arrows and lances, but presently they were all armed with pistols and sabres; they had learned how to manufacture them and now used them adroitly.[123]

If a wider distribution of firearms was as inevitable as the shift in power that resulted from it, the long-term effects of this development were not as dramatic as one might expect. The Baluchis and Afghans who invaded Iran in the early 18th century illustrate this point. Even if the Baluchis had acquired firearms in the early 1700s, they accomplished their advance upon Kirman in 1716 mostly without the help of firepower. The Afghans, on the other hand, certainly did possess and use firepower, as is attested by eyewitness reports of the Afghan siege of Kirman in 1721 as well as their subsequent attack on Isfahan. Laying siege to the citadel of Kirman, the Afghans fired upon it with "bullets," according to the Dutch Company resident in town.[124] When the Afghans proceeded to attack Isfahan the following year, their leader Aman-Allah was said to have 60 *zanbūrak*, or camel-mounted swivel guns, which his troops had used effectively in the preceding battle of Gulnabad.[125]

Yet, for all their ingenuity in using the zanburak, the Afghans joined the Safavids in exhibiting a remarkable weakness in the technique of siege warfare. Father Krusinski insisted that the Afghans were "brave and resolute" in the open field, but "lazy and cowardly in sieges," adding that this was why they had not been able to subdue several small towns in the neighbourhood of Isfahan during their invasion of 1721.[126] Krusinski's remarks on the Afghan weakness in siege warfare are worth quoting in full:[127]

> They are not capable of subjecting themselves to the method of the Europeans, who gain their ground inch by inch, as soon as they see no way of carrying a place by assault; for after having made an attempt on it, if they are repuls'd with loss, they presently give over the enterprize as impracticable.

Krusinski was not alone in this assessment. His words were echoed by a Dutch eyewitness of the siege of Isfahan in 1722, who noted that the Afghans were brave soldiers on horseback with their sabres, but "had not been able to take a single village round the town, being kept at bay by gunfire."[128]

Krusinski, by claiming that the people of Isfahan were not ignorant of the inexpertness of the Afghans in siege warfare, implied that this was in part responsible for the fact that the city was so badly prepared for an assault.[129] The Safavids, in sum, never faced the dilemma of the Ottomans, whose confrontation with the sedentary warfare of fortifications and heavy infantry of the Europeans forced them to compromise their own military traditions of steppe Blitzkrieg.[130] Nor, for that matter, was the adoption of firearms by nomadic invaders decisive for the collapse of the Safavid state in the early 18th century. Neither bullets nor cannon balls decided the outcome of the sieges of Safavid cities. The Dutch eyewitness of the assault on Kirman noted that the direct attacks on the fortress were all futile. In the end the city fell to the invaders because of starvation, the Afghan strategy of choice.[131] The same is true for the fate of Isfahan. Rather than artillery, it was exhaustion from starvation at the end of a prolonged siege that brought the city to its knees and Safavid rule to an end.

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that firearms were used in Iran almost from the moment that they were introduced to the Ottoman Empire in the 15th century. Yet, despite their documented eagerness to acquire firearms, there are few signs that the Safavids seriously attempted, let alone succeeded, in integrating the new technology into their army. Whereas elsewhere the adoption of firearms during the military revolution invariably and fundamentally altered the composition of existing armies, little of this is apparent in the Safavid army. This is clearly related to the fact that the adoption of firearms—like other forms of technology—is not merely a matter of exploiting technological opportunities, but involves broad social and ideological changes. As a type of weapon that threatened to undermine the status of the elite warrior, the soldier on horseback,

firearms faced a huge obstacle in becoming adopted by the Qizilbash, the mainstay of the Safavid army. As a result, the musketeers who were equipped with firearms operated on the periphery of the military machine from the beginning. They continued to do so after the introduction of the ghulams, who mostly fought with traditional arms. Their weakness in the later 17th century and, in general, the progressive entropy of the Safavid army, may thus be said to have been an outgrowth of an original situation rather than the result of neglect following the reign of Shah ᶜAbbas I.

Artillery never became really popular in the Safavid army. Many sources suggest that the Safavids had no field artillery to speak of and continued to fight their battles in ways in which artillery would not just have been unhelpful but even a hindrance. The Safavid response to siege artillery was different. Adopting this technology relatively early on, the Iranians used it on many occasions, and even took to the casting of cannon. But even in this area the Safavids never seem to have acquired the expertise displayed by their main adversaries, the Ottomans.

The reasons for this include the difficulty of transportation in a country as divided by mountain ranges and desert expanses as Iran, as well as a lack of exploitable raw materials needed for the establishment of a sustainable manufacturing industry. The relative lack of interest in artillery displayed by the Safavids is also reflected, in dialectical fashion rather than any obvious cause-and-effect relationship, in the concept and execution of city construction, itself a reflection of the country's physical characteristics coupled with the workings of historical contingency. Many Safavid cities lacked walls. Existing walls, made of clay and mud, were exposed to wear and tear caused by the elements and, lacking the bastions and outworks that gave contemporary European cities such a formidable appearance, were generally no match for cannon fire. Outer walls, however, appear not to have been the crucial defence mechanism in Safavid Iran. Rather than walls, it was the citadel inside the urban area that served as the city's stronghold and the refuge for defensive forces and (a limited number of) the city's populace.

Regardless of the nature of defence, the sources suggest a gradual decrease in the number of towns that were fortified or whose defensive walls served any purpose. A lack of repair, due, in part, to the absence of a centrally organised 'defence policy' and a weakly developed municipal organisation, and, in some cases, a deliberate decastellation seem to have been responsible for this. In his effort to pacify Iran and centralise the state, Shah ᶜAbbas I destroyed many fortifications belonging to local rulers subdued by him. An awareness that the Ottomans were prone to attack heavily fortified places may also have inspired the Safavids to dismantle some of those that were not frontier outposts. More concretely,

the expansion of the realm and the attendant relative stability at the beginning of the second century of Safavid rule gave the Iranians strategic depth and made fortifications of central cities less and less imperative. In this the Safavids resembled the Romans and the Akhaemenids, who similarly defended the interior of their realm at its periphery.

A proper assessment of the role the peace of Zuhab played in all this, and especially in the decastellation of many cities, would require a comparison with the tumultuous period following the demise of the Safavids, including the rise of Nadir Shah. As far as military developments under the Safavids are concerned, however, the peace accord, while not responsible for the origins, provided a further disincentive for the continued search for defence strategies.

The final, and perhaps most important factor contributing to a less than comprehensive endeavour to fortify cities, was the nature of Iran's main enemies. Few of these disposed of firearms; fewer even made use of firearms effectively. This is especially true for the eastern part of the country, where firearms were particularly late in penetrating and where the nomads who periodically staged raids into Khurasan long continued to use traditional weapons. The Afghans certainly did use firearms, but, like the Safavids themselves, showed a remarkable weakness in their inability to use them effectively in siege warfare.

The Safavids never faced the Ottoman dilemma of having to adapt to new forms of warfare, much less Russia's sudden need to overhaul its army and defensive strategies with the outbreak of the War of Smolensk in the 1630s. While the Ottomans had no choice but to adapt their military traditions to the European ways of waging war, and while Russia was forced into an all-out effort to integrate firearms fully into the military machine and to engage in a rapid and comprehensive fortification of cities, in Iran the interplay between political, social and material factors made a similar revolution unnecessary and therefore perhaps impossible. The reasons for this had as much to do with the Safavids as with their enemies. Iran's 'military revolution' remained half-finished; it buttressed the absolutism of Shah ᶜAbbas I and his successors, but failed to effect a profound transformation in the Safavid political and social structure.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Sanjay Subrahmaniyam, Aspects of state formation in South India and Southeast Asia, 1500-1650, *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 23 (1986), p. 376; and Vincent J. Cornell, Socioeconomic dimensions of reconquista and jihad in Morocco: Portuguese Dukkala and the Saᶜdid Sus, 1450-1557, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22 (1990), p. 418. Significantly, Hodgson himself

preempted possible exaggerated claims with regard to the effect of gunpowder by stating that "gunpowder was doubtless not the one great decisive factor in the political and social—and ultimately cultural—realignments that occurred in the three generations following 1450." See Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The venture of Islam*, vol. III, *The gunpowder empires and modern times* (Chicago 1974), p. 18.

2. See Richard Hellie, *Enserfment and military change in Muscovy* (Chicago 1971); David Ayalon, *Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk kingdom: a challenge to a mediaeval society* (London 1956); and Westin F. Cook, Jr., *The hundred years war for Morocco: Gunpowder and the military revolution in the early modern Muslim world* (Boulder, CO. 1993). For the Ottoman Empire, see Halil Inalcik, The socio-political effects of the diffusion of fire-arms in the Middle East, in V.J. Parry and M.E. Yapp (eds), *War, technology and society in the Middle East* (London 1975), 195-217; and R.C. Hess, Firearms, bandits and gun-control, *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980), 339-80.
3. See Jamil Quzanlu, *Tārīkh-i niẓāmī-yi Irān*, 2 vols (Tehran 1315/1936), I, pp. 371-87; Vladimir Minorsky (trans. and ed.), *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (London 1943, repr. 1980), pp. 30-6; Laurence Lockhart, The Persian army in the Safavid period, *Der Islam* 24 (1959), 89-98; and Roger Savory, "Bārūd," *Encyclopaedia of Islam²*, I, pp. 1066-8.
4. See Masashi Haneda, *Le Chah et les Qizilbash* (Berlin 1987); idem, L'Evolution de la garde royale des Safavides, *Moyen Orient & Océan Indien* 1 (1984), 41-64; trans. The evolution of the Safavid royal guard, *Iranian Studies* 21 (1989), 57-86.
5. William McNeill, *The pursuit of power: technology, armed force, and society since A.D. 1000* (Chicago 1982), pp. 117ff; Geoffrey Parker, *The military revolution* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 43-4.
6. Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti (ed.), *Šah Isma'īl nei "diarii" di Marin Sanudo* (Rome 1979), pp. 9-10, 162-3; and Guliemo Berchet, *La repubblica di Venezia e la Persia* (Turin 1865), p. 25.
7. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, *Les Ottomans, les Safavides, et leurs voisins. Contribution à l'histoire des relations internationales dans l'Orient islamique de 1514 à 1524* (Istanbul 1987).
8. Lockhart, "Persian army", p.90. For the formation of this corps, see Bacqué-Grammont, p. 157.
9. Ibid., p. 165. The evidence for the existence of a riflemen commander at this point is less than clear-cut, for the person mentioned as the appointee in 1514, Mirza Shah Husain, had in reality been appointed chief minister, *vakīl*, in that year.
10. For the employment of foreign gunners by the Safavids and the Mughals, see C.R. Boxer, Asian potentates and European artillery in the 16th-18th centuries: a footnote to Gibson Hill, *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 38 (1966), 156-72.
11. P.P. Bushev, *Istoriya posol'stv i diplomaticheskikh otnosheii russkogo i iranskogo gosudarstv v 1586-1612 gg.* (Moscow 1976), p. 44.
12. Barbara von Palombini, *Bündniswerben abendländischer Mächte um Persien 1453-1600* (Wiesbaden 1968), pp. 106, 108, 111; Ugo Tucci (ed.), Una relazione di Giovan Battista Vecchietti sulla Persia e sul regno di Hormuz, *Oriente Moderno* 35 (1955), 156.
13. L.L. Bellan, *Chah ᶜAbbas I, sa vie, son histoire* (Paris 1932), p. 66.
14. Bushev, *Istoriya posol'stv 1586-1612*, pp. 226-7.
15. M.V. Fekhner, *Torgovlya russkogo gosudarstva so stranami vostoka v XVI veke* (Moscow 1956), pp. 53-4.
16. See Bushev, *Istoriya posol'stv 1586-1612*, pp. 347, 360, and Bellan, *Chah ᶜAbbas*, pp. 36, 69, 73.
17. Niels Steensgaard, *The Asian trade revolution of the seventeenth century: the East India Companies and the decline of the caravan trade* (Chicago 1978), p. 104; and Berchet, *Repubblica di Venezia*, p. 65.

18. W. Noel Sainsbury (ed.), *Calendar of state papers, colonial series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1617-21* (London 1862-92; repr. Vaduz, 1964), p. 152; and Anon., *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the papal mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries*, 2 vols (London 1939), I, p. 255.
19. Muḥammad Maʿṣūm ibn Khwājagī Iṣfahānī, *Khulāṣat al-siyar. Tārīkh-i rūzgār-i Shāh Ṣafī ṣafavī* (Tehran 1368/1989), p. 61.
20. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes*, 2 vols (Utrecht 1712), I, pp. 631-2.
21. See Riazul Islam, *A calendar of documents on Indo-Persian relations (1500-1750)*, 2 vols (Karachi 1979), I, p. 328. For the two Dutch gunners who were (briefly) employed in the Safavid army in 1648, see Algemeen Rijksarchief (Dutch National Archives), The Hague (hereafter ARA), VOC 1170, Verburgh, Gamron (Bandar ʿAbbas), to Batavia, 15 May 1648, fol. 739r; and VOC 1168, Verburgh, Lar, to Heren XVII, 19 June 1648, fol. 687. The English furnished gunners as well for the same war effort. See William Foster (ed.), *The English factories in India, 1646-1650* (Oxford 1914), pp. 211, 217.
22. Parker, *Military revolution*, pp. 142-3.
23. Ibid., pp. 17-18.
24. Bacqué-Grammont, *Ottomans, Safavides*, p. 168.
25. For the notion of intermittent duration, see George Kubler, *The shape of time: remarks on the history of things* (New Haven 1962). The Japanese experience with firearms is discussed in Noel Perrin, *Giving up the gun: Japan's reversion to the sword, 1543-1879* (Boston 1979).
26. Engelbert Kæmpfer, *Am Hofe des persischen Grosskönigs 1684-1685*, trans. Walther Hinz (Leipzig 1940; repr. Tübingen 1977), p. 94. See also Cornelis de Bruin, *Reizen over Moskovie, door Persie en Indie* (Amsterdam, 2nd ed. 1714), p. 157.
27. Archives Militaires (hereafter AM), Vincennes, Paris, # 1673, Report Trezel à Gardanne, 27 April 1808, fol. 310.
28. Kæmpfer, *Am Hofe*, p. 94.
29. For the Ottoman military experts employed by the Mughals, see Naimur Rehman Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman relations: a study of political and diplomatic relations between Mughal India and the Ottoman Empire, 1556-1748* (Delhi 1989), pp. 11-13.
30. See Faẓl-Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī-Iṣfahānī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi amīnī*, Persian text ed. by John E. Woods, abridged English trans. by Vladimir Minorsky (London 1992), pp. 340-6. Woods, p. 98, expresses some doubts as to whether early references to artillery, *tūp*, connote mangonels projecting stones and inflammable material, or real firearms using explosives, but on balance concludes that the Aq Qoyunlu almost certainly were familiar with the "sulphuric arts."
31. For the employment of Safavid artillery, *tūpkhāna*, see, for example, Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vaḥīd Qazvīnī, *ʿAbbās-nāma* (Arak 1329/1950), pp. 185-6. Thanks to Charles Melville for bringing this passage to my attention.
32. Tucci, "Relazione," pp. 154, 156.
33. Jean de Thévenot, *Suite du voyage de Levant*, 3rd part (Paris 1689), p. 479.
34. Raphael du Mans, *L'Estat de la Perse*, ed. Ch. Schefer (Paris 1890), p. 158; and "Donesenie Izraelya Oriya Pfal'tskomu Kurfirstu Ioannu Vil'hel'mu" (1699), in G.A. Ezov (ed.), *Snosheniya Petra Velikogo s armyanskim narodom* (St Petersburg 1898), pp. 33-4. As Israel Ory tried to convince various European powers of the feasibility of an attack on Iran, his information on the Safavid army must be approached with some caution.
35. Kæmpfer, *Am Hofe*, pp. 95, 97.
36. Tavernier, *Six voyages*, I, p. 660.
37. The position of tupchi-bashi seems to have been revived no later than 1080/1670, for in that year Najaf-quli Beg is recorded as the incumbent. See Mīr Muḥammad Saʿīd Mashīzī, *Tazkira-yi ṣafaviyya-yi Kirmān*, ed. Muḥammad I. Bāstānī-Pārīzī (Tehran 1369/1990), p. 359.

38. Laurence Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia* (Cambridge 1958), pp. 135, 155.
39. Thomas Herbert, *Travels in Persia, 1627-1629*, abridged ed. by Sir W. Foster (New York 1929), p. 243.
40. For the Russian dependence on waterways, see Dianne L. Smith, Muscovite logistics, 1462-1598, *Studies on Eastern Europe and Russia* 71 (1993), 35-65.
41. Saltpetre was found near Lar. See A. Dupré, *Voyage en Perse fait dans les années 1807, 1808, 1809*, 2 vols (Paris 1819), I, p. 439. The environs of Lar also contained sulphur deposits. See India Office Records, London (hereafter IOR), E/3/6, report by Barker, 28 April 1618, fol. 9. The same source mentions that iron was found in Gilan and Hamadan. Copper, finally, was not readily available in the country. A brief effort was made to mine copper deposits near Kirman in the early 1680s, but generally all copper was imported from other Asian countries. In the early 17th century copper had to be brought overland from India because the Portuguese prohibited its import through Hurmuz. See ibid., fol. 10.
42. Ibid., fol. 9.
43. In the 19th century sulphur mines were also said to exist at Khamir, on the Persian Gulf coast across from Qishm. See G. Jenkins, On the sulphur mines of Cummir in the Persian Gulf, *The Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society* (1837), 284-6. Jean de Thévenot, *Suite du voyage*, p. 463, referred to the gunpowder manufacturing in Lar. The cannon foundry was noticed in 1705 by Cornelis de Bruin, who noted that the best cannons in the country were cast in Lar. See De Bruin, *Reizen over Moskovie*, p. 343. Lar continued to be known for its cannon manufacturing into the 19th century.
44. See, for example, the instruction given to Jani Beg in 1045/1636 to burn the local crops, a strategy that was part of a counter-offensive to the Ottoman campaign against Erevan, in Iskandar Beg Turkmān and Muḥammad Yūsuf Mu'arrikh, *Ẕail-i tārīkh-i ʿālam ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (Tehran 1317/1938), p. 165. For the Qandahar campaign of 1648, see also Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian relations: a study of the political and diplomatic relations between the Mughul Empire and Iran* (Tehran 1970), p. 114.
45. AM, # 1673, Trezel à Gardanne, 27 April 1808, fols 310-11.
46. Stanley Alderley (ed.), *Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Amboglio Contarini* (London 1873), p. 145.
47. Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh (Aḥsanu't tawārīkh)*, ed. C.N. Seddon (Baroda 1931), pp. 322-3.
48. Nicolaes Witsen, *Noord en oost Tartaryen* (Amsterdam, 2nd ed. 1705), p. 562.
49. For Herat, see Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, pp. 205-7; and Maria Szuppe, *Entre Timourides, Uzbeks et Safavides. Questions d'histoire politique et sociale de Hérat dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle* (Paris 1992), pp. 24-5. For Qandahar, see Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, pp. 169-70.
50. The information about the construction of the walls may be found in Martin B. Dickson, Sháh Tahmásb and the Üzbeks (The duel for Khurásán with ʿUbayd Khán: 930-946/1524-1540), Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton University 1958), p. 146. For the situation in the mid- and late 17th century, see Jürgen Anderson, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* (Schleswig 1669; repr. Tübingen 1980), p. 147 and Witsen, *Noord en oost Tartaryen*, p. 384.
51. Alderley, *Travels to Tana*, p. 125.
52. António Tenreiro, *Itinerario de António Tenrreyro*, in António Baião (ed.), *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por terra* (Coimbra 1923), p. 28.
53. Michele Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)*, ed. and trans. by A.H. Morton (London 1993), p. 29.

54. Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, p. 197.
55. La Boullaye le Gouz, *Les voyages et observations du Sieur de la Boullaye le Gouze* (Paris 1657), p. 89.
56. John Bell, *Travels from St Petersburg in Russia to various parts of Asia*, 2 vols (Glasgow 1763), I, p. 81.
57. Charles Grey (ed.), *A narrative of Italian travels in Persia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries* (London 1873), p. 222.
58. Alderley, *Travels to Tana*, pp. 72-3.
59. Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy*, pp. 46-7.
60. Tenreiro, *Itinerario*, pp. 9, 16, 20-1, 23.
61. Tucci, "Relazione," pp. 155-6.
62. Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, pp. 216 (Qum) and 57 (Lar).
63. Jean Chardin, *Voyages du chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*, 10 vols and atlas, ed. L. Langlès (Paris 1811), II, p. 407. Engelbert Kæmpfer, *Die Reisetagebücher Engelbert Kæmpfers*, ed. K. Meier-Lemgo (Wiesbaden 1968), p. 75.
64. De Bruin, *Reizen over Moskovie*, p. 129.
65. Chardin, *Voyages*, II, pp. 407, 417, 462.
66. *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères. Mémoires du Levant*, 8 vols (Paris 1780), IV, p. 82.
67. De Bruin, *Reizen over Moskovie*, p. 130.
68. Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, p. 131.
69. Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Der Bazar von Isfahan* (Wiesbaden 1978), p. 33.
70. Tavernier, *Six voyages*, I, p. 435.
71. Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, p. 69.
72. Cornelis Speelman, *Journaal der reis van den gezant der O.I. Compagnie Joan Cunaeus naar Perzië in 1651-1652*, ed. A. Hotz (Amsterdam 1908), p. 105.
73. John Fryer, *A new account of East India and Persia being nine years' travels 1672-1681*, ed. William Crooke, 3 vols (London 1909-15), III, p. 215.
74. Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, il pellegrino*, 2 vols (Brighton 1843), I, pp. 705, 771, 776.
75. Adam Olearius, *Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung der Muscowitischen und Persischen Reyse* (Schleswig 1656; repr. Tübingen 1971), pp. 462, 476.
76. Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, p. 202.
77. Chardin, *Voyages*, II, p. 388. In the 1740s Jonas Hanway found Qazvin walled again. See Jonas Hanway, *An Historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea*, 4 vols (London 1753), I, p. 232.
78. Fedor I. Soimonov, Auszug aus dem Tage-Buch des ehemalighen Schiff-Hauptmannes...Herrn Fedor Iwanowitsch Soimonov, in G. E. Müller, *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, 10 vols (St Petersburg 1762), VII, p. 278. Farahabad had a deep moat rather than walls, according to Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, p. 173.
79. See ARA, VOC 1178, Sarcerius, Gamron, to Batavia, 28 October 1645, fol. 641.
80. See Charles Lockyer, *An account of the trade in India* (London 1711), p. 216. Lockyer visited Bandar ʿAbbas in 1703-4 and described the city wall as being "ruin'd in several places through neglect." This state of affairs is remarkable given that less than a decade earlier the city's defences had been strenghtened in the face of an impending attack by the Omani Arabs. See ARA, VOC 1549, Gamron to Batavia, 31 May 1695, fol. 589.
81. See, for example, Speelman, *Journaal der reis*, pp. 60, 122, 129, 131-2.
82. See A. Z. Rosenfeld, La kala, type d'établissement fortifiée iranien, *Sovietskaya Ethnografia* (1951), 22-38; Xavier de Planhol, Les villages fortifiés en Iran et en Asie Centrale, *Annales de Géographie* 67 (1958), 256-8; Eugenio Turri, Villagi fortificati in

Iran e Afghanistan, *Rivista Geografica Italiana* 71 (1964), 20-34. For the situation in 19th-century Khuzistan, see George N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, 2 vols (New York 1892), II, pp. 301-2.

83. John Keegan defines the stronghold as "a place not merely of safety from attack but also of active defence, a centre where the defenders were secure from surprise or superior numbers, and also a base from which they may sally forth to hold predators at bay and to impose military control over the area in which their interests lie." A refuge, by contrast, is described by him as "a place of short-term safety, of value only against an enemy who lacks the means to linger in the vicinity or who operates a crude strategy of raiding against soft targets." See John Keegan, *A history of warfare* (New York 1993), p. 139.
84. Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, p. 143. For a similar observation, see Père Franz Caspar Schillinger, *Persianische und Ost-Indianische Reise* (Nuremberg 1707), p. 189.
85. Gabriel de Chinon, *Relations nouvelles du Levant* (Lyons 1671), p. 69.
86. I thank Richard Bulliet for suggesting this to me in a private discussion, 21 November 1994.
87. See IOR, E/3/51/6000, Gombroon to Company, 27 March 1695; and ARA, VOC 1549, Gamron to Batavia, 31 May 1695, fol. 589.
88. See Iḥsān Ishrāqī, Chashmandāzī bih qalʿahā-yi Iṣṭakhr va Qahqaha dar rūzgār-i ṣafaviyya," *Hunar va Mardum* 12, vol. 142 (1353/1974), p. 17.
89. Gaube and Wirth, *Bazar*, p. 33.
90. Ahmad Dourry Efendi, *Relation de Dourry Efendy, ambassadeur de la Porte Othomane auprès du roy de Perse*, ed. L. Langlès (Paris 1810), p. 50.
91. Tucci, "Relazione", p. 153.
92. Iṣfahānī, *Khulāṣat al-siyar*, p. 101.
93. For the Iranian attack on Ottoman-held Erevan, see ibid., pp. 204, 222.
94. Ibid., pp. 89, 102.
95. Olearius, *Newe Beschreibung*, p. 443.
96. J.J. Struys, *Drie aanmerkelijke en zeer rampspoedige reysen door Italien, Griekenlandt, Lijflandt, Moscovien, Tartarijen, Meden, Persien, Oost-Indien, Japan en verscheyden andere gewesten* (Amsterdam 1676), p. 253. Struys claimed that Shah ʿAbbas I had demolished the southern wall in order to prevent the Turks from taking refuge in the city.
97. Iskandar Beg Munshī, *History of Shah ʿAbbas the Great (Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī)*, trans. Roger M. Savory, 2 vols (Boulder, CO. 1978), I, p. 983-4.
98. Evliya Efendi, *Narrative of travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the seventeenth century*, trans. from the Turkish by Joseph von Hammer, 2 vols (London 1834; repr. New York 1968), II, pp. 134, 153, 154, 162.
99. ARA, VOC 1549, Gamron to Batavia, 31 May 1695, fol. 589.
100. ARA, VOC 1152, Gamron to Heren XVII, 27 June 1645, fols 70, 76.
101. Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, p. 57.
102. ARA, VOC, 1559, Gamron to Batavia, 20 March 1694, fol. 840v., where it is said that Arab tribes had besieged the fortress of Huvaiza.
103. De Bruin, *Reyzen over Moskovie*, pp. 144-6. The illustrations in de Bruin's work were all done by the author himself—who was trained as a painter—and are known to be much more accurate than those of any other visitors to Iran in Safavid times.
104. Père N. Sanson, *L'Etat de Perse* (Paris 1694), p. 107.
105. Della Valle, *Viaggi*, I, p. 776.
106. See Herbert Franke, Siege and defense of towns in medieval China, in Frank A. Kierman, Jr. and John K. Fairbank, *Chinese ways in warfare* (Cambridge, Mass 1974), p. 151.
107. Parker, *Military revolution*, p. 38.

108. Tavernier, *Six voyages*, I, p. 180.
109. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mustaufī, *Amār-i mālī va nizāmī-yi Irān dar 1128 yā tafsīl-i ʿasākir-i fairūzī-yi muʿāṣir-i Sulṭān Ḥusain Ṣafavī*, ed. Muḥammad T. Dānishpazhūh, *Farhang-i Irānzamīn* 20 (1353/1975), p. 410.
110. Dickson, "Sháh Tahmásb and the Üzbeks," pp. 110-11, 123.
111. An eyewitness of this siege claimed that the Uzbeks brought ingots of copper with them and cast a weapon called the *qārā bughrā* (black camel). According to Professor Robert McChesney, to whom I am indebted for this information, there is a description of the founding of the weapon in the Gauhar Shad Madrasa in Herat and its use during the siege in Ḥāfiẓ-i Tanīsh, *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī*, Dushanbeh ms, fols 523b and 528a.
112. Steensgaard, *Asian trade revolution*, p. 223. The Ottomans apparently sent 20 guns and 200 arquebus to the Uzbeks.
113. Della Valle, *Viaggi*, I, p. 625.
114. E. Delmar Morgan and C.H. Coote (eds.), *Early voyages and travels to Russia and Persia*, 2 vols (London 1886), II, p. 405.
115. L.J.D. Collins, The military organization and tactics of the Crimean Tatars during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in Parry and Yapp (eds.), *War, technology and society*, pp. 270-1.
116. Struys, *Aanmerkelijke reysen*, pp. 220-1.
117. Witsen, *Noord en oost Tartaryen*, pp. 433-5.
118. Muḥammad Rasūl Daryāgasht (ed.), *Az Māhān tā Chāhbahār (safar-nāma-yi Balūchistān)* (Kirman 1370/1991), intro. by M.I. Bāstānī Pārīzī, pp. 9-10.
119. Parker, *Military revolution*, p. 37.
120. Collins, "Crimean Tatars," p. 271.
121. Tucci, "Relazione," p. 156.
122. Monier S.J., Mémoire de la province de Sirwan, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, IV, pp. 43-4.
123. Père Bachoud, Lettre du Père Bachoud, miss. de la Cie. de J. en Perse, écrite à Chamakie, le 25 sept. 1721, au Père Fleuriau, in ibid., p. 118.
124. ARA, VOC 1983, Lispensier, Kirman, to Oets, Gamron, 6 February 1722, fol. 532.
125. *The chronicle of Petros di Sarkis Gilanentz concerning the Afghan invasion of Persia in 1722, the siege of Isfahan and the repercussions in northern Persia, Russia and Turkey*, trans. from the Armenian by Caro Owen Minasian (Lisbon 1959), p. 7. Curiously, a Dutch report suggests the unfamiliarity of the Afghans with gunpowder and firearms by observing that the Afghans "like the Persians [...] cannot bear the smell of powder, pretending that the fumes of sulphur cause great pain and swimming of the head." If at all true, this may have diminished the effective use of firearms, but it certainly did not keep the Afghans from using them. See H. Dunlop (trans. and ed.), The Story of the sack of Isfahan by the Afghans in 1722 by Friar Alexander of Malabar, *Journal of the Royal Society of Asian Studies* 23 (1936), p. 652.
126. Father Krusinski, *The history of the late revolutions of Persia*, 2 vols (London, 2nd ed. 1740), I, p. 151.
127. Ibid., II, p. 13.
128. See Dunlop, "The Story of the sack of Isfahan," p. 652.
129. Krusinski, *History of the late revolutions*, II, p. 17.
130. Keegan, *History of warfare*, p. 212.
131. ARA, VOC 1983, Lispensier, Kerman, to Oets, Gamron, 6 February 1722, fol. 533.

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